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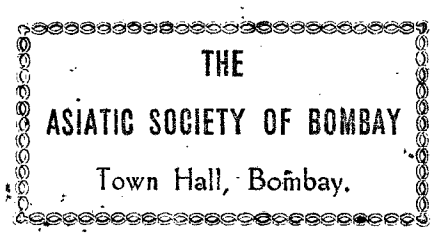

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THE

DAWN OF CIVILIZATION

EGYPT AND CHALDÆA

P 689.

BY

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ae

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EGYPTIAN VULTURE HOLDING TWO FLABELLA.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE NILE AND EGYPT.

PAGE

THE RIVER AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE FORMATION OF THE COUNTRY—THE OLDEST INHABITANTS OF THE VALLEY AND ITS FIRST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION 3

CHAPTER II.

THE GODS OF EGYPT.

THEIR NUMBER AND THEIR NATURE—THE FEUDAL GODS, LIVING AND DEAD—THE TRIADS—TEMPLES AND PRIESTS—THE COSMOGONIES OF THE DELTA—THE ENNEADS OF HELIOPOLIS AND OF HERMOPOLIS 81

CHAPTER III.

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF EGYPT.

THE DIVINE DYNASTIES: RÂ, SHÛ, OSIRIS, SÎT, HORUS—THOT, AND THE INVENTION OF SCIENCES AND WRITING—MENES, AND THE THREE FIRST HUMAN DYNASTIES 155

CHAPTER IV.

THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF EGYPT.

THE KING, THE QUEEN, AND THE ROYAL PRINCES—ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE PHARAOHS—FEUDALISM AND THE EGYPTIAN PRIESTHOOD, THE MILITARY—THE CITIZENS AND COUNTRY PEOPLE 247

CHAPTER V

THE MEMPHITE EMPIRE.

PAGE

THE ROYAL PYRAMID BUILDERS: KHEOPS, KHEPHREN, MYKERINOS—MEMPHITE LITERATURE AND ART—EXTENSION OF EGYPT TOWARDS THE SOUTH, AND THE CONQUEST OF NUBIA BY THE PHARAOHS 347

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST THEBAN EMPIRE.

THE TWO HERACLEOPOLITAN DYNASTIES AND THE TWELFTH DYNASTY—THE CONQUEST OF ÆTHIOPIA, AND THE MAKING OF GREATER EGYPT BY THE THEBAN KINGS 445

CHAPTER VII.

ANCIENT CHALDÆA.

THE CREATION, THE DELUGE, THE HISTORY OF THE GODS—THE COUNTRY, ITS CITIES, ITS INHABITANTS, ITS EARLY DYNASTIES 537

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TEMPLES AND THE GODS OF CHALDÆA.

THE CONSTRUCTION AND REVENUES OF THE TEMPLES—POPULAR GODS AND THEOLOGICAL TRIADS—THE DEAD AND HADES 623

CHAPTER IX.

CHALDÆAN CIVILIZATION.

ROYALTY—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY AND ITS PROPERTY—CHALDÆAN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY 703

APPENDIX.

THE PHARAOHS OF THE ANCIENT AND MIDDLE EMPIRES 785

INDEX 791

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

PROFESSOR MASPERO does not need to be introduced to English readers. His name is well known in this country as that of one of the chief masters of Egyptian science as well as of ancient Oriental history and archæology. Alike as a philologist, a historian, and an archæologist, he occupies a foremost place in the annals of modern knowledge and research. He possesses that quick apprehension and fertility of resource without which the decipherment of ancient texts is impossible, and he also possesses a sympathy with the past and a power of realizing it which are indispensable if we would picture it aright. His intimate acquaintance with Egypt and its literature, and the opportunities of discovery afforded him by his position for several years as director of the Bulaq Museum, give him an unique claim to speak with authority on the history of the valley of the Nile. In the present work he has been prodigal of his abundant stores of learning and knowledge, and it may therefore be regarded as the most complete account of ancient Egypt that has ever yet been published.

In the case of Babylonia and Assyria he no longer, it is true, speaks at first hand. But he has thoroughly studied the latest and best authorities on the subject, and has weighed their statements with the judgment which comes from an exhaustive acquaintance with a similar department of knowledge. Here, too, as elsewhere, references have been given with an unsparing hand, so that the reader, if he pleases, can examine the evidence for himself.

Naturally, in progressive studies like those of Egyptology and Assyriology, a good many theories and conclusions must be tentative and provisional only. Discovery crowds so quickly on discovery, that the truth of to-day is often apt to be modified or amplified by the truth of to-morrow. A single fresh fact may throw a wholly new and unexpected light upon the results we have already gained, and cause them to assume a somewhat changed aspect. But this is

what must happen in all sciences in which there is a healthy growth, and archæological science is no exception to the rule.

The spelling of ancient Egyptian proper names adopted by Professor Maspero will perhaps seem strange to many English readers. But it must be remembered that all our attempts to represent the pronunciation of ancient Egyptian words can be approximate only; we can never ascertain with certainty how they were actually sounded. All that can be done is to determine what pronunciation was assigned to them in the Greek period, and to work backwards from this, so far as it is possible, to more remote ages. This is what Professor Maspero has done, and it must be no slight satisfaction to him to find that on the whole his system of transliteration is confirmed by the cuneiform tablets of Tel el-Amarna. The system, however, is unfamiliar to English eyes, and consequently, for the sake of "the weaker brethren," the equivalents of the geographical and proper names he has used are given in the more usual spelling at the end of the work.

The difficulties attaching to the spelling of Assyrian names are different from those which beset our attempts to reproduce, even approximately, the names of ancient Egypt. The cuneiform system of writing was syllabic, each character denoting a syllable, so that we know what were the vowels in a proper name as well as the consonants. Moreover, the pronunciation of the consonants resembled that of the Hebrew consonants, the transliteration of which has long since become conventional. When, therefore, an Assyrian or Babylonian name is written phonetically, its correct transliteration is not often a matter of question. But, unfortunately, the names are not always written phonetically. The cuneiform script was an inheritance from the non-Semitic predecessors of the Semites in Babylonia, and in this script the characters represented words as well as sounds. Not unfrequently the Semitic Assyrians continued to write a name in the old Sumerian way instead of spelling it phonetically, the result being that we do not know how it was pronounced in their own language. The name of the Chaldæan Noah, for instance, is written with two characters which ideographically signify "the sun" or "day of life," and of the first of which the Sumerian values were *ut, babar, khis, tam,* and *par*, while the second had the value of *zi*. Were it not that the Chaldæan historian Bêrôssos writes the name Xisuthros, we should have no clue to its Semitic pronunciation.

Professor Maspero's learning and indefatigable industry are well known to me, but I confess I was not prepared for the exhaustive acquaintance he shows with Assyriological literature. Nothing seems to have escaped his notice. Papers and books published during the present year, and half-forgotten articles

in obscure periodicals which appeared years ago, have all alike been used and quoted by him. Naturally, however, there are some points on which I should be inclined to differ from the conclusions he draws, or to which he has been led by other Assyriologists. Without being an Assyriologist himself, it was impossible for him to be acquainted with that portion of the evidence on certain disputed questions which is only to be found in still unpublished or untranslated inscriptions.

There are two points which seem to me of sufficient importance to justify my expression of dissent from his views. These are the geographical situation of the land of Magan, and the historical character of the annals of Sargon of Accad. The evidence about Magan is very clear. Magan is usually associated with the country of Melukhkha, "the salt" desert, and in *every* text in which its geographical position is indicated it is placed in the immediate vicinity of Egypt. Thus Assur-bani-pal, after stating that he had "gone to the lands of Magan and Melukhkha," goes on to say that he "directed his road to Egypt and Kush," and then describes the first of his Egyptian campaigns. Similar testimony is borne by Esar-haddon. The latter king tells us that after quitting Egypt he directed his road to the land of Melukhkha, a desert region in which there were no rivers, and which extended "to the city of Rapikh" (the modern Raphia) "at the edge of the wadi of Egypt" (the present Wadi El-Arîsh). After this he received camels from the king of the Arabs, and made his way to the land and city of Magan. The Tel el-Amarna tablets enable us to carry the record back to the fifteenth century B.C. In certain of the tablets now at Berlin (Winckler and Abel, 42 and 45) the Phœnician governor of the Pharaoh asks that help should be sent him from Melukhkha and Egypt: "The king should hear the words of his servant, and send ten men of the country of Melukhkha and twenty men of the country of Egypt to defend the city [of Gebal] for the king." And again, "I have sent [to] Pharaoh" (literally, "the great house") "for a garrison of men from the country of Melukhkha, and . . . the king has just despatched a garrison [from] the country of Melukhkha." At a still earlier date we have indications that Melukhkha and Magan denoted the same region of the world. In an old Babylonian geographical list which belongs to the early days of Chaldæan history, Magan is described as "the country of bronze," and Melukhkha as "the country of the *samdu*," or "malachite." It was this list which originally led Oppert, Lenormant, and myself independently to the conviction that Magan was to be looked for in the Sinaitic Peninsula. Magan included, however, the Midian of Scripture, and the city of Magan, called Makkan in Semitic Assyrian, is probably the Makna of classical geography, now represented by the ruins of Mukna.

As I have always maintained the historical character of the annals of Sargon of Accad, long before recent discoveries led Professor Hilprecht and others to adopt the same view, it is as well to state why I consider them worthy of credit. In themselves the annals contain nothing improbable; indeed, what might seem the most unlikely portion of them—that which describes the extension of Sargon's empire to the shores of the Mediterranean—has been confirmed by the progress of research. Ammi-satana, a king of the first dynasty of Babylon (about 2200 B.C.), calls himself "king of the country of the Amorites," and the Tel el-Amarna tablets have revealed to us how deep and long-lasting Babylonian influence must have been throughout Western Asia. Moreover, the vase described by Professor Maspero on p. 600 of the present work proves that the expedition of Naram-Sin against Magan was an historical reality, and such an expedition was only possible if "the land of the Amorites," the Syria and Palestine of later days, had been secured in the rear. But what chiefly led me to the belief that the annals are a document contemporaneous with the events narrated in them, are two facts which do not seem to have been sufficiently considered. On the one side, while the annals of Sargon are given in full, those of his son Naram-Sin break off abruptly in the early part of his reign. I see no explanation of this, except that they were composed while Naram-Sin was still on the throne. On the other side, the campaigns of the two monarchs are coupled with the astrological phenomena on which the success of the campaigns was supposed to depend. We know that the Babylonians were given to the practice and study of astrology from the earliest days of their history; we know also that even in the time of the later Assyrian monarchy it was still customary for the general in the field to be accompanied by the *asipu*, or "prophet," the *ashshâph* of Dan. ii. 10, on whose interpretation of the signs of heaven the movements of the army depended; and in the infancy of Chaldæan history we should accordingly expect to find the astrological sign recorded along with the event with which it was bound up. At a subsequent period the sign and the event were separated from one another in literature, and had the annals of Sargon been a later compilation, in their case also the separation would assuredly have been made. That, on the contrary, the annals have the form which they could have assumed and ought to have assumed only at the beginning of contemporaneous Babylonian history, is to me a strong testimony in favour of their genuineness.

It may be added that Babylonian seal-cylinders have been found in Cyprus, one of which is of the age of Sargon of Accad, its style and workmanship being the same as that of the cylinder figured on p. 601 of this volume, while the other, though of later date, belonged to a person who describes himself as "the

servant of the deified Naram-Sin." Such cylinders may, of course, have been brought to the island in later times; but when we remember that a characteristic object of prehistoric Cypriote art is an imitation of the seal-cylinder of Chaldæa, their discovery cannot be wholly an accident.

Professor Maspero has brought his facts up to so recent a date that there is very little to add to what he has written. Since his manuscript was in type, however, a few additions have been made to our Assyriological knowledge. A fresh examination of the Babylonian dynastic tablet has led Professor Delitzsch to make some alterations in the published account of what Professor Maspero calls the ninth dynasty. According to Professor Delitzsch, the number of kings composing the dynasty is stated on the tablet to be twenty-one, and not thirty-one as was formerly read, and the number of lost lines exactly corresponds with this figure. The first of the kings reigned thirty-six years, and he had a predecessor belonging to the previous dynasty whose name has been lost. There would consequently have been two Elamite usurpers instead of one.

I would further draw attention to an interesting text, published by Mr. Strong in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for July, 1892, which I believe to contain the name of a king who belonged to the legendary dynasties of Chaldæa. This is Samas-natsir, who is coupled with Sargon of Accad and other early monarchs in one of the lists. The legend, if I interpret it rightly, states that "Elam shall be altogether given to Samas-natsir;" and the same prince is further described as building Nippur and Dur-ilu, as King of Babylon and as conqueror both of a certain Baldakha and of Khumba-sitir, "the king of the cedar-forest." It will be remembered that in the Epic of Gilgames, Khumbaba also is stated to have been the lord of the "cedar-forest."

But of new discoveries and facts there is a constant supply, and it is impossible for the historian to keep pace with them. Even while the sheets of his work are passing through the press, the excavator, the explorer, and the decipherer are adding to our previous stores of knowledge. The past year has not fallen behind its predecessors in this respect. In Egypt, Mr. de Morgan's unwearied energy has raised as it were out of the ground, at Kom Ombo, a vast and splendidly preserved temple, of whose existence we had hardly dreamed; has discovered twelfth-dynasty jewellery at Dahshur of the most exquisite workmanship, and at Meir and Assiut has found in tombs of the sixth dynasty painted models of the trades and professions of the day, as well as fighting battalions of soldiers, which, for freshness and lifelike reality, contrast favourably with the models which come from India to-day. In

Babylonia, the American Expedition, under Mr. Haines, has at Niffer unearthed monuments of older date than those of Sargon of Accad. Nor must I, in conclusion, forget to mention the lotiform column found by Mr. de Morgan in a tomb of the Old Empire at Abusir, or the interesting discovery made by Mr. Arthur Evans of seals and other objects from the prehistoric sites of Krete and other parts of the Ægean, inscribed with hieroglyphic characters which reveal a new system of writing that must at one time have existed by the side of the Hittite hieroglyphs, and may have had its origin in the influence exercised by Egypt on the peoples of the Mediterranean in the age of the twelfth dynasty.

A. H. SAYCE.

LONDON,
October, 1894.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

In completing the translation of so great a work as "Les Origines," I have to thank Professor Maspero for kindly permitting me to appeal to him on various questions which arose while preparing the volume for English readers. His patience and courtesy have alike been unfailing in every matter submitted for his decision.

I am indebted to Miss Bradbury for kindly supplying, in the midst of much other literary work for the Egypt Exploration Fund, the translation of the chapter on the gods, and also of the earlier parts of Chapters I., III., and VI. She has, moreover, helped me in my own share of the work with many suggestions and hints, which her intimate connection with the late Miss Amelia B. Edwards fully qualified her to give.

As in the original there is a lack of uniformity in the transcription and accentuation of Arabic names, I have ventured to alter them in several cases to the form most familiar to English readers.

The spelling of the ancient Egyptian words has, at Professor Maspero's request, been retained throughout, with the exception that the French *ou* has been invariably represented by *û*, e.g. Khnoumou by Khnûmû. In the copious index, however, which has been added to the English edition, the forms of Egyptian names familiar to readers in this country will be found, together with Professor Maspero's equivalents.

The translation is further distinguished from the French original by the enlargement of the general map, which combines the important geographical information given in the various separate maps scattered throughout the work.

By an act of international courtesy, the director of the *Imprimerie Nationale* has allowed the beautifully cut hieroglyphic and cuneiform type used in the original to be employed in the English edition, and I take advantage of this opportunity to express to him our thanks and appreciation of his graceful act.

M. L. McClure.

London,
October 11.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE TO THE SECOND ENGLISH EDITION.

A NEW edition of the English translation of this work having been called for within a little over a year from its publication, an opportunity was afforded the author to embody in it the results of the latest research. The part dealing with Egypt has consequently been enriched with additions to text and notes, and in the chapter on Chaldæa the author has utilized fresh information from the recent works of Tallqvist, Winckler, and Hilprecht, and from Monsieur de Sarzec's latest publications.

The following extract from a letter of Professor Maspero to the translator will show that he has spared no pains to bring his work abreast of the most recent discoveries:—

"La correction des dernières épreuves n'a pas marché aussi vite que je l'aurais souhaité, parceque je voulais étudier les livres nouveaux qui ont paru depuis l'an passé dans le domaine de l'Assyriologie. J'espère pourtant ne pas vous avoir occasionné trop de retard, et vous avoir mis le texte au point des dernières découvertes sans vous avoir obligée à trop remanier la composition."

The translation has been carefully revised throughout, and the pagination of the new edition has been kept uniform with that of the first edition, and also with the French original, so as to facilitate reference.

The three coloured plates omitted in the first edition of the translation have now been added at the author's request.

M. L. M.

LONDON,
February, 1896.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE TO THE THIRD ENGLISH EDITION.

THE following extract from a letter by Professor Maspero to the translator will sufficiently indicate the changes made in this, the third edition of the English translation of "Les Origines:"—

"Cette fois-ci encore je me suis efforcé de mettre mon texte au courant des progrès accomplis dans nos sciences depuis l'an dernier. Les découvertes d'Amélineau et de Morgan sont encore trop mal connues, et les aperçus que leurs auteurs nous en ont fournis sont trop sommaires, pourque j'aie osé en tirer parti; en revanche, j'ai inséré à leur place probable les documents nouveaux que Petrie nous avait fait connaître à Ballas et à Neggadéh. Dans les chapitres consacrés à la Chaldée, j'ai pu, grâce à la complaisance amicale de Monsieur Heuzey, indiquer un certain nombre de faits signalés au commencement de cette année même: j'ai donné tous mes soins à compléter la bibliographie de chaque sujet et à revoir les traductions des textes originaux. J'ai été gêné quelquefois par le *clichage*, mais je crois n'avoir rien omis qu'il importât réellement de faire connaître au lecteur."

In spite of considerable difficulties, the pagination remains the same, the additional pages being numbered 453A, B, etc., and so inserted in the Index.

M. L. M.

SANDGATE,
August, 1897.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH ENGLISH EDITION.

THE fourth edition of the "Dawn of Civilization" is best introduced by a quotation from a letter addressed by Professor Maspero to the translator:—

"This new edition contains much fresh matter. As far as Egypt is concerned, I have been able to bring it completely up to date, and have embodied in it the results of the latest discoveries made in the Nile valley by Amélineau, De Morgan, Petrie, and the experts who assisted the latter in his excavations. The description of the manners and customs of the early Egyptians has been rewritten, and made as complete as possible without indulging in hypothesis. On pp. 112, 112A, and 112B will be found an account of the various methods of burial of which we are as yet cognizant. The theories entertained with regard to the history of the earliest dynasties have been inserted on pp. 232–232D, and are further dealt with on p. 236, and from thence to the end of the chapter.

"Everything connected with the kings discovered in the necropolis of Abydos is still so obscure that I have treated the subject with the greatest reserve, and have classified those few sovereigns only whose proper names have as yet been ascertained. They all appear to me to belong to the first two dynasties of Manetho, those which he designates—rightly, as we now know—as Thinite. Whether the classification of Manetho and of the annalists who preceded him was in every instance correct is entirely another question, and it is quite possible that many of the Pharaohs placed by them after Menes may have reigned previous to that prince. This, however, is again merely a conjecture which can be confirmed only by the discovery of fresh monuments: we must be content for the present to know that the earliest kings remembered by the ancient Egyptians have now been brought to light: Thinite Egypt has emerged from the realm of legend and has entered the pale of history.

"As far as regards the XIIth Dynasty, I still adhere to the date which I

have hitherto adopted. The date recently proposed does not fit in with any well-authenticated facts. Supposing even that the text quoted by Borchardt were of a nature to furnish us with materials for an exact calculation, which is disputable, we are still confronted with the alternative between the fourth and the second millennium B.C. The reasons which led Borchardt to choose the second millennium are all *a priori*, and, outside the very small circle of scholars who derive their inspirations from Berlin, have called forth objections on every hand.

"I had hoped to have been able to accomplish for the peoples of the Euphrates what I have done for those of the Nile valley; but unfortunately Hilprecht's book, which would have placed so many new documents at my disposal, has not yet appeared, and after waiting for its publication for six months, further delay was rendered impossible on account of the urgent demand for this fourth edition. I have, however, inserted the fresh facts which have come to light in the course of the last three years, and in so doing have taken advantage of the interesting discoveries made by M. de Morgan at Susa. There, however, our historical advance has been more limited than in Egypt, and we have to deal with detail and not with an entire epoch."

Professor Maspero's words render further introduction superfluous, and a reference to the pages he has quoted will show how completely the volume has been brought abreast of last season's excavations in everything relating to Egypt.

J. L. McCLURE.

HALBERSTADT,
September, 1901.

THE NILE AND EGYPT.

RIVER AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE FORMATION AND CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY —THE OLDEST INHABITANTS OF THE LAND—THE FIRST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE VALLEY.

The Delta: its gradual formation, its structure, its canals—The valley of Egypt—The two arms of the river— The Eastern Nile—The appearance of its banks—The hills—The gorge of Gebel Silsileh—The cataracts: the falls of Aswân—Nubia—The rapids of Wâdy Halfah—The Takazze—The Blue Nile and the White Nile.

The sources of the Nile—The Egyptian cosmography—The four pillars and the four upholding mountains—The celestial Nile the source of the terrestrial Nile—The Southern Sea and the islands of Spirits—The tears of Isis—The rise of the Nile—The Green Nile and the Red Nile—The opening of the dykes—The fall of the Nile—The river at its lowest ebb.

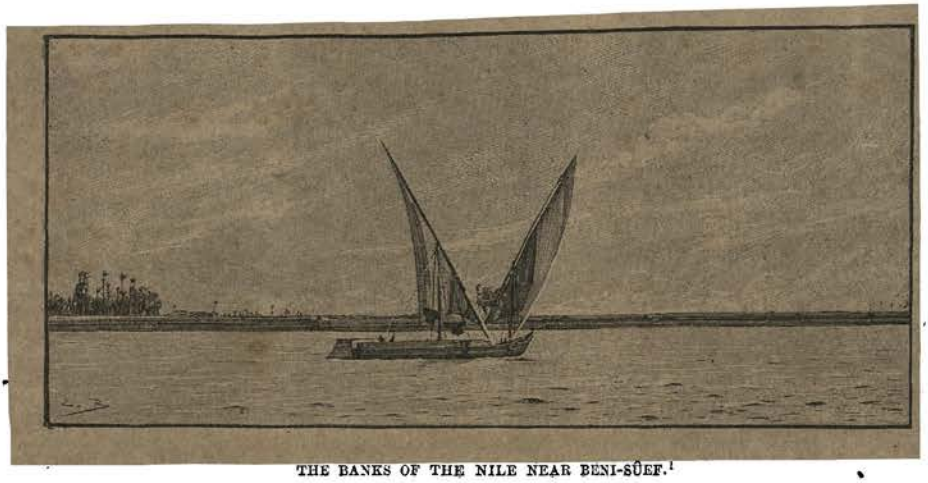
The alluvial deposits and the effects of the inundation upon the soil of Egypt—Paucity of the flora: aquatic plants, the papyrus and the lotus; the sycamore and the date-palm, the acacias, the dôm-palms—The fauna: the domestic and wild animals; serpents, the uræus; the hippopotamus and the crocodile; birds; fish, the fahaka.

The Nile god: his form and its varieties—The goddess Mirit—The supposed sources of the Nile at Elephantiné—The festivals of Gebel Silsileh—Hymn to the Nile from papyri in the British Museum.

The names of the Nile and Egypt: Romitú and Qîmit—Antiquity of the Egypti
—Their first horizon—The hypothesis of their Asiatic origin—The probability of their
origin—The language and its Semitic affinities—The race and its principal types.

The primitive civilization of Egypt—Its survival into historic times—The women of
Marriage—Rights of women and children—Houses—Furniture—Dress—Jewels—Wood
metal arms—Primitive life—Fishing and hunting—The lasso and "bolas"—The domest
of animals—Plants used for food—The lotus—Cereals—The hoe and the plough.

The conquest of the valley—Dykes—Basins—Irrigation—The princes—The nome
first local principalities—Late organization of the Delta—Character of its inhabitants—G
division of the principalities and changes of their areas—The god of the city.



THE BANKS OF THE NILE NEAR BENI-SÛEF.[1]

CHAPTER I.

THE NILE AND EGYPT.

The river and its influence upon the formation of the country—The oldest inhabitants of the valley and its first political organization.

ALONG, low, level shore, scarcely rising above the sea, a chain of vaguely defined and ever-shifting lakes and marshes, then the triangular plain beyond, whose apex is thrust thirty leagues into the land—this, the Delta of Egypt, has gradually been acquired from the sea, and is as it were the gift of the Nile.[2] The Mediterranean once reached to the foot of the sandy plateau on which stand the Pyramids, and formed a wide gulf where now stretches plain beyond plain of the Delta. The last undulations of the Arabian hills, from Gebel Mokattam to Gebel Geneffeh, were its boundaries on the east, while a sinuous and shallow channel running between Africa and Asia united the

[1] From a drawing by Boudier, after a photograph by the Dutch traveller Insinger, taken in 1884.

[2] HERODOTUS, ii. 5: ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. The same expression has been attributed to Hecatæus of Miletus (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. i. p. 19, fragm. 279; cf. DIELS, *Hermes*, vol. xxii. p. 423). It has often been observed that this phrase seems Egyptian on the face of it, and it certainly recalls such forms of expression as the following, taken from a formula frequently found on funerary stelæ: "All things created by heaven, given by earth, *brought by the Nile from its mysterious sources*." Nevertheless, up to the present time, the

Mediterranean to the Red Sea.[1] Westward, the littoral followed closely the contour of the Libyan plateau; but a long limestone spur broke away from it at about 31° N., and terminated in Cape Abûkîr.[2] The alluvial deposits first filled up the depths of the bay, and then, under the influence of the currents which swept along its eastern coasts, accumulated behind that rampart of sand-hills whose remains are still to be seen near Benha. Thus was formed a miniature Delta, whose structure pretty accurately corresponded with that of the great Delta of to-day. Here the Nile divided into three divergent streams, roughly coinciding with the southern courses of the Rosetta and Damietta branches, and with the modern canal of Abû Meneggeh. The ceaseless accumulation of mud brought down by the river soon overpassed the first limits, and steadily encroached upon the sea until it was carried beyond the shelter furnished by Cape Abûkîr. Thence it was gathered into the great littoral current flowing from Africa to Asia, and formed an incurvated coast-line ending in the headland of Casios, on the Syrian frontier. From that time Egypt made no further increase towards the north, and her coast remains practically such as it was thousands of years ago:[3] the interior alone has suffered change, having been dried up, hardened, and gradually raised. Its inhabitants thought they could measure the exact length of time in which this work of creation had been accomplished. According to the Egyptians, Menes, the first of their mortal kings, had found, so they said, the valley under water. The sea came in almost as far as the Fayûm, and, excepting the province of Thebes, the whole country was a pestilential swamp.[4] Hence, the necessary period for the physical formation of Egypt would cover some centuries after Menes. This is no longer considered a sufficient length of time, and some modern geologists declare that the Nile must have worked at the formation of its own estuary for at least seventy-four thousand years.[5] This figure is certainly exaggerated, for the

hieroglyphic texts have yielded nothing altogether corresponding to the exact terms of the Greek historians—*gift* (δῶρον) *of the Nile*, or its natural *product* (ἔργον) (ARISTOTLE, *Meteorologica*, i. 14, 11).

[1] The formation of the Delta was studied and explained at length, more than forty years ago, by ÉLIE DE BEAUMONT, in his *Leçons de Géologie*, vol. i. pp. 405–492. It is from this book that the theories set forth in the latest works on Egypt are still taken, and generally without any important modification.

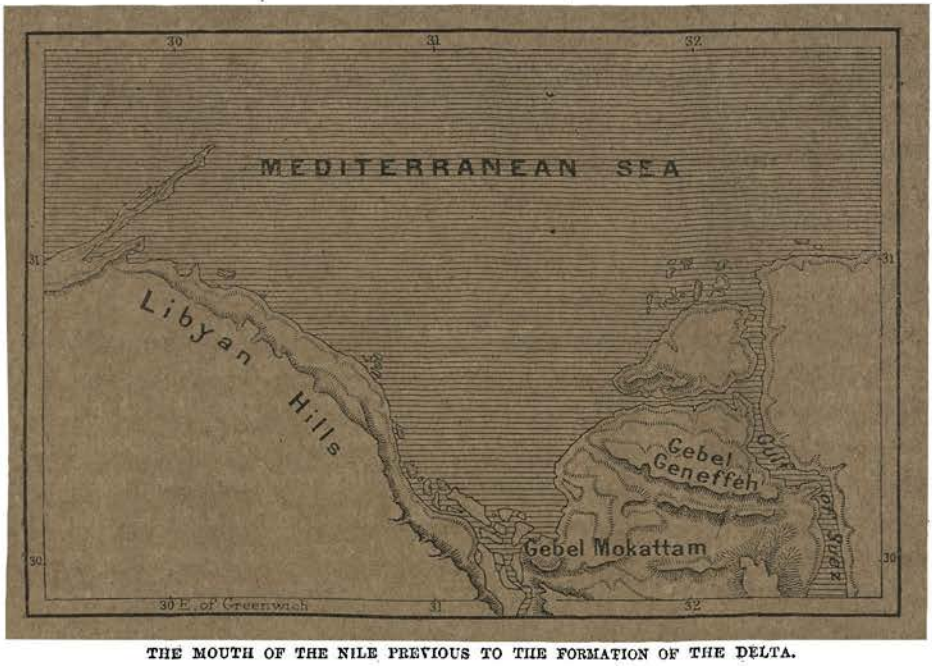
[2] See ÉLIE DE BEAUMONT, *Leçons de Géologie*, vol. i. p. 483, et seq., as to the part played in the formation of the coast-line by the limestone ridge of Abûkîr; its composition was last described by OSCAR FRAAS, *Aus dem Orient*, vol. i. pp. 175, 176.

[3] ÉLIE DE BEAUMONT, *Leçons de Géologie*, vol. i. p. 460: "The great distinction of the Nile Delta lies in the almost uniform persistence of its coast-line. . . . The present sea-coast of Egypt is little altered from that of three thousand years ago." The latest observations prove it to be sinking and shrinking near Alexandria to rise in the neighbourhood of Port Saîd.

[4] HERODOTUS, ii. 4; cf. xcix.

[5] Others, as for example SCHWEINFURTH (*Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1re série, vol. xii. p. 206), are more moderate in their views, and think "that it must have taken about twenty thousand years for that alluvial deposit which now forms the arable soil of Egypt to have attained to its present depth and fertility."

alluvium would gain on the shallows of the ancient gulf far more rapidly than it gains upon the depths of the Mediterranean. But even though we reduce the period, we must still admit that the Egyptians little suspected the true age of their country. Not only did the Delta long precede the coming of Menes, but its plan was entirely completed before the first arrival of the Egyptians. The Greeks, full of the mysterious virtues which they



THE MOUTH OF THE NILE PREVIOUS TO THE FORMATION OF THE DELTA.

attributed to numbers, discovered that there were seven principal branches, and seven mouths of the Nile, and that, as compared with these, the rest were but false mouths.[1] As a matter of fact, there were only three chief outlets. The Canopic branch flowed westward, and fell into the Mediterranean near Cape Abûkîr, at the western extremity of the arc described by the coast-line.[2] The Pelusiac branch followed the length of the Arabian chain, and flowed forth at the other extremity; and the Sebennytic stream almost bisected the triangle contained between the Canopic and Pelusiac channels. Two thousand years ago, these branches separated from the main river at

[1] Ψευδοστόματα was the word used by the Alexandrian geographers and retained by Strabo (xvi. pp. 788, 801); cf. PLINY, *H. Nat.*, v. 10: "Duodecim enim repperiuntur, superque quattuor, quæ ipsi *falsa ora* appellant."

[2] Lancret retraced the course of this branch, but death prevented him from publishing his discovery and an account of all which it involved (LANCRET, *Notice sur la Branche Canopique*, with an *Addition* by JOMARD, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. viii. pp. 19–26).

the city of Cerkasoros,[1] nearly four miles north of the site where Cairo now stands. But after the Pelusiac branch had ceased to exist, the fork of the river gradually wore away the land from age to age, and is now some nine miles lower down.[2] These three great waterways are united by a network of artificial rivers and canals, and by ditches—some natural, others dug by the hand of man, but all ceaselessly shifting. They silt up, close, open again, replace each other, and ramify in innumerable branches over the surface of the soil, spreading life and fertility on all sides. As the land rises towards the south, this web contracts and is less confused, while black mould and cultivation alike dwindle, and the fawn-coloured line of the desert comes into sight. The Libyan and Arabian hills appear above the plain, draw nearer to each other, and gradually shut in the horizon until it seems as though they would unite. And there the Delta ends, and Egypt proper has begun.

It is only a strip of vegetable mould stretching north and south between regions of drought and desolation, a prolonged oasis on the banks of the river, made by the Nile, and sustained by the Nile. The whole length of the land is shut in between two ranges of hills, roughly parallel at a mean distance of about twelve miles.[3] During the earlier ages, the river filled all this intermediate space, and the sides of the hills, polished, worn, blackened to their very summits, still bear unmistakable traces of its action. Wasted, and shrunken within the deeps of its ancient bed, the stream now makes a way through its own thick deposits of mud. The bulk of its waters keeps to the east, and constitutes the true Nile, the "Great River" of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.[4]

[1] According to BRUGSCH (*Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 244, 296), the name of Kerkasoros (HERODOTUS, ii. 15, 17, 97), or Kerkésûra (STRABO, xvii. p. 806), has its Egyptian origin in *Kerk-osirt*. But the Greek transcription of *Kerk-osiri* would have been *Kerkosiris*, of which Herr Wilcken has found the variant *Kerkeusiris* among names from the Fayûm (WILCKEN, *Ægyptische Eigennamen in Griechischen Texten*, in the *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, 1883, p. 162). Herr Wilcken proposes to correct the text of Herodotus and Strabo, and to introduce the reading *Kerkeusiris* in place of Kerkasoros or Kerkésûra. Professor Erman considers that Kerkeusiris means *The Habitation of Osiris*, and contains the radical KORKÛ, KERKÛ, which is found in Kerkesûkhos, Kerkéramsîsû-Miamûn, and in the modern name of Girgeh. The site of El-Akhsas, which D'Anville identified with that of Kerkasoros (*Mémoires géographiques sur l'Égypte*, p. 73), is too far north. The ancient city must have been situate in the neighbourhood of the present town of Embâbeh.

[2] By the end of the Byzantine period, the fork of the river lay at some distance south of Shetnûfi, the present Shatanûf, which is the spot where it now is (CHAMPOLLION, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. ii. pp. 28, 147–151). The Arab geographers call the head of the Delta *Batn-el-Bagarah*, the *Cow's Belly*. AMPÈRE, in his *Voyage en Égypte et en Nubie*, p. 120, says, "May it not be that this name, denoting the place where the most fertile part of Egypt begins, is a reminiscence of the Cow Goddess, of Isis, the symbol of fecundity, and the personification of Egypt?"

[3] DE ROZIÈRE estimated the mean breadth as being only a little over nine miles (*De la constitution physique de l'Égypte et de ses rapports avec les anciennes institutions de cette contrée*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xx. p. 270).

[4] *Iatûr-âû*, *Iaûr-âû*, which becomes *Iar-o*, *Ial-o* in the Coptic (BRUGSCH, *Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 78, 79; and *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 84–88). The word *Phiala*, by which Timæus the mathematician designated the sources of the Nile (PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 9; cf. SOLINUS, *Polyhist.*, ch. xxxv.),

A LINE OF LADEN CAMELS EMERGES FROM A HOLLOW OF THE UNDULATING ROAD.[1]

A second arm flows close to the Libyan desert, here and there formed into canals, elsewhere left to follow its own course. From the head of the Delta to the village of Derût it is called the Bahr-Yûsuf; beyond Derût—up to Gebel Silsileh—it is the Ibrâhimîyeh, the Sohâgîyeh, the Raiân. But the ancient names are unknown to us. This Western Nile dries up in winter throughout all its upper courses: where it continues to flow, it is by scanty accessions from the main Nile. It also divides north of Henassieh, and by the gorge of Illahûn sends out a branch which passes beyond the hills into the basin of the Fayûm. The true Nile, the Eastern Nile, is less a river than a sinuous lake encumbered with islets and sandbanks, and its navigable channel winds capriciously between them, flowing with a strong and steady current below the steep, black banks cut sheer through the alluvial earth. There are light groves of the date-palm, groups of acacia trees and sycamores, square patches of barley or of wheat, fields of beans or of *bersîm*,[2] and here and there a long bank of sand which the least breeze raises into whirling clouds. And over all there broods a great silence, scarcely broken by the cry of birds, or the song of rowers in a passing boat. Something of human life may stir on the banks, but it is softened into poetry by distance. A half-veiled woman, bearing a bundle of herbs upon her head, is driving her goats before her. An irregular line of asses or of laden camels emerges from one hollow of the undulating road only to disappear within another. A group of peasants, crouched upon the shore, in the ancient posture

is only this name *Ialo* preceded by the masculine article *phi*, *ph*. Ptolemy the geographer translated the native name by an exact equivalent, *ὁ μέγας ποταμός*, *the great river* (BRUGSCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 79).

[1] From a drawing by Boudier, after a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1884.

[2] *Bersîm* is a kind of trefoil, the *Trifolium Alexandrinum* of LINNÆUS. It is very common in Egypt, and the only plant of the kind generally cultivated for fodder (RAFFENEAU-DELILE, *Histoire des plantes cultivées en Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xix. p. 59, sqq.).

of knees to chin, patiently awaits the return of the ferry-boat. A dainty village looks forth smiling from beneath its palm trees. Near at hand it is all naked

A DAINTY VILLAGE LOOKS FORTH SMILING FROM BENEATH ITS PALM TREES.[1]

filth and ugliness: a cluster of low grey huts built of mud and laths; two or three taller houses, whitewashed; an enclosed square shaded by sycamores;

GEBEL ABÛFÊDA, DREADED BY THE SAILORS.[2]

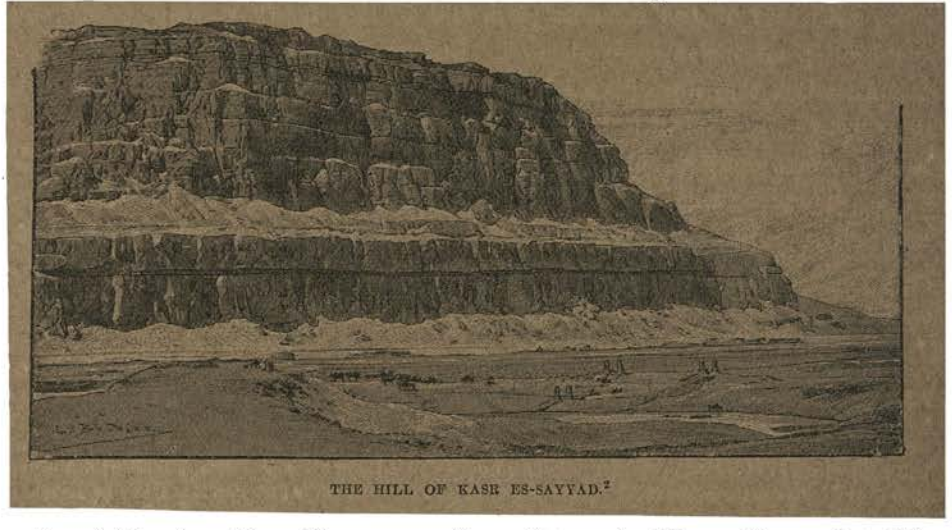
a few old men, each seated peacefully at his own door; a confusion of fowls, children, goats, and sheep; half a dozen boats made fast ashore. But, as we

[1–2] From drawings by Boudier, after photographs by Insinger, taken in 1886.

pass on, the wretchedness all fades away; meanness of detail is lost in light, and long before it disappears at a bend of the river, the village is again clothed with gaiety and serene beauty. Day by day, the landscape repeats

PART OF GEBEL SHÊKH HERÎDI.[1]

itself. The same groups of trees alternate with the same fields, growing green or dusty in the sunlight according to the season of the year. With the same measured flow, the Nile winds beneath its steep banks and about its



THE HILL OF KASR ES-SAYYAD.[2]

scattered islands. One village succeeds another, each alike smiling and sordid under its crown of foliage. The terraces of the Libyan hills, away beyond the Western Nile, scarcely rise above the horizon, and lie like a white edging between the green of the plain and the blue of the sky. The

[1–2] From drawings by Boudier, after photographs by Insinger, taken in 1882.

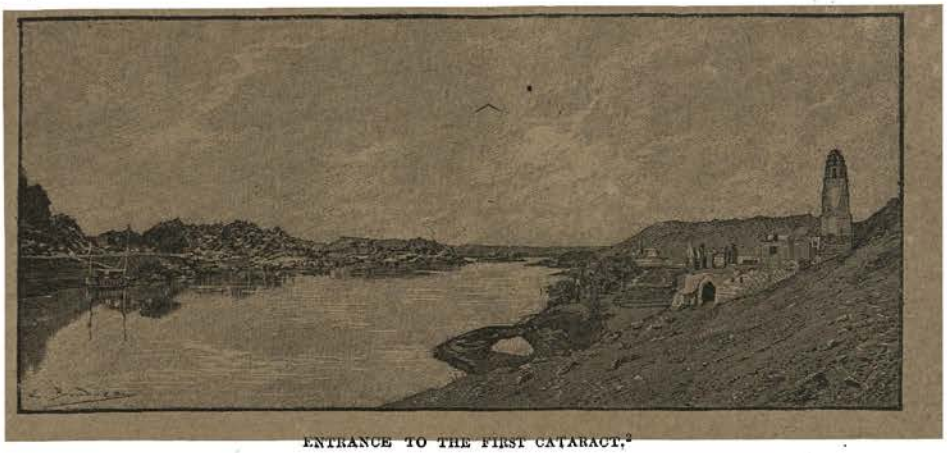
Arabian hills do not form one unbroken line, but a series of mountain masses with their spurs, now approaching the river, and now withdrawing to the desert at almost regular intervals. At the entrance to the valley, rise Gebel Mokattam and Gebel el-Ahmar. Gebel Hemûr-Shemûl and Gebel Shêkh Embârak next stretch in echelon from north to south, and are succeeded by Gebel et-Têr, where, according to an old legend, all the birds of the world are annually assembled.[1] Then follows Gebel Abûfêda, dreaded by the sailors for its sudden gusts.[2] Limestone predominates throughout, white or yellowish, broken by veins of alabaster, or of red and grey sandstones. Its horizontal strata are so symmetrically laid one above another as to seem more like the walls of a town than the side of a mountain. But time has often dismantled their summits and loosened their foundations. Man has broken into their façades to cut his quarries and his tombs; while the current is secretly undermining the base, wherein it has made many a breach. As soon as any margin of mud has collected between cliffs and river, halfah and wild plants take hold upon it, and date-palms grow there—whence their seed, no one knows. Presently a hamlet rises at the mouth of the ravine, among clusters of trees and fields in miniature. Beyond Siût, the light becomes more glowing, the air drier and more vibrating, and the green of cultivation loses its brightness. The angular outline of the dôm-palm mingles more and more with that of the common palm and of the heavy sycamore, and the castor-oil plant increasingly abounds. But all these changes come about so gradually that they are effected before we notice them. The plain continues to contract. At Thebes it is still ten miles wide; at the gorge of Gebelên it has almost disappeared, and at Gebel Silsileh it has completely vanished. There, it was crossed by a natural dyke of sandstone, through which the waters have with difficulty scooped for themselves a passage. From this point, Egypt is nothing but the bed of the Nile lying between two escarpments of naked rock.[3]

[1] In MAKRIZI'S *Description of Egypt*, Bûlak Edition, vol. i. p. 31 (cfr. BOURIANT, *Topographie de l'Egypte*, vol. i. p. 87), we read: "Every year, upon a certain day, all the herons (BOUKÎR, *Ardea bubulcus* of CUVIER) assemble at this mountain. One after another, each puts his beak into a cleft of the hill until the cleft closes upon one of them. And then forthwith all the others fly away. But the bird which has been caught struggles until he dies, and there his body remains until it has fallen into dust." The same tale is told by other Arab writers, of which a list may be seen in ÉTIENNE QUATREMÈRE, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Égypte et quelques contrées voisines*, vol. i. pp. 31–33. It faintly recalls that ancient tradition of the Cleft at Abydos, whereby souls must pass, as human-headed birds, in order to reach the other world (LEFÉBURE, *Étude sur Abydos*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xv. pp. 149, 150).

[2] EBERS, *Cicerone durch das alte- und neu-Ægypten*, vol. ii. pp. 157, 158.

[3] The gorge of Gebel Silsileh is about 3940 feet in length (P. S. GIRARD, *Observations sur la vallée de l'Égypte et sur l'exhaussement séculaire du sol qui la recouvre*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xx. p. 35); its width at the narrowest point is 1640 feet (ISAMBERT, *Égypte*, p. 590). See DE ROZIÈRE, *De la Constitution physique de l'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxi. p. 26, et seq.

Further on the cultivable land reappears, but narrowed, and changed almost beyond recognition. Hills, hewn out of solid sandstone, succeed each other at distances of about two miles,[1] low, crushed, sombre, and formless. Presently a forest of palm trees, the last on that side, announces Aswân and Nubia. Five banks of granite, ranged in lines between latitude 24° and 18° N., cross Nubia from east to west, and from north-east to south-west, like so many ramparts thrown up between the Mediterranean and the heart of Africa. The Nile has attacked them from behind, and made its way over them one after



ENTRANCE TO THE FIRST CATARACT.[2]

another in rapids which have been glorified by the name of cataracts. Classic writers were pleased to describe the river as hurled into the gulfs of Syene with so great a roar that the people of the neighbourhood were deafened by it.[3] Even a colony of Persians, sent thither by Cambyses, could not bear the noise of the falls, and went forth to seek a quieter situation.[4] The first cataract is a kind of sloping and sinuous passage six and a quarter miles in length, descending from the island of Philæ to the port of Aswân, the aspect of its approach relieved and brightened by the ever green groves of Elephantinê.

and the recent work of CHÉLU, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, pp. 77, 78, with regard to the primeval barrier at Gebel Silsileh. Chélu considers that it was broken through before the advent of man in Egypt, whereas Wilkinson (in RAWLINSON'S *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 298), followed by A. Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 255), maintains that it lasted until near the Hyksos or Shepherd times.

[1] P. S. GIRARD, *Observations sur la vallée de l'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xx. pp. 34, 35. With regard to the nature and aspect of the country between Gebel Silsileh and Aswân, see also DE ROZIÈRE, *De la Constitution physique de l'Égypte*, in the *Description*, vol. xxi. pp. 4-58.

[2] View taken from the hills opposite Elephantinê, by Insinger, in 1884.

[3] JOMARD made a collection of such passages from ancient writers as refer to the cataracts (*Description*, vol. i. pp. 154-174). We can judge of the confidence with which their statements were still received at the close of the seventeenth century by looking through that curious little work *De hominibus ad catadupas Nili obscurdescentibus, Consentiente Amplissimo Philosophorum Ordine, Publice disputabunt Præses* M. J. LEONHARDUS LENZIUS, *et respondens* JO. BARTHOLOMÆUS LENZIUS, *Marcobreitha-Franci, d.* 24 *Decembr.*, MDCXCIX. *In auditorio Minori. Wittebergæ, Typis Christiani Schrædteri, Acad. Typis.*

[4] SENECA, *Quæst. Natural*, ii. § 2.

Beyond Elephantinê are cliffs and sandy beaches, chains of blackened "roches moutonnées" marking out the beds of the currents, and fantastic reefs, sometimes bare, and sometimes veiled by long grasses and climbing plants, in which thousands of birds have made their nests. There are islets, too, occasionally large enough to have once supported something of a population, such as Amerade, Salûg, Sehêl. The granite threshold of Nubia is broken beyond Sehêl, but its *débris*, massed in disorder against the right bank, still seem to dispute the passage of the waters, dashing turbulently and roaring as they flow along through tortuous channels, where every streamlet is broken up into small cascades. The channel running by the left bank is always navigable.

ENTRANCE TO NUBIA.[1]

During the inundation, the rocks and sandbanks of the right side are completely under water, and their presence is only betrayed by eddies. But on the river's reaching its lowest point a fall of some six feet is established, and there big boats, hugging the shore, are hauled up by means of ropes, or easily drift down with the current.[2] All kinds of granite are found together in this corner of Africa. There are the pink and red Syenites, porphyritic granite, yellow granite, grey granite, both black granite and white, and granites veined with black and veined with white.[3] As soon as these disappear behind us, various sandstones begin to crop up, allied to the coarsest *calcaire grossier*. The hills bristle with small split blocks, with peaks half overturned, with rough and denuded mounds. League beyond

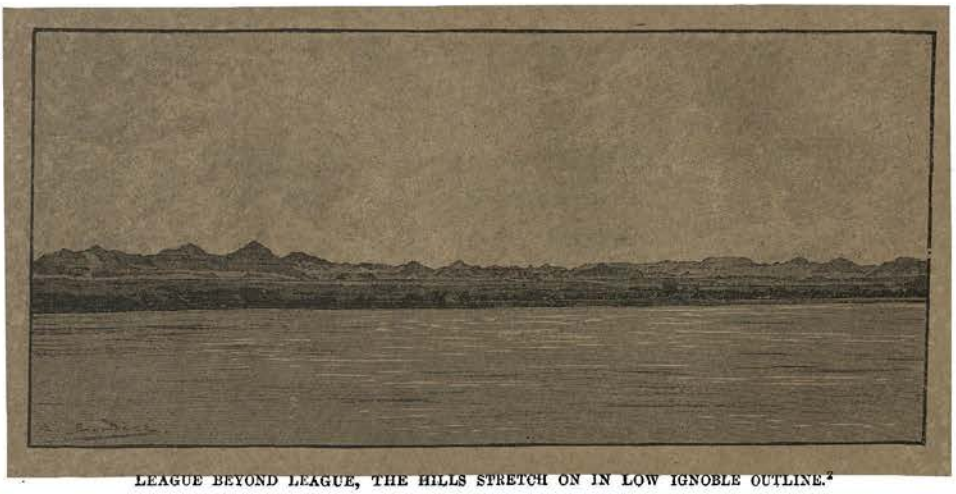
[1] View taken from the southern point of the island of Philæ. From a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] For a detailed description of the first cataract, see JOMARD, *Description de Syène et des cataractes*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 144–154.

[3] DE ROZIÈRE has scheduled and analyzed the Syené granites (*De la Constitution physique de l'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxi. pp. 59–93).

THE FIRST CATARACT: ENTRANCE OF THE GREAT RAPIDS.
From a photograph by Beato.

league, they stretch in low ignoble outline. Here and there a valley opens sharply into the desert, revealing an infinite perspective of summits and escarpments in echelon one behind another to the furthest plane of the horizon, like motionless caravans. The now confined river rushes on with a low, deep murmur, accompanied night and day by the croaking of frogs and the rhythmic creak of the sâkieh.[1] Jetties of rough stone-work, made in unknown times by an unknown people, run out like breakwaters into mid-



LEAGUE BEYOND LEAGUE, THE HILLS STRETCH ON IN LOW IGNOBLE OUTLINE.[2]

stream.[3] From time to time waves of sand are borne over, and drown the narrow fields of durra and of barley. Scraps of close, aromatic pasturage, acacias, date-palms, and dôm-palms, together with a few shrivelled sycamores, are scattered along both banks. The ruins of a crumbling pylon mark the site of some ancient city, and, overhanging the water, is a vertical wall of rock honeycombed with tombs. Amid these relics of another age, miserable huts, scattered hamlets, a town or two surrounded with little gardens are the only evidence that there is yet life in Nubia. South of Wâdy Halfah,

[1] The *sâkieh* is made of a notch-wheel fixed vertically on a horizontal axle, and is actuated by various cog-wheels set in continuous motion by oxen or asses. A long chain of earthenware vessels brings up the water either from the river itself, or from some little branch canal, and empties it into a system of troughs and reservoirs. Thence, it flows forth to be distributed over all the neighbouring land. Various elevators of the same type are drawn and described in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xii. pp. 408–415, *Atlas, État moderne*, vol. ii., *Arts et Métiers*, pls. iii.–v.

[2] From a drawing by Boudier, after a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1881.

[3] "Our progress was often stopped by jetties of rough stone stretching out into the middle of the river. Were they intended for raising the level of the Nile at the inundations? . . . They produce very rapid currents. Sometimes, when the boat has been heavily dragged as far as the projecting point, it cannot cross it. The men then turn aside, drawing the ropes after them, and take the boat back again a few hundred yards down the river" (H. CAMMAS and A. LEFÈVRE, *La Vallée du Nil*, p. 104). The positions of many of these jetties are indicated on PROKESCH's map (*Land zwischen den kleinen und grossen Katarakten des Nil. Astronomisch bestimmt und aufgenommen im Jahre 1827 durch. . . .* A. VON PROKESCH, Vienna, C. Gerold).

the second granite bank is broken through, and the second cataract spreads its rapids over a length of four leagues: the archipelago numbers more than 350 islets, of which some sixty have houses upon them and yield harvests to their inhabitants.[1] The main characteristics of the first two cataracts are repeated with slight variations in the cases of the three which follow, — at Hannek, at Guerendid, and El-Hû-mar.[2] It is Egypt still, but a joyless Egypt bereft of its brightness; impoverished, disfigured, and almost desolate. There is the same double wall of hills, now closely confining the valley, and again withdrawing from each other as though to flee into the desert. Everywhere are moving sheets of sand, steep black banks with their narrow strips of cultivation, villages which are scarcely visible on account of the lowness of their huts. The sycamore ceases at Gebel-Barkal, date-palms become fewer and finally disappear. The Nile alone has not changed. As it was at Philæ, so it is at Berber. Here, however, on the right bank, 600 leagues from the sea, is its first affluent, the Takazze, which intermittently brings to it the waters of Northern Ethiopia. At Khartûm, the single channel in which the river flowed divides; and two other streams are opened up in a southerly direction,

ENTRANCE TO THE SECOND CATARACT.[3]

[1] A list of the Nubian names of these rocks and islets has been somewhat incorrectly drawn up by J. J. RIFAUD, *Tableau de l'Égypte, de la Nubie et des lieux circonvoisins*, pp. 55–60 (towards the end of the volume, after the *Vocabulaires*). Rifaud only counted forty-four cultivated islands at the beginning of this century.

[2] The cataract system has been studied, and its plan published by E. DE GOTTBERG (*Des cataractes du Nil et spécialement de celles de Hannek et de Kaybar*, 1867, Paris, 4to), and later again by CHÉLU (*Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, pp. 29–73).

[3] View taken from the top of the rocks of Abusîr, after a photograph by Insinger, in 1881

each of them apparently equal in volume to the main stream. Which is the true Nile? Is it the Blue Nile, which seems to come down from the distant mountains? Or is it the White Nile, which has traversed the immense plains of equatorial Africa. The old Egyptians never knew. The river kept the secret of its source from them as obstinately as it withheld it from us until a few years ago. Vainly did their victorious armies follow the Nile for months together as they pursued the tribes who dwelt upon its banks, only to find it as wide, as full, as irresistible in its progress as ever. It was a fresh-water sea, and sea—*iaûmâ, iôma*—was the name by which they called it.[1]

The Egyptians therefore never sought its source. They imagined the whole universe to be a large box, nearly rectangular in form, whose greatest diameter was from south to north, and its least from east to west.[2] The earth, with its alternate continents and seas, formed the bottom of the box; it was a narrow, oblong, and slightly concave floor, with Egypt in its centre.[3] The sky stretched over it like an iron ceiling, flat according to some,[4] vaulted according to others.[5] Its earthward face was capriciously sprinkled with lamps hung from strong cables,[6] and which, extinguished or unperceived by day, were lighted, or became visible to our eyes, at night.[7] Since this ceiling could not remain in mid-air without support, four columns, or rather four forked

[1] MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd edition, pp. 20, 177. With regard to the ancient comparison of the Nile to a sea, see LETRONNE, *Recherches géographiques et critiques sur le livre* "De Mensura Orbis Terræ," *composé en Islande au commencement du* IXe *siècle par Dicuil;* text, p. 25, § 8. For Arab authorities on the same subject, see S. DE SACY, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2nd edition, vol. i. pp. 13–15.

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 159–162, 330, et seq., and vol. ii. pp. 205–208 (cf. *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 19, 20, and *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xviii. pp. 266–270). For analogous ideas, even in Byzantine times, see LETRONNE'S memoir on the *Opinions cosmographiques des Pères de l'Église* (*Œuvres choisies*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 382, et seq.).

[3] HORAPOLLO, *Hieroglyphica* (LEEMANS' edition), i. xxi. p. 31: ἡ Αἰγυπτίων γῆ, ἐπεὶ μέση τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπάρχει. Compare a fragment by HOMER TRISMEGISTUS, in STOBÆUS, *Eclog.*, i. 52: Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἡ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν ἱεροτάτη χωρά. . . . A late hieroglyphic group is so arranged as to express the same idea, and can be read *the middle land.*

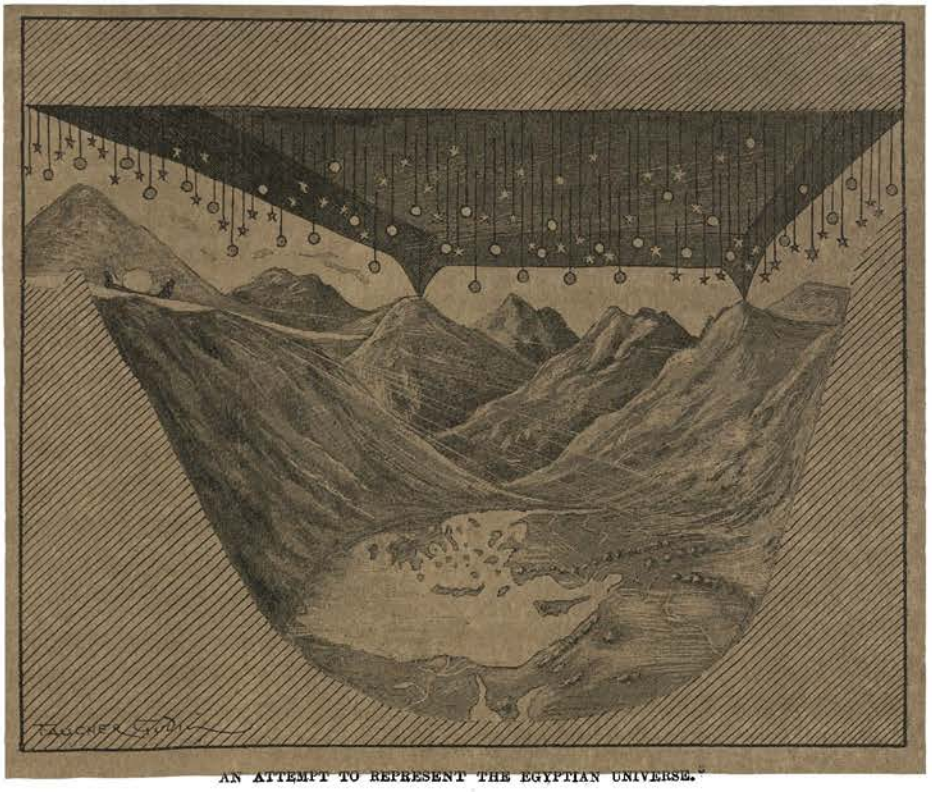
[4] To my knowledge, DEVERIA was the first to prove that "the Egyptians believed that the sky was of iron or steel" (TH. DEVERIA, *Le Fer et l'Aimant, leur nom et leur usage dans l'Ancienne Égypte*, in the *Mélanges d'archéologie*, vol. i. pp. 9, 10). So well established was the belief in a sky-ceiling of iron, that it was preserved in common speech by means of the name given to the metal itself, viz. *Bai-ni-pit* (in the Coptic *Benipi, benipe*)—*metal of heaven* (CHABAS, *l'Antiquité historique*, 1st edition, pp. 64–67).

[5] This is sufficiently proved by the mere form of the character —, used in the hieroglyphs for heaven, or the heavenly deities.

[6] Certain arched stelæ are surmounted by the hieroglyph given in the preceding note, only in these cases it is curved to represent the vaulted sky. Brugsch has given several good examples of this conception of the firmament in his *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, p. 203, et seq.

[7] The variants of the sign for night— , —are most significant. The end of the rope to which the star is attached passes over the sky, —, and falls free, as though arranged for drawing a lamp up and down when lighting or extinguishing it. And furthermore, the name of the stars—*khâbisû*—is the same word as that used to designate an ordinary lamp.

trunks of trees, similar to those which maintained the primitive house, were supposed to uphold it.[1] But it was doubtless feared lest some tempest[2] should overturn them, for they were superseded by four lofty peaks, rising at the four



AN ATTEMPT TO REPRESENT THE EGYPTIAN UNIVERSE.[3]

cardinal points, and connected by a continuous chain of mountains. The Egyptians knew little of the northern peak: the Mediterranean, the "Very Green,"[4] interposed between it and Egypt, and prevented their coming near enough to

[1] Isolated, these pillars are represented under the form 𓉐, but they are often found together as supporting the sky 𓉐𓉐𓉐𓉐. Brugsch, who was the first to study their function, thought that all four were placed to the north, and that they denoted to the Egyptians the mountains of Armenia (*Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. pp. 35–39). He afterwards recognized that they were set up at each of the four cardinal points, but thought that this conception of their use was not older than Ptolemaic times (*G. Ins.*, vol. iii. pp. 53–55). Like all Egyptologists, he afterwards admitted that these pillars were always placed at the four cardinal points (*Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 201–202).

[2] The words designating hurricanes, storms, or any kind of cataclysm, are followed by the sign 𓏏, which represents the sky as detached and falling from its four supporting pillars. Magicians sometimes threatened to overthrow the four pillars if the gods would not obey their orders.

[3] Section taken at Hermopolis. To the left, is the bark of the sun on the celestial river.

[4] The name of *Ûaz-oîrit*, the *Very Greene*, was first recognized by Birch (*The Annals of Thotmes III.*, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 162, and p. 46 of the reprint); E. de Rougé (*Notice de quelques textes hiéroglyphiques récemment publiés par M. Greene dans l'Athénæum Français*, 1855, pp. 12–14 of the reprint); and especially Brugsch (*Geog. Insch.*, vol. i. pp. 37–40) completed this demonstration. The Red Sea is called *Qim-Oîrit*, the *Very Black*.

see it. The southern peak was named Apit-to,[1] the Horn of the Earth; that on the east was called Bâkhû, the Mountain of Birth; and the western peak was known as Manû, sometimes as Onkhit, the Region of Life.[2] Bâkhû was not a fictitious mountain, but the highest of those distant summits seen from the Nile in looking towards the Red Sea. In the same way, Manû answered to some hill of the Libyan desert, whose summit closed the horizon.[3] When it was discovered that neither Bâkhû nor Manû were the limits of the world, the notion of upholding the celestial roof was not on that account given up. It was only necessary to withdraw the pillars from sight, and imagine fabulous peaks, invested with familiar names. These were not supposed to form the actual boundary of the universe; a great river—analogous to the Ocean-stream of the Greeks—lay between them and its utmost limits. This river circulated upon a kind of ledge projecting along the sides of the box a little below the continuous mountain chain upon which the starry heavens were sustained. On the north of the ellipse, the river was bordered by a steep and abrupt bank, which took its rise at the peak of Manû on the west, and soon rose high enough to form a screen between the river and the earth. The narrow valley which it hid from view was known as Daït from remotest times.[4] Eternal night enfolded that valley in thick darkness, and filled it with dense air such as no living thing could breathe.[5] Towards the east the steep bank rapidly declined, and ceased altogether a little beyond Bâkhû, while the river flowed on between low and almost level shores from east to south, and then from south to west.[6] The sun was a disc of fire placed upon a boat.[7] At the same equable rate, the river carried it round the ramparts

[1] Compare the expressions, *Νότου κέρας*, *Ἑσπέρου κέρας*, of the Greek geographers. BRUGSCH was the first to note that Apit-to is placed at the southern extremity of the world (*G. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 35, 36; vol. iii. p. 52). He has hypothetically identified the *Horn of the Earth* with the *Mountains of the Moon* of the Arab geographers. I believe that the Egyptians of the great Theban period (eighteenth to twentieth dynasties) indicated by that name the mountain ranges of Abyssinia. In the course of their raids along the Blue Nile and its affluents, they saw this group of summits from afar, but they never reached it.

[2] With regard to *Bâkhû* and *Manû*, see an article by BRUGSCH (*Ueber den Ost- und Westpunkt des Sonnenlaufes nach den altägyptischen Vorstellungen*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1864, pp. 73–76), which is a digest of indications furnished by DÜMICHEN. See also BRUGSCH, *Die altägyptische Völkertafel* (in the *Verhandlung des 5n Orientalisten Congresses*, vol. ii., *Afrikanische Sektion*, pp. 62, 63), and MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 6–8 (cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xv. pp. 270–272). Brugsch places the mountain of Bakhû at Gebel Zmûrûd, a little too far south.

[3] In Ptolemaic lists, *Manû* is localized in the Libyan nome of Lower Egypt, and ought to be found somewhere on the road leading through the desert to the Wâdy Natrûn (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 259).

[4] The name of *Daït*, and the epithet *Daïti*, "dweller in Daït," which is derived from it, are frequently met with in Pyramid texts. Hence they must belong to the older strata of the language.

[5] *Kakûi samûi*, MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 31 (cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xvii. p. 274).

[6] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 16–18 (cf. *la Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xviii. pp. 266–268, where all these conceptions are indicated for the first time).

[7] So the native artists represented it; as, for example, in several vignettes of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. xxx., cxliv.).

of the world. From evening until morning it disappeared within the gorges of Daït; its light did not then reach us, and it was night. From morning until evening its rays, being no longer intercepted by any obstacle, were freely shed abroad from one end of the box to the other, and it was day. The Nile branched off from the celestial river at its southern bend;[1] hence the south was the chief cardinal point to the Egyptians, and by that they oriented themselves, placing sunrise to their left, and sunset to their right.[2] Before they passed beyond the defiles of Gebel Silsileh, they thought that the spot whence the celestial waters left the sky was situate between Elephantinê and Philæ, and that they descended in an immense waterfall whose last leaps were at Syene. It may be that the tales about the first cataract told by classic writers are but a far-off echo of this tradition of a barbarous age.[3] Conquests carried into the heart of Africa forced the Egyptians to recognize their error, but did not weaken their faith in the supernatural origin of the river. They only placed its source further south,[4] and surrounded it with greater marvels. They told how, by going up the stream, sailors at length reached an undetermined country, a kind of borderland between this world and the next, a "Land of Shades," whose inhabitants were dwarfs, monsters, or spirits.[5] Thence they passed into a sea sprinkled with mysterious islands, like those enchanted archipelagoes which Portuguese and Breton mariners were wont to see at times when on their voyages, and which vanished at their approach. These islands were inhabited by serpents with human voices, sometimes friendly and sometimes cruel to the shipwrecked. He who went forth from the islands could never more re-enter them: they were resolved into the waters and lost within the bosom of the waves.[6] A modern geographer

[1] The classic writers themselves knew that, according to Egyptian belief, the Nile flowed down from heaven: Ὄσιρίς ἐστιν ὁ Νεῖλος, ὃν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι οἴονται (PORPHYRY, in EUSEBIUS, *Præp. Evang.*, iii. 11, 54, et seq.). The legend of the Nile having its source in the ocean stream was but a Greek transposition of the Egyptian doctrine, which represented it as an arm of the celestial river whereon the sun sailed round the earth (HERODOTUS, ii. 21; DIODORUS, i. 37).

[2] This Egyptian method of orientation was discovered by CHABAS, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, 1862, p. 32, et seq.

[3] MASPERO, *Etudes de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18 (cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xviii. pp. 269, 270); cf. p. 11 of the present volume.

[4] It was perhaps a recollection of some such legend as this which led the Nubians speaking to Burckhardt, to describe the second cataract "as though falling from heaven" (BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 78, note 2). There must have been a time when the sources of the Nile stopped near Wâdy Halfah, or Semneh, before receding further towards Central Africa.

[5] In the time of the sixth dynasty, in the account of the voyages of Hirkhûf, mention is made of *The Land of Spirits* (SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana inedita della VI^a Dinastia con iscrizioni storiche e geografiche*, pp. 21, 33, 34; cf. MASPERO, *Revue Critique*, 1892, vol. ii. pp. 362, 366). *The Land of Spirits* was vaguely placed near the Land of Pûanit—that is to say, towards the *Aromatifera Regio* of the Græco-Roman geographers.

[6] This is the subject of a tale which was discovered and published by M. GOLÉNISCHEFF, in 1881 (*Sur un ancien conte égyptien*, 1881, Berlin), and in the *Abhandlungen* of the Oriental Congress at Berlin, African Section, pp. 100–122). See also MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Ancienne Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 131–146.

can hardly comprehend such fancies; those of Greek and Roman times were perfectly familiar with them. They believed that the Nile communicated with the Red Sea near Suakin, by means of the Astaboras, and this was certainly the route which the Egyptians of old had imagined for their navigators.[1] The supposed communication was gradually transferred farther and farther south; and we have only to glance over certain maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to see clearly drawn what the Egyptians had imagined—the centre of Africa as a great lake, whence issued the Congo, the Zambesi, and the Nile.[2] Arab merchants of the Middle Ages believed that a resolute man could pass from Alexandria or Cairo to the land of the Zindjes and the Indian Ocean by rising from river to river.[3] Many of the legends relating to this subject are lost, while other have been collected and embellished with fresh features by Jewish and Christian theologians. The Nile was said to have its source in Paradise, to traverse burning regions inaccessible to man, and afterwards to fall into a sea whence it made its way to Egypt. Sometimes it carried down from its celestial sources branches and fruits unlike any to be found on earth.[4] The sea mentioned in all these tales is perhaps a less extravagant invention than we are at first inclined to think. A lake, nearly as large as the Victoria Nyanza, once covered the marshy plain where the Bahr el-Abiad unites with the Sobat, and with the Bahr el-Ghazâl. Alluvial deposits have filled up all but its deepest depression, which is known as Birket Nû; but, in ages preceding our era, it must still have been vast enough to suggest to Egyptian soldiers and boatmen the idea of an actual sea, opening into the Indian Ocean. The mountains, whose outline was vaguely seen far to southward on the further shores, doubtless contained within them its mysterious source.[5] There the inundation was made ready,

[1] Cf. CHASSINAT, *Çà et là*, § iii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. p. 53; and MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § v., *ibid.*, pp. 76–78.

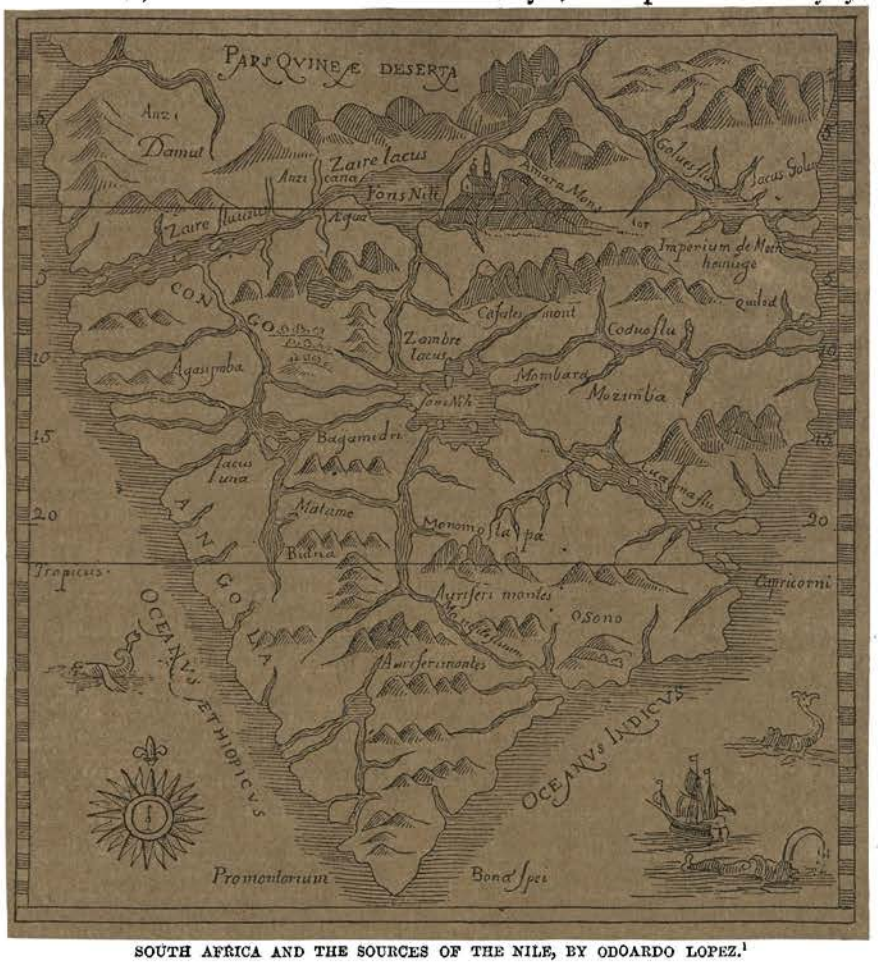
[2] In *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23, 181, et seq., ÉTIENNE QUATREMÈRE has collected various passages bearing on this subject, from the works of Arab writers. Even in 1859, Figari Bey admitted that the great equatorial lakes might send out "two streams, of which the one would flow westward, follow the northern valley, and rush down the great cataract of Gebel Regef" to run into the Mediterranean. "The second would turn in the opposite direction, form the river of Melindus, which is some seventy-five leagues north of the equator," and open into the Indian Ocean (FIGARI BEY, *Aperçu théorique de la Géographie géognostique de l'Afrique centrale*, in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, vol. i. p. 108, and the map to p. 114).

[3] A. KIRCHER, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, vol. i. p. 52; LETRONNE, *Sur la situation du Paradis terrestre*, in *Œuvres choisies*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 415–422. JOINVILLE has given a special chapter to the description of the sources and wonders of the Nile, in which he believed as firmly as in an article of his creed (*Histoire de Saint Louis*, ch. xl.). As late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, WENDELINUS devoted part of his *Admiranda Nili* (§ iii. pp. 27–37) to proving that the river did *not* rise in the earthly Paradise. At Gûrnah, forty years ago, RHIND picked up a legend which stated that the Nile flows down from the sky (*Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, pp. 301–304).

[4] ÉLISÉE RECLUS, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, vol. x. p. 67, et seq.

[5] As to the Egyptian conception of the sources of the Nile, and the outcome of their ideas on the subject, see MASPERO's remarks in *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. xciii., et seq.

and there it began upon a fixed day. The celestial Nile had its periodic rise and fall, on which those of the earthly Nile depended. Every year,



SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOURCES OF THE NILE, BY ODOARDO LOPEZ.[1]

towards the middle of June, Isis, mourning for Osiris, let fall into it one of the tears which she shed over her brother, and thereupon the river swelled and descended upon earth.[2] Isis has had no devotees for centuries,

[1] Facsimile of the map published by KIRCHER in *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, vol. i. (*Iconismus II.*), p. 53.

[2] The legend of the tears of Isis is certainly a very ancient one. During the embalmment, and then throughout all the funeral rites of Osiris, Isis and Nephthys had been the wailing women, and their tears had helped to bring back the god to life. Now, Osiris was a Nile god. "The night of the great flood of tears issuing from the Great Goddess" is an expression found in Pyramid texts (*Unas*, line 395), and is in all probability a reference to the *Night of the Drop* (LEPAGE-RENOUF, *Nile Mythology*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiii. p. 9). Our earliest authentic form of the tradition comes to us through PAUSANIAS (x. 32, § 10): Ἐοικότα δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἥκουσα Φοίνικος ἄγειν τῇ Ἴσιδι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν ἑορτήν, ὅτε αὐτὴν τὸν Ὄσιριν πένθειν λέγουσι. Τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος ἀναβαίνειν σφίσιν ἄρχεται, καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοῖς ἐστιν εἰρημένα, ὡς τὰ αὔξοντα τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄρδειν τὰς ἀρούρας ποιοῦντα δάκρυά ἐστι τῆς Ἴσιδος. The date of the phenomenon is fixed for us by the modern tradition which places the *Night of the Drop* in June (BRUGSCH, *Matériaux pour servir à la construction du calendrier des anciens Égyptiens*, p. 11, et seq.).

and her very name is unknown to the descendants of her worshippers; but the tradition of her fertilizing tears has survived her memory. Even to this day, every one in Egypt, Mussulman or Christian, knows that a divine drop falls from heaven during the night between the 17th and 18th of June, and forthwith brings about the rise of the Nile.[1]

Swollen by the rains which fall in February over the region of the Great Lakes, the White Nile rushes northward, sweeping before it the stagnant sheets of water left by the inundation of the previous year. On the left, the Bahr el-Ghazâl brings it the overflow of the ill-defined basin stretching between Darfûr and the Congo; and the Sobat pours in on the right a tribute from the rivers which furrow the southern slopes of the Abyssinian mountains. The first swell passes Khartûm by the end of April, and raises the water-level there by about a foot, then it slowly makes its way through Nubia, and dies away in Egypt at the beginning of June. Its waters, infected by half-putrid organic matter from the equatorial swamps, are not completely freed from it even in the course of this long journey, but keep a greenish tint as far as the Delta. They are said to be poisonous, and to give severe pains in the bladder to any who may drink them. Happily, this *Green Nile* does not last long, but generally flows away in three or four days, and is only the forerunner of the real flood.[2] The melting of the snows and the excessive spring rains having suddenly swollen the torrents which rise in the central plateau of Abyssinia, the Blue Nile, into which they flow, rolls so impetuously towards the plain that, when its waters reach Khartûm in the middle of May, they refuse to mingle with those of the White Nile, and do not lose their peculiar colour before reaching the neighbourhood of Abû Hamed, three hundred miles below. From that time the height of the Nile increases rapidly day by day. The river, constantly reinforced by floods following one upon another from the Great Lakes and from Abyssinia, rises in furious bounds, and would become a devastating torrent were its rage not checked by the Nubian cataracts. Here six basins, one above another, in which the water collects, check its course, and permit it to flow thence only as a partially filtered and moderated stream.[3] It is signalled at Syene towards the 8th of June, at Cairo

[1] LANE, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 4th edit., vol. ii. p. 224. The date varies, and the *Fall of the Drop* may take place either during the night of the 17th to 18th, of the 18th to 19th, or of the 19th to 20th of June, according to the year.

[2] SYLVESTRE DE SACY has collected the principal Arabic and European texts bearing upon the *Green Nile*, in his *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, pp. 332–338, 344–346. I am bound to say that every June, for five years, I drank this green water from the Nile itself, without taking any other precaution than the usual one of filtering it through a porous jar. Neither I, nor the many people living with me, ever felt the slightest inconvenience from it.

[3] The moderating effect of the cataracts has been judicially defined by E. DE GOTTBERG in *Des Cataractes du Nil*, pp. 10, 11.

by the 17th to the 20th, and there its birth is officially celebrated during the "Night of the Drop."[1] Two days later it reaches the Delta, just in time to save the country from drought and sterility. Egypt, burnt up by the Khamsîn, a west wind blowing continuously for fifty days, seems nothing more than an extension of the desert. The trees are covered and choked by a layer of grey dust. About the villages, meagre and laboriously watered patches of vegetables struggle for life, while some show of green still lingers along the canals and in hollows whence all moisture has not yet evaporated. The plain lies panting in the sun—naked, dusty, and ashen—scored with intersecting cracks as far as eye can see. The Nile is only half its usual width, and holds not more than a twentieth of the volume of water which is borne down in October. It has at first hard work to recover its former bed, and attains it by such subtle gradations that the rise is scarcely noted. It is, however, continually gaining ground; here a sandbank is covered, there an empty channel is filled, islets are outlined where there was a continuous beach, a new stream detaches itself and gains the old shore. The first contact is disastrous to the banks; their steep sides, disintegrated and cracked by the heat, no longer offer any resistance to the current, and fall with a crash, in lengths of a hundred yards and more. As the successive floods grow stronger and are more heavily charged with mud, the whole mass of water becomes turbid and changes colour. In eight or ten days it has turned from greyish blue to dark red, occasionally of so intense a colour as to look like newly shed blood. The "Red Nile" is not unwholesome like the "Green Nile," and the suspended mud to which it owes its suspicious appearance deprives the water of none of its freshness and lightness. It reaches its full height towards the 15th of July; but the dykes which confine it, and the barriers constructed across the mouths of canals, still prevent it from overflowing. The Nile must be considered high enough to submerge the land adequately before it is set free.[2] The ancient Egyptians

[1] See the description of festivals and superstitious rites pertaining to *The Drop*, in LANE, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 4th edit., vol. ii. p. 224.

[2] There are few documents to show what the Egyptians considered the proper height of a good inundation. However, we are told in a Ptolemaic inscription that at the moment when "in its own season the Nile comes forth from its sources, if it reaches to the height of twenty-four cubits (42 ft. 6 in.) at Elephantinê, then there is no scarcity; the measure is not defective, and it comes to inundate the fields" (BRUGSCH, *Angabe einer Nilhöhe nach Ellen in einem Hieroglyphischen Texte*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1865, pp. 43, 44). Another text (BRUGSCH, *Die Biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, p. 153) fixes the height to be registered by the nilometer at Elephantinê at twenty-eight cubits, and at seven, by the nilometer of Diospolis, in the Delta. The height of twenty-four cubits, taken from the nilometer at Elephantinê, is confirmed by various passages from ancient and modern writers. The indications given in my text are drawn from the nilometer of Roda, as being that from which quotations are usually made. In computing the ancient levels of the rising Nile at Memphis, I have adopted the results of the calculations undertaken by A. DE ROZIÈRE, *De la constitution physique de l'Égypte*, in the *Description*, vol. xx. pp. 351–381. He shows from LE PÈRE

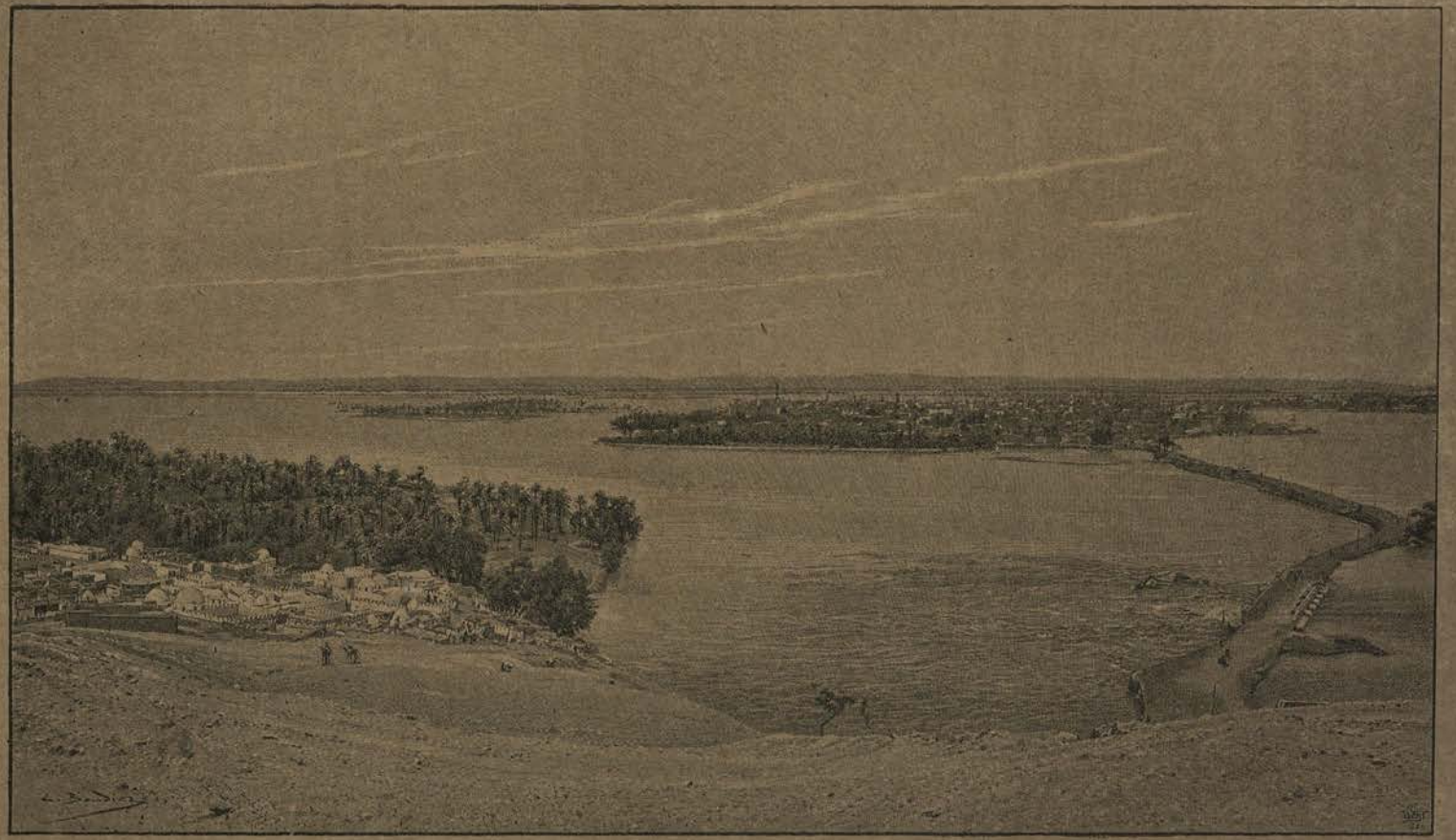
measured its height by cubits of twenty-one and a quarter inches. At fourteen cubits, they pronounced it an excellent Nile; below thirteen, or above fifteen, it was accounted insufficient or excessive, and in either case meant famine, and perhaps pestilence at hand. To this day the natives watch its advance with the same anxious eagerness; and from the 3rd of July, public criers, walking the streets of Cairo, announce each morning what progress it has made since evening.[1] More or less authentic traditions assert that the prelude to the opening of the canals, in the time of the Pharaohs, was the solemn casting to the waters of a young girl decked as for her bridal—the "Bride of the Nile."[2] Even after the Arab conquest, the irruption of the river into the bosom of the land was still considered as an actual marriage; the contract was drawn up by a cadi, and witnesses confirmed its consummation with the most fantastic formalities of Oriental ceremonial.[3] It is generally between the 1st and 16th of July that it is decided to break through the dykes. When that proceeding has been solemnly accomplished in state, the flood still takes several days to fill the canals, and afterwards spreads over the low lands, advancing little by little to the very edge of the desert. Egypt is then one sheet of turbid water spreading between two lines of rock and sand, flecked with green and black spots where there are towns or where the ground rises, and divided into irregular compartments by raised roads connecting the villages. In Nubia the river attains its greatest height towards the end of August; at Cairo and in the Delta not until three weeks or a month later. For about eight days it remains stationary, and then begins to fall imperceptibly. Sometimes there is a new freshet in October, and the river again increases in height. But the rise is unsustained; once more it falls as rapidly as it rose, and by December the river has completely retired to the limits of its bed. One after another, the streams which fed it fail or dwindle. The Tacazze is lost among the sands before rejoining it, and the Blue Nile, well-nigh deprived of

(*Mémoire sur la vallée du Nil et sur le nilomètre de l'île de Roudah*, in the *Description*, vol. xviii. p. 555, et seq.) that the increase in the number of cubits is only apparent, and that the actual rise is almost invariable, although the registers of the nilometers advance from age to age. A table of most of the known rises, both ancient and modern, is to be found in the recent work of CHÉLU, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, pp. 81–93.

[1] In his *Manners and Customs*, 4th edit., vol. ii. pp. 225–236, LANE described the criers of the Nile. Their proclamations have scarcely changed since his time, excepting that the introduction of steam-power has supplied them with new images for indicating the rapidity of the rise.

[2] G. LUMBROSO has collected the principal passages in ancient and modern writers relating to *The Bride of the Nile*, in *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*, pp. 6–10. This tradition furnished G. EBERS with material for a romance called *Die Nilbraut*, wherein he depicts Coptic life during the first years of Arab rule with much truth and vivacity.

[3] SYLVESTRE DE SACY, *Le Livre des Étoiles errantes, par le Scheikh Schemseddin Mohammed bin Abilsorûr al-Bakeri al-Sadiki*, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, vol. i. p. 275.



THE TOWN AND NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SIÛT IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, DURING THE INUNDATION.

From a photograph by Beato.

tributaries, is but scantily maintained by Abyssinian snows. The White Nile is indebted to the Great Lakes for the greater persistence of its waters, which feed the river as far as the Mediterranean, and save the valley from utter drought in winter. But, even with this resource, the level of the water falls daily, and its volume is diminished. Long-hidden sandbanks reappear, and are again linked into continuous line. Islands expand by the rise of shingly beaches, which gradually reconnect them with each other and with the shore. Smaller branches of the river cease to flow, and form a mere network of stagnant pools and muddy ponds, which fast dry up. The main channel itself is only intermittently navigable; after March boats run aground in it, and are forced to await the return of the inundation for their release. From the middle of April to the middle of June, Egypt is only half alive, awaiting the new Nile.[1]

Those ruddy and heavily charged waters, rising and retiring with almost mathematical regularity, bring and leave the spoils of the countries they have traversed: sand from Nubia, whitish clay from the regions of the Lakes, ferruginous mud, and the various rock-formations of Abyssinia.[2] These materials are not uniformly disseminated in the deposits; their precipitation being regulated both by their specific gravity and the velocity of the current. Flattened stones and rounded pebbles are left behind at the cataract between Syene and Keneh, while coarser particles of sand are suspended in the undercurrents and serve to raise the bed of the river, or are carried out to sea and form the sandbanks which are slowly rising at the Damietta and Rosetta mouths of the Nile. The mud and finer particles rise towards the surface, and are deposited upon the land after the opening of the dykes.[3] Soil which is entirely dependent on the deposit of a river, and periodically invaded by it, necessarily maintains but a scanty flora; and though it is well known that, as a general rule, a flora is rich in proportion to its distance from the poles and its approach to the equator, it is also admitted that Egypt offers an exception to this rule. At the most, she has not more than a thousand

[1] The main phases of the rise are chiefly described from the very full account of LE PÈRE, *Mémoire sur la vallée du Nil et le nilomètre de l'isle de Roudah*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xviii, pp. 555–645.

[2] All manner of marvels were related by the ancients as to the nature and fertilizing properties of the waters of the Nile. A scientific analysis of these waters was first made by REGNAUT, *Analyse de l'eau du Nil et de quelques eaux salées*, in the *Décade égyptienne*, vol. i. pp. 261–271. The result of the most recent examination is to be found, in great detail, in CHÉLU's work, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, pp. 177–179.

[3] On the nature and movements of the alluvial deposits, see P. S. GIRARD, *Observations sur la vallée d'Égypte et sur l'exhaussement séculaire du sol qui la recouvre*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xix. p. 140, sqq.; and E. DE ROZIÈRE, *De la constitution physique de l'Égypte et de ses rapports avec les anciennes institutions de cette contrée*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xx. p. 328, et seq.

species, while, with equal area, England, for instance, possesses more than fifteen hundred;[1] and of this thousand, the greater number are not indigenous. Many of them have been brought from Central Africa by the river; birds and winds have continued the work, and man himself has contributed his part in making it more complete.[2] From Asia he has at different times brought wheat, barley, the olive, the apple, the white or pink almond, and some twenty other species now acclimatized on the banks of the Nile. Marsh plants predominate in the Delta; but the papyrus, and the three varieties of blue, white, and pink lotus which once flourished there, being no longer cultivated, have now almost entirely disappeared, and reverted to their original habitats.[3] The sycamore and the date-palm, both importations from Central Africa, have better adapted themselves to their exile, and are now fully naturalized on Egyptian soil. The sycamore[4] grows in sand on the edge of the desert as vigorously as in the midst of a well-watered country. Its roots go deep in search of water, which infiltrates as far as the gorges of the hills, and they absorb it freely, even where drought seems to reign supreme. The heavy, squat, gnarled trunk occasionally attains to colossal dimensions, without ever growing very high. Its rounded masses of compact foliage are so wide-spreading that a single tree in the distance may give the impression of several grouped together; and its shade is dense, and impenetrable to the sun. A striking contrast to the sycamore is presented

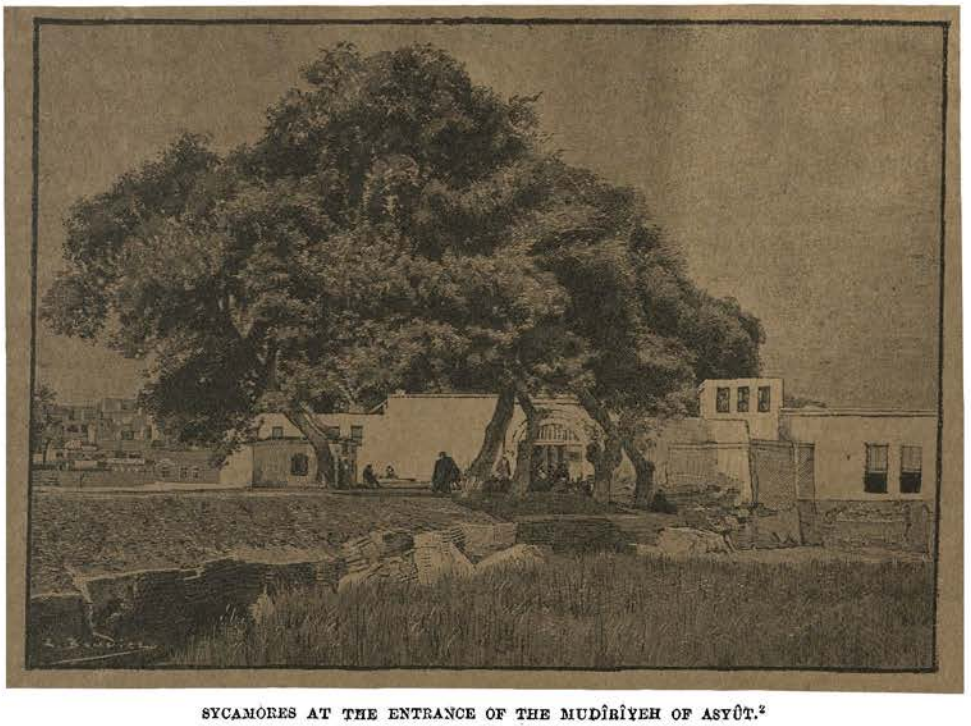
[1] GAY-LUSSAC, *Du sol égyptien*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 221. RAFFENEAU-DELILE (*Floræ Ægyptiacæ Illustratio*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xix. pp. 69–114) enumerates 1030 species. WILKINSON (*Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. p. 403) counts about 1300, of which 250 are only to be found in the desert, thus bringing down the number belonging to Egypt proper to the figures given by Delile and Gay-Lussac. ASCHERSON and SCHWEINFURTH (*Illustration de la Flore d'Égypte*, in the *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, vol. ii. pp. 25–260) have lately raised the list to 1260, and since then fresh researches have brought it up to 1313 (SCHWEINFURTH, *Sur la Flore des anciens jardins arabes*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. viii. p. 331). COQUEBERT had already been struck by the poverty of the Egyptian flora as compared with that of France (*Réflexions sur quelques points de comparaison à établir entre les plantes d'Égypte et celles de France*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xix. pp. 8, 9).

[2] A. RAFFENAU-DELILE, *Mémoire sur les plantes qui croissent spontanément en Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xix. p. 23, et seq. SCHWEINFURTH, *Végétaux cultivés en Égypte et qui se retrouvent à l'état spontané dans le Soudan et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1st series, vol. xii. p. 200, et seq.

[3] For the lotus in general, see RAFFENAU-DELILE, *Flore d'Égypte* (in the *Description*, vol. xix. pp. 415–435), and F. WŒNIG, *Die Pflanzen im Alten Ægypten*, pp. 17–74. The white lotus, *Nymphæa lotus*, was called *soshini* in Egyptian (LORET, *Sur les noms égyptiens du lotus*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 191, 192, and *La Flore pharaonique d'après les documents hiéroglyphiques et les spécimens découverts dans les tombes*, No. 129, pp. 53–55). The blue lotus, *Nymphæa cærulea*, the most frequent in tomb scenes (SCHWEINFURTH, *De la Flore pharaonique*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 60, et seq.), was called *sarpedû* (LORET, *Sur les noms égyptiens*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. p. 194). The rose lotus was called *nakhabû*, *nahbû* (*ibid.*, pp. 192, 193). PLEYTE (*Die Egyptische Lotus*, p. 9) thinks that this last kind was introduced into Egypt somewhat late, towards the time of Darius and Xerxes.

[4] F. WŒNIG, *Die Pflanzen im Alten Ægypten*, pp. 280–292, has made a fairly exhaustive collection of ancient and modern material referring to the Egyptian sycamore (*nûhit*, *nûhe*).

by the date-palm.[1] Its round and slender stem rises uninterruptedly to a height of thirteen to sixteen yards; its head is crowned with a cluster of flexible leaves arranged in two or three tiers, but so scanty, so pitilessly slit, that they fail to keep off the light, and cast but a slight and unrefreshing shadow. Few trees have so elegant an appearance, yet



SYCAMORES AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE MUDÎRÎYEH OF ASYÛT.[2]

few are so monotonously elegant. There are palm trees to be seen on every hand; isolated, clustered by twos and threes at the mouths of ravines and about the villages, planted in regular file along the banks of the river like rows of columns, symmetrically arranged in plantations, —these are the invariable background against which other trees are grouped, diversifying the landscape. The feathery tamarisk[3] and the

[1] A. RAFFENAU-DELILE, *Flore d'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xx. pp. 435–448. The Egyptians called the date-palm *baûnirit*, *baûnit* (LORET, *Étude sur quelques arbres égyptiens*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 21–26).

[2] From a drawing by Boudier, after a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1881.

[3] The Egyptian name for the tamarisk, *asari*, *asri*, is identical with that given to it in Semitic languages, both ancient and modern (LORET, *La Flore pharaonique*, No. 88, p. 88). This would suggest the question whether the tamarisk did not originally come from Asia. In that case it must have been brought to Egypt from remote antiquity, for it figures in the Pyramid texts. Bricks of Nile mud, and Memphite and Theban tombs, have yielded us leaves, twigs, and even whole branches of the tamarisk (SCHWEINFURTH, *Les dernières Découvertes botaniques dans les anciens tombeaux de l'Égypte*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series. vol. vi. p. 283).

THE FOREST OF DATE-PALMS AT BEDRESHEN.

View taken from the ruins of the temple of Rameses II., after a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

nabk,[1] the moringa,[2] the carob,[3] or locust tree, several varieties of acacia and mimosa—the sont,[4] the mimosa habbas,[5] the white acacia,[6] the Acacia Farnesiana [7]—and the pomegranate tree,[8] increase in number with the distance from the Mediterranean. The dry air of the valley is marvellously suited to them, but makes the tissue of their foliage hard and fibrous, imparting an aërial aspect, and such faded tints as are unknown to their growth in other climates.[9] The greater number of these trees do not reproduce themselves spontaneously, and tend to disappear when neglected. The Acacia Seyal,[10] formerly abundant by the banks of the river, is now almost entirely confined to certain valleys of the Theban desert, along with a variety of the kernelled dôm-palm,[11] of which a poetical description has come down to

[1] The nabéca, or nabk, *Zizyphus Spina Christi*, DESF., is the *nûbsû* of the ancient Egyptian lists (LORET, *La Flore pharaonique*, No. 112, pp. 44, 45; DUMICHEN, in MOLDENKE, *Ueber die in alt-Ægyptischen Texten erwähnten Bäume*, pp. 108, 109, note; MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 12, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1890–91, vol. xiii. pp. 496–501). The fruit and wood of the tree has been found in tombs, more especially in those of the twentieth dynasty (SCHWEINFURTH, *Les dernières Découvertes*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. v. p. 260.

[2] The *Moringa aptera*, from which Ben oil is obtained, the *myrobalanum* of the ancients, was called *bâkhû*, and its oil is mentioned in very early texts (LORET, *Recherches sur plusieurs plantes connues des anciens Égyptiens*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vii. pp. 103-106; and *La Flore pharaonique*, No. 95, pp. 39, 40). For its presence in Theban tombs, see SCHWEINFURTH, *Les dernières Découvertes*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 270.

[3] The carob tree, *Ceratonia siliqua*, was called *dûnraga*, *tenraka* (LORET, *La Flore pharaonique*, No. 96, p. 40; and *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 120–130). UNGER thought that he had found some remains of it in Egyptian tombs (*Die Pflanzen des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 132), but SCHWEINFURTH (*Sur la Flore des anciens jardins arabes d'Égypte*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. viii. pp. 306, 334, 335) does not admit his testimony.

[4] The *sont* tree, in ancient Egyptian, *shondû*, *shonti*, has long been identified with the *Acacia Nilotica*, DEL. Its history may be found in SCHWEINFURTH'S memoir, *Aufzählung und Beschreibung der Acacia-Arten des Nil-Gebiets*, in *Linnæa*, xxxv. (new series, i.) pp. 333, 334.

[5] *Mimosa habbas*, A. RAFFENAU-DELILE, *Floræ Ægyptiacæ Illustratio*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xix. p. 111.

[6] The *Acacia albida* is still not uncommon on the ancient site of Thebes, near Medînet Habû (WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. p. 405, note 2).

[7] This is the acacia bearing bunches of feathery and fragrant yellow flowers, and known in the South of France as the cassia tree. It is common throughout the Nile valley. Loret thinks that its hairy seeds were called *pirshonû* and *sennârû* (*Le Kyphi, parfum sacré des anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 52–54; and *La Flore pharaonique*, No. 94, p. 39). But did the tree exist in Egypt in Pharaonic times?

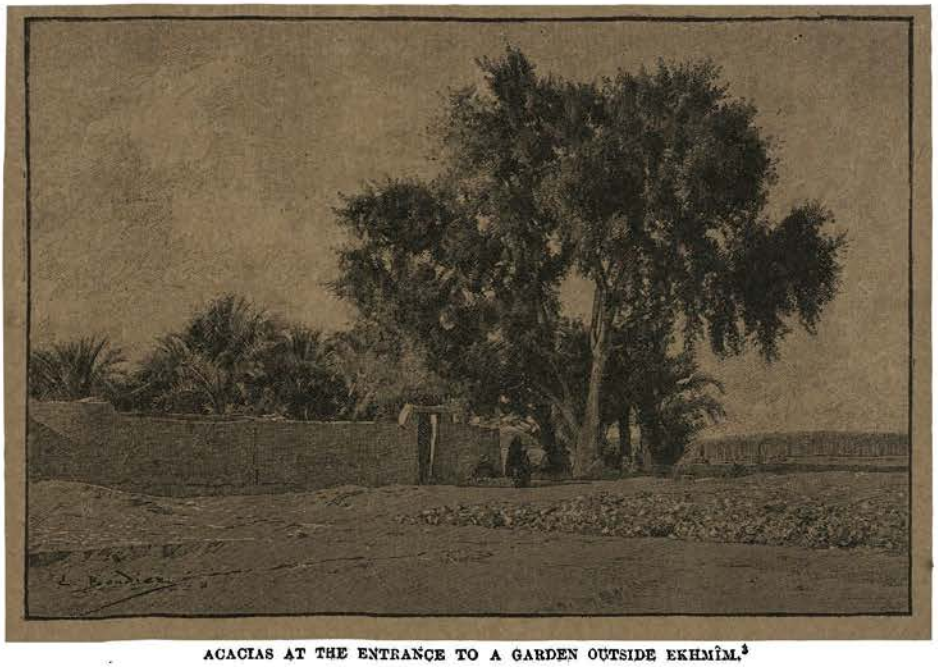
[8] The pomegranate tree does not appear on Egyptian monuments before the time of the eighteenth dynasty; perhaps it was first introduced into Egypt about that time. It is occasionally represented (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. clxxiv.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 48), and the flowers have been found in several Theban tombs (SCHWEINFURTH, *Les dernières Découvertes botaniques*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 268). Both LORET (*Recherches sur plusieurs plantes connues des anciens Égyptiens*, in the *Recueil*, vol. vii. pp. 108–111) and MOLDENKE (*Anrhemen, Pomegranate Tree*, in *Études archéologiques dédiées à M. Leemans*, pp. 17, 18, and *Ueber die in den altägyptischen Texten erwähnten Bäume*, pp. 114, 115) have recovered its ancient Egyptian name of *anhrama*, *anhramon*.

[9] A. RAFFENAU-DELILE, *Mémoire sur les plantes qui croissent spontanément en Égypte*, in the *Description*, vol. xix. pp. 35, 36.

[10] The Acacia Seyal is probably the *âshû* of ancient texts (LORET, *Les arbres ash, sib, et shent*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ii. p. 60, et seq., and *La Flore pharaonique*, No. 93, p. 39; MOLDENKE, *Ueber die in altägyptischen Texten erwähnten Bäume*, pp. 87–92).

[11] This is the *Hyphæne Argûn*, MART., or the *Medemia Argun*, HOOKER, called by the ancients *Mama ni kkanini*, or kernelled dôm-palm (LORET, *Étude sur quelques arbres égyptiens*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ii. pp. 21–26, and *La Flore pharaonique*, No. 29, p. 16; MOLDENKE, *Ueber die in altägyptischen Texten erwähnten Bäume*, pp. 71–73). Its fruit is occasionally found in Theban tombs (UNGER, *Die*

us from the Ancient Egyptians.[1] The common dôm-palm[2] bifurcates at eight or ten yards from the ground; these branches are subdivided, and terminate in bunches of twenty to thirty palmate and fibrous leaves, six to



ACACIAS AT THE ENTRANCE TO A GARDEN OUTSIDE EKHMÎM.[3]

eight feet long. At the beginning of this century the tree was common in Upper Egypt, but it is now becoming scarce, and we are within measurable distance of the time when its presence will be an exception north of the first cataract. Willows[4] are decreasing in number, and the persea,[5] one of the sacred trees of Ancient Egypt, is now only to be found in gardens. None of the remaining tree species are common enough to grow in large clusters; and Egypt, reduced to her lofty groves of date-palms, presents the singular

Pflanzen des Alten Ægyptens, p. 107; SCHWEINFURTH, *Ueber Pflanzenreste aus altägyptischen Gräbern*, in the *Berichte des Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft*, 1884, p. 369)

[1] First Sallier Papyrus, pl. viii. lines 4, 5.

[2] *Mama* is the Egyptian name for the dôm-palm (*Hyphæne Thebaica* of MART.), and its fruit was called *qûqû* (LORET, *Étude sur quelques arbres égyptiens*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ii. pp. 21-26). The tree itself has been fully described by RAFFENAU-DELILE, *Description du palmier-doum de la Haute Égypte ou Cucifera Thebaïca*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xx. p. 11, et seq.

[3] From a drawing by Boudier, after a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1884.

[4] Known to-day as the *Salix safsaf*, FORSK. In Ancient Egyptian, it was called *tarit, tore* (LORET, *La Flore pharaonique*, No. 42, p. 20). Its leaves were used for making the funerary garlands so common in Theban tombs of the eighteenth to twentieth dynasties (SCHWEINFURTH, *Ueber Pflanzenreste aus altägyptischen Gräbern*, in the *Berichte der D. Bot. Ges.*, 1884, p. 369).

[5] RAFFENAU-DELILE, *Flore d'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xix. pp. 263–280, identified the persea, or Ancient Egyptian *shaûaba*, with the *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, DEL., the *lebakh* of mediæval Arab writings. SCHWEINFURTH has shown that it was the *Mimusops Schimeperi*, HOCHST. (*Ueber Pflanzenreste*, p. 364).

spectacle of a country where there is no lack of trees, but an almost entire absence of shade.[1]

If Egypt is a land of imported flora, it is also a land of imported fauna, and all its animal species have been brought from neighbouring countries. Some of these—as, for example, the horse[2] and the camel[3]—were only introduced at a comparatively recent period, two thousand to eighteen hundred years before our era; the camel still later. The animals—such as the long and short-horned oxen, together with varieties of goats and dogs—are, like the plants, generally of African origin,[5] and the ass of Egypt preserves an original purity of form and a vigour to which the European donkey has long been a stranger.[6] The pig and the wild boar,[7] the long-eared hare, the hedgehog, the ichneumon,[8] the moufflon, or maned sheep, innumerable

A SHE-ASS AND HER FOAL.[4]

[1] E. DE ROZIÈRE, *De la constitution physique de l'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xx. pp. 280, 281.

[2] To the best of my knowledge, PRISSE D'AVENNES was the first to publish facts relating to the history of the horse in Egypt, *Des Chevaux chez les anciens Égyptiens*, in PERRON'S *Abou-Bekr ibn-Bedr le Naçèri, la Perfection des deux arts, ou Traité d'hippiatrique*, 1852, vol. i. p. 128, et seq. They were republished by FR. LENORMANT, *Notes sur un voyage en Égypte*, 1870, pp. 2-4, and unsuccessfully contested by CHABAS, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., p. 421, et seq. M. LEFÉBURE (*Sur l'Ancienneté du cheval en Egypte*, in *L'Annuaire de la Faculté des lettres de Lyon*, 2nd year, pp. 1-11, and again *Le Nom du cheval*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1889-90, vol. xii. pp. 449-456) has since endeavoured to show, but without success, that the horse was known in Egypt under the twelfth dynasty, and even earlier. The most complete information with regard to the history of the horse in Egypt is to be found in the work of C.-A. PIÉTREMENT, *Les Chevaux dans les temps préhistoriques et historiques*, 1883, p. 459, et seq.

[3] The camel is never found on Egyptian monuments before the Saïte period, and was certainly unknown in Egypt throughout preceding ages. The texts in which M. CHABAS thought that he had found its name are incorrectly translated, or else they refer to other animals, perhaps to mules (CHABAS, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., p. 397, et seq.; compare also W. HOUGHTON, *Was the Camel known to the Ancient Egyptians?* in the *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1889-90, vol. xii. pp. 81-84).

[4] Scene from the tomb of Ti, drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after a photograph by DÜMICHEN, *Resultate der Photographisch-Archæologischen Expedition*, vol. ii. pl. x.

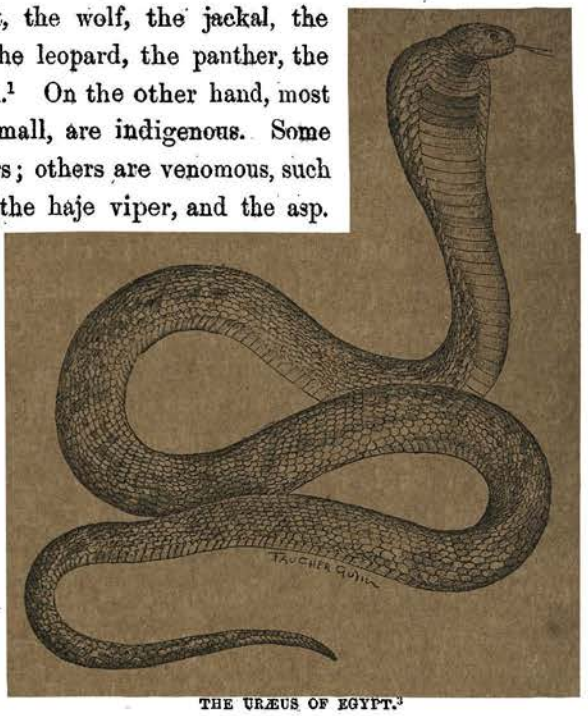
[5] FR. LENORMANT, *Sur les animaux employés par les anciens Égyptiens à la chasse et à la guerre*, 1870, first and second notes, as republished in the first volume of his *Premières civilisations*.

[6] FR. LENORMANT, *Sur l'antiquité de l'âne et du cheval*, in the *Notes sur un voyage en Égypte*, pp. 2-4. The African origin of the donkey was first brought to light by H. MILNE-EDWARDS, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des sciences*, 1869, vol. lxix. p. 1259.

[7] The pig is rarely represented on Egyptian monuments. FR. LENORMANT (*Sur l'introduction et la domesticité du porc chez les anciens Égyptiens*, p. 2) thought it unknown under the first dynasties. Nevertheless there are instances of its occurrence under the fourth dynasty (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 5; and PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 39, and pl. xxi.).

[8] The ichneumon was called *khatûrû*, *khatûl*, *shatûl*, in Egyptian (LEFÉBURE, *Le Nom Égyptien*

gazelles, including the Egyptian gazelles, and antelopes with lyre-shaped horns, are as much West Asian as African, like the carnivoræ of all sizes, whose prey they are—the wild cat, the wolf, the jackal, the striped and spotted hyenas, the leopard, the panther, the hunting leopard, and the lion.[1] On the other hand, most of the serpents, large and small, are indigenous. Some are harmless, like the colubers; others are venomous, such as the scytale, the cerastes, the haje viper, and the asp. The asp was worshipped by the Egyptians under the name of uræus.[2] It occasionally attains to a length of six and a half feet, and when approached will erect its head and inflate its throat in readiness for darting forward. The bite is fatal, like that of the cerastes; birds are literally struck down by the strength of the poison, while the great mammals, and man himself, almost invariably succumb to it after a longer or shorter death-struggle.[4] The uræus is rarely found except in the desert or in the fields; the scorpion crawls everywhere, in desert and city alike, and if its sting is not always followed by death, it invariably causes terrible pain. Probably there were once several kinds of gigantic serpent in Egypt, analogous to the pythons of equatorial Africa. They are still to be seen in representations of funerary scenes, but not elsewhere;[5]



THE URÆUS OF EGYPT.[3]

de l'ichneumon, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1884-85, vol. vii. pp. 193-194).

[1] Only two complete memoirs in which the ancient and modern Egyptian fauna are compared together are known to me. One is by ROSELLINI (*Monumenti civili*, vol. i. pp. 202–220), and the other is by R. HARTMANN (*Versuch einer systematischen Aufzählung der von der alten Ægyptern bildlich dargestellten Thiere, mit Rücksicht auf die heutige Fauna des Nilgebietes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1864, pp. 7–12, 19–28). There is also a too brief note by MARIETTE, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 1st series, vol. xiv. pp. 57–66).

[2] *Aûrâit, ûrâit*, transcribed in Greek as Οὐραῖος (HORAPOLLO, *Hieroglyphica*, book i. § 1, Leemans' edition, p. 2).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from pl. iii. of the REPTILES-SUPPLÉMENT to the *Description de l'Égypte*.

[4] The venomous serpents of Egypt have been described by ISIDORE GEOFFROY SAINT-HILAIRE in the *Description*, vol. xxiv. pp. 77-96. The effects of their poisons have been studied by DR. PANCIERI, *Esperienze intorno agli effetti del veleno della Naja Egiziana e delle Ceraste*, Naples, 1873, and *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 1st series, vol. xii. pp. 187–193; vol. xiii. pp. 89-92.

[5] As, for example, in the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch*, vol. i. pl. liv., and p. 188 of the Introduction), and in composite mythological scenes from royal Theban tombs (LEFÉBURE, *Tombeau de Séti Ier*, in the *Memoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. ii., 2nd part, pls. x., xl., xli., xliii., etc.).

for, like the elephant, the giraffe,[1] and other animals which now only thrive far south, they had disappeared at the beginning of historic times. The hippopotamus long maintained its ground before returning to those equatorial regions whence it had been brought by the Nile. Common under the first dynasties, but afterwards withdrawing to the marshes of the Delta, it there continued to flourish up to the thirteenth century of our era.[2] The crocodile, which came with it, has, like it also, been compelled to beat a retreat. Lord of the river throughout all ancient times, worshipped and protected in some provinces, execrated and proscribed in others, it might still be seen in the neighbourhood of Cairo towards the beginning of our century.[3] In 1840, it no longer passed beyond the neighbourhood of Gebel et-Têr,[4] nor beyond that of Manfalût in 1849.[5] Thirty years later, Mariette asserted that it was steadily retreating before the guns of tourists, and the disturbance which the regular passing of steamboats produced in the deep waters.[6] To-day, no one knows of a single crocodile existing below Aswân, but it continues to infest Nubia, and the rocks of the first cataract:[7] one of them is occasionally carried down by the current into Egypt, where it is speedily despatched by the fellâhîn, or by some traveller in quest of adventure. The fertility of the soil,[8]

The exactitude with which the characteristic details of certain kinds are drawn, shows that the Egyptians had themselves seen the originals of the monstrous serpents which they depicted (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie égyptienne*, vol. i. p. 32, No. 3; cf. the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xv. p. 296).

[1] In texts of the fifth and sixth dynasties, the sign of the elephant is used in writing *Abû*, the name of the town and island of Elephantinê (*Inscription d'Uni*, l. 38, in MARIETTE'S *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 48; cf. SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana inedita della VI^a Dinastia*, p. 23, l. 5); from that time onward, it is so clumsily drawn as to justify the idea that the people of Aswân henceforth saw the beast itself but rarely. The sign of the giraffe appears as a syllabic, or as a determinative, in several words containing the sound *sarû*, *sorû*.

[2] SILVESTRE DE SACY, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, pp. 143–145, 165, 166. The French consul, Du Maillet, noticed one of these animals near Damietta, at the beginning of the eighteenth century (LE MASCRIER, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 31). BURCKHARDT (*Travels in Nubia*, p. 62) relates that in 1812 a troop of hippopotami passed the second cataract, and descended to Wâdy Halfeh and Dêrr. One of them was carried along by the current, came down the rapids at Aswân, and was seen at Dêraû, a day's march north of the first cataract.

[3] Shortly afterwards, ISIDORE GEOFFROY SAINT-HILAIRE stated that "they are now no longer to be found in all the hundred leagues of the Lower Nile, and can only be seen as high up the river as Thebes" (*Description des crocodiles d'Égypte* in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiv. p. 408). He was mistaken, as is proved by the evidence of several later travellers.

[4] MARMONT mentioned them as being still there, near to the Convent of the Pulley (*Voyages du duc de Raguse*, vol. iv. p. 44).

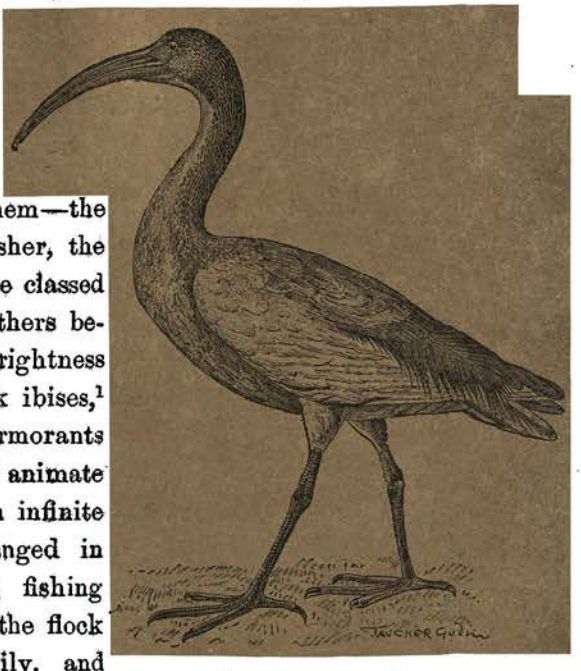
[5] BAYLE ST.-JOHN, *Village Life in Egypt, with Sketches of the Saïd*, vol. i. p. 268. In *Le Nil*, by MAXIME DUCAMP, p. 108, there is an Arab legend (about 1849) professing to explain why crocodiles cannot pass below Shêkh Abadêh. The legend cited by Bayle St.-John was intended to show why they remained between Manfalût and Asyût.

[6] MARIETTE, *Itinéraire des invités aux fêtes de l'inauguration du canal de Suez*, 1869, p. 175.

[7] In 1883, I saw several stretched out on a sandbank, a few hundred yards from the southern point of the island of Elephantinê. The same year, two had been taken alive by the Arabs of the cataract, who offered them for sale to travellers.

[8] The birds of modern Egypt have been described by J.-C. SAVIGNY, *Système des oiseaux de l'Égypte et de la Syrie*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiii. p. 221, et seq. In pls. vii.–xiv. of his *Monumenti civili*, ROSELLINI has collected a fair number of drawings of birds, copied from the tombs

and the vastness of the lakes and marshes, attract many migratory birds; passerinæ and palmipedes flock thither from all parts of the Mediterranean. Our European swallows, our quails, our geese and wild ducks, our herons—to mention only the most familiar—come here to winter, sheltered from cold and inclement weather. Even the non-migratory birds are really, for the most part, strangers acclimatized by long sojourn. Some of them—the turtledove, the magpie, the kingfisher, the partridge, and the sparrow—may be classed with our European species, while others betray their equatorial origin in the brightness of their colours. White and black ibises,[1] red flamingoes, pelicans, and cormorants enliven the waters of the river, and animate the reedy swamps of the Delta in infinite variety. They are to be seen ranged in long files upon the sand-banks, fishing and basking in the sun; suddenly the flock is seized with panic, rises heavily, and settles away further off. In hollows of the hills, eagle and falcon, the merlin, the bald-headed vulture, the kestrel, the golden sparrow-hawk, find inaccessible retreats, whence they descend upon the plains like so many pillaging and well-armed barons. A thousand little chattering birds come at eventide to perch in flocks upon the frail boughs of tamarisk and acacia. Many sea-fish make their way upstream to swim in fresh waters—shad, mullet, perch, and the labrus—and carry their excursions far into the Saïd.[3] Those species which are not Mediterranean came originally, and still come annually, from the heart of Ethiopia with the rise of the Nile, including two kinds of Alestes, the soft-shelled turtle, the Bagrus



THE IBIS OF EGYPT.[2]

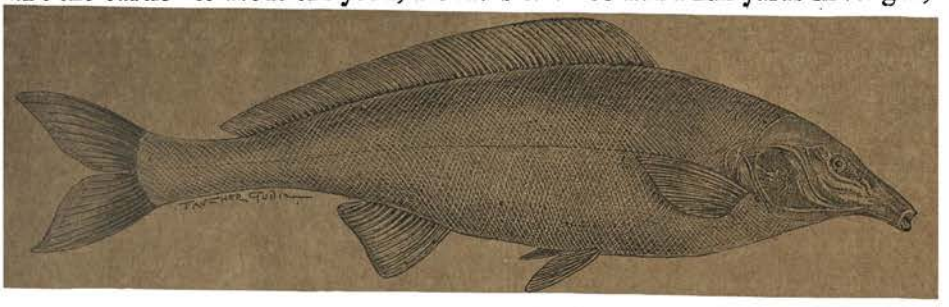
of Thebes and Beni Hasan (cf. the text in vol. i. of the *Monumenti civili*, pp. 146–190). LORET has offered some most ingenious identifications of names inscribed upon the ancient monuments with various modern species (*Notes sur la Faune pharaonique*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. pp. 24–30).

[1] Facts relating to the ibis have been collected by CUVIER, *Mémoire sur l'ibis des anciens Égyptiens*, in the *Annales du Muséum d'histoire naturelle*, 1804, vol. iv. p. 116, et seq.; and by J. C. SAVIGNY, *Histoire naturelle et mythologique de l'ibis*. An extract from the latter is reprinted in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiii. p. 435, et seq. One ancient species of ibis is believed to have disappeared from Egypt, and is now only to be met with towards the regions of the Upper Nile. But it may still be represented by a few families in the great reedy growths encumbering the western part of Lake Menzaleh.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from OISEAUX, pl. vii. 1, in the *Commission d'Égypte*.

[3] HERODOTUS, ii. 93. His mistakes on this head are corrected by ISIDORE GEOFFROY SAINT-HILAIRE in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiv. p. 255.

doemac, and the mormyrus.[1] Some attain to a gigantic size, the Bagrus bayad and the turtle[2] to about one yard, the latus to three and a half yards in length,[3]



THE MORMYRUS OXYRHYNCHUS.

while others, such as the silurus[4] (cat-fish), are noted for their electric properties. Nature seems to have made the fahâka (the globe-fish) in a fit of playfulness. It is a long fish from beyond the cataracts, and it is carried by the Nile the more easily on account of the faculty it has of filling itself with air, and inflating its body at will. When swelled out immoderately, the fahâka overbalances, and drifts along upside down, its belly to the wind, covered with spikes so that it looks like a hedgehog. During the inundation, it floats with the current from one canal to another, and is cast by the retreating waters upon the muddy fields, where it becomes the prey of birds or of jackals, or serves as a plaything for children.[5]

THE FAHÂKA.

Everything is dependent upon the river:—the soil, the produce of the soil, the species of animals it bears, the birds which it feeds: and hence it was the Egyptians placed the river among their gods.[6] They personified it as a man with

[1] ISIDORE GEOFFROY SAINT-HILAIRE, *Histoire naturelle des poissons du Nil*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiv. pp. 181, 335, et seq.

[2] *Trionyx Ægyptiacus*; cf. LORET, *Notes sur la Faune pharaonique*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. p. 25.

[3] ISIDORE GEOFFROY SAINT-HILAIRE, *Histoire naturelle de poissons du Nil*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiv. pp. 279, 326, 327. In Egyptian, the Latus niloticus was called *âhû*, the warrior (PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. xii., and p. 38). The illustration on p. 37 represents a particularly fine specimen.

[4] The *nârû* of the Ancient Egyptians (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 75, note 4), described by ISIDORE GEOFFROY SAINT-HILAIRE (*Histoire naturelle des poissons du Nil*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiv. pp. 299–307).

[5] GEOFFROY SAINT-HILAIRE, *Histoire naturelle des poissons du Nil*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiv. pp. 176–217. The most complete list of the fishes of the Nile known to me is that of A. B. CLOT-BEY, *Aperçu générale sur l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 231–234; but the Arab names as given in that list are very incorrect.

[6] In his *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*, vol. ii. pp. 139–176, 214–230, 231–258, JABLONSKI has collected all

regular features, and a vigorous and portly body, such as befits the rich of high lineage. His breasts, fully developed like those of a woman, though less firm, hang heavily upon a wide bosom where the fat lies in folds. A narrow girdle, whose ends fall free about the thighs, supports his spacious abdomen, and his attire is completed by sandals, and a close-fitting head-dress, generally surmounted with a crown of water-plants. Sometimes water springs from his breast; sometimes he presents a frog, or libation vases;[1] or holds a bundle of the *cruces ansatæ*,[2] as symbols of life; or bears a flat tray, full of offerings—bunches of flowers, ears of corn, heaps of fish, and geese tied together by the feet. The inscriptions call him, "Hâpi, father of the gods, lord of sustenance, who maketh food to be, and covereth the two lands of Egypt with his products; who giveth life, banisheth want, and filleth the granaries to overflowing."[4] He is evolved into two personages, one being sometimes coloured red, and the other blue. The former, who wears a cluster of lotus-flowers upon his head, presides over the Egypt of the south; the latter has a bunch of papyrus for his head-dress, and watches over the Delta.[5] Two goddesses corresponding to the two Hâpis—Mirit Qimâit for Upper, and Mirit Mîhit for Lower Egypt—personified the banks of the river.

TWO FISHERMEN CARRYING A LATUS WHICH THEY HAVE JUST CAUGHT.[3]

the data to be obtained from classic writers concerning the Nile-god. The principal hieroglyphic texts referring to this deity are to be found in ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum*, pp. 25–26, pl. xiii.; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. xliv. pp. 206–210; BRUGSCH, *Geogr. Inschriften*, vol. i. pp. 77–79, and *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, pp. 638–641; LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pp. 514–525, pls. cxcviii., cxcix.

[1] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. cxxxiii. 1; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pls. xxv., xxvii.

[2] WILKINSON, *Materia*, ser. II, pl. xlii., No. 3; and *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. xliv., No. 3.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Medûm painting. PETRIE, *Medûm*, pl. xii.

[4] ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery of Antiquities*, pl. xii.; LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Ægyptischen Alterthums*, pl. xv. *c*.

[5] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. ccc.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xxxix.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 7. WILKINSON (*Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p. 209) was the first who suggested that this god, when painted red, was the Red (that is, the High) Nile, and, when painted blue, was to be identified with the Low Nile. This opinion has since been generally adopted (ROSELLINI, *Mon. Stor.*, part i. p. 229, note 2; ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery*, p. 25); but to me it does not appear so incontrovertible as it has been considered. Here, as in other cases, the difference in colour is only a means of making the distinction between two personages obvious to sight.

They are often represented as standing with outstretched arms, as though begging for the water which should make them fertile.[1] The Nile-god had his chapel in every province, and priests whose right it was to bury all bodies of men or beasts cast up by the river; for the god had claimed them, and to his servants they belonged.[2] Several towns were dedicated to him: Hâthâpi, Nûit-Hâpi, Nilopolis.[3] It was told in the Thebaïd how the god dwelt within a grotto, or shrine (*tophit*), in the island of Biggeh, whence he issued at the inundation. This tradition dates from a time when the cataract was believed to be at the end of the world, and to bring down the heavenly river upon earth.[4] Two yawning gulfs (*gorîti*), at the foot of the two granite cliffs (*monîti*) between which it ran, gave access to this mysterious retreat.[6] A bas-relief from Philæ represents blocks of stone piled one above another, the vulture of the south and the hawk of the north, each perched on a summit, and the circular chamber wherein Hâpi crouches concealed, clasping a libation vase in either hand. A single coil of a serpent outlines the contour of this chamber, and leaves a narrow passage between its over-

THE GODDESS MIHIT, BEARING A BUNCH OF PAPYRUS ON HER HEAD.

THE NILE-GOD.[5]

[1] These goddesses are represented in WILKINSON, *Materia Hieroglyphica*, ser. 12, pl. xlvii., part i., and *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pp. 230–232, pl. liii. 2; and in LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pp. 317, 318, pls. xv., cxxx. The functions ascribed to them in the text were recognized by MASPERO, *Fragment d'un commentaire sur le Livre II. d'Hérodote*, ii. 28, p. 5 (cf. *Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux*, vol. ii., 1880).

[2] HERODOTUS, ii. 90; cf. WIEDEMANN'S *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 364, 365.

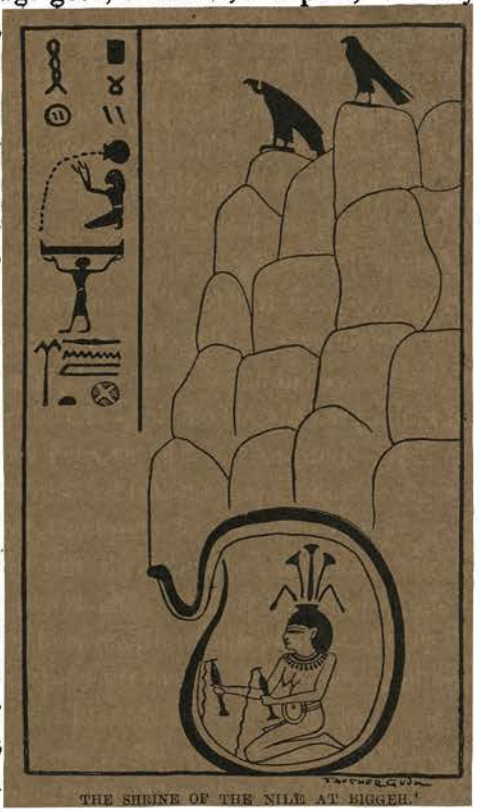
[3] BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 483–488, 1338. Nilopolis is mentioned by STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM (*s.v.* Νεῖλος), quoting from HECATÆUS OF MILETUS (fragment 277 in MÜLLER-DIDOT'S *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. i. p. 19).

[4] See above, p. 19, for an account of this tradition.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after a statue in the British Museum. The dedication of this statue took place about 880 B.C. The giver was Sheshonqû, high-priest of Amon in Thebes, afterwards King of Egypt under the name of Sheshonqû II., and he is represented as standing behind the leg of the god, wearing a panther skin, with both arms upheld in adoration. The statue is mutilated: the end of the nose, the beard, and part of the tray have disappeared, but are restored in the illustration. The two little birds hanging alongside the geese, together with a bunch of ears of corn, are fat quails.

[6] The most important passage in this connection is to be found in MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 99, 100; reproduced by BRUGSCH in the *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 860, 861.

lapping head and tail through which the rising waters may overflow at the time appointed, bringing to Egypt "all things good, and sweet, and pure," whereby gods and men are fed. Towards the summer solstice, at the very moment when the sacred water from the gulfs of Syene reached Silsileh, the priests of the place, sometimes the reigning sovereign, or one of his sons, sacrificed a bull and geese, and then cast into the waters a sealed roll of papyrus. This was a written order to do all that might insure to Egypt the benefits of a normal inundation.[1] When Pharaoh himself deigned to officiate, the memory of the event was preserved by a stela engraved upon the rocks.[2] Even in his absence, the festivals of the Nile were among the most solemn and joyous of the land.[3] According to a tradition transmitted from age to age, the prosperity or adversity of the year was dependent upon the splendour and fervour with which they were celebrated. Had the faithful shown the slightest lukewarmness, the Nile might have refused



THE SHRINE OF THE NILE AT BIGGEH.[4]

[1] Questions relating to the flowing of the first waters of the rising Nile past Silsileh have been treated of by BRUGSCH, *Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du calendrier des anciens Égyptiens*, p. 37, et seq., and especially by E. DE ROUGÉ, *Sur le nouveau système proposé par M. Brugsch pour l'interprétation du calendrier égyptien*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1866, pp. 3-7. It was probably some tradition of this custom which gave birth to the legend telling how the Khalif Omar commanded the river in writing that it should bring about a propitious inundation for the land of Egypt (MOURTADI, *Les Merveilles de l'Égypte*, translation by PIERRE VATTIER, pp. 165–167).

[2] Of these official stelæ, the three hitherto known belong to the three Pharaohs: Ramses II. (CHAMPOLLION, *Notices*, vol. i. p. 641, et seq.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 175 *a*), Minephtah (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. cxiv.; ROSELLINI, *Monum. Storici.*, pp. 302–304, and pl. cxx. 1; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 200 *d*; BRUGSCH, *Recueil de monuments*, vol. ii. pl. lxxiv. 5, 6, and pp. 83, 84), and Ramses III. (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. civ.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.* iii. 217 *d*). They have been translated by L. STERN, *Die Nilstele von Gebel Silsileh*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 125–135.

[3] The Nile festivals of the Græco-Roman period have been described by HELIODORUS, the romance writer, *Æthiopica*, book ix. § 9. His description is probably based upon the lost works of some Ptolemaic author.

[4] The *shrine of the Nile* is reproduced from a bas-relief in the small temple of Philæ, built by Trajan and his successors (WILKINSON, *Materia Hieroglyphica*, ser. 11, pl. xlii. fig. 4; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. xciii. 1; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xxvii. 3; DÜMICHEN, *Geogr. Ins.*, vol. ii. pl. lxxix.). The window or door of this temple opened upon Biggeh, and by comparing the drawing of the Egyptian artist with the view from the end of the chamber, it is easy to recognize the original of his cliff silhouette in the piled-up rocks of the island. By a mistake of the modern copyist's, his drawing faces the wrong way.

to obey the command and failed to spread freely over the surface of the country. Peasants from a distance, each bringing his own provisions, ate their meals together for days, and lived in a state of brutal intoxication as long as this kind of fair lasted. On the great day itself, the priests came forth in procession from the sanctuary, bearing the statue of the god along the banks, to the sound of instruments and the chanting of hymns.[1]

"I.—Hail to thee, Hâpi!—who appearest in the land and comest—to give life to Egypt;—thou who dost hide thy coming in darkness—in this very day whereon thy coming is sung,[2]—wave, which spreadest over the orchards created by Ra—to give life to all them that are athirst—who refusest to give drink unto the desert—of the overflow of the waters of heaven;[3] as soon as thou descendest,—Sibû, the earth-god, is enamoured of bread,—Napri, the god of grain, presents his offering,—Phtah maketh every workshop to prosper.[4]

"II.—Lord of the fish! as soon as he passeth the cataract—the birds no longer descend upon the fields;—creator of corn, maker of barley,—he prolongeth the existence of temples.—Do his fingers cease from their labours, or doth he suffer?—then are all the millions of beings in misery;—doth he wane in heaven? then the gods—themselves, and all men perish;

"III.—The cattle are driven mad, and all the world—both great and small, are in torment!—But if, on the contrary, the prayers of men are heard at his rising—and (for them) he maketh himself Khnûmû,[5]—when he ariseth, then the earth shouts for joy,—then are all bellies joyful,—each back is shaken with laughter,—and every tooth grindeth.

"IV.—Bringing food, rich in sustenance,—creator of all good things,—lord

[1] The text of this hymn has been preserved in two papyri in the British Museum; the second Sallier papyrus (*Select Papyri*, vol. i. pl. xxi. l. 6, pl. xxiii.) and the seventh Anastasi papyrus (*ibid.*, pl. cxxxiv. 1, 7, pl. cxxxix.). It has been translated in full by MASPERO (*Hymne au Nil*, 1868; cf. *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., pp. 11–13); by FR. COOK (*Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. iv. p. 105, et seq.); by AMÉLINEAU (*Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses*, vol. i. pp. 341–371); and by GUIEYSSE (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 1–26). Some few strophes have been turned into German by BRUGSCH (*Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 639–641).

[2] Literally, "Concealing the passage through darkness—on the day of the songs of passing." The text alludes to the passage of the celestial river giving issue to the Nile through the dim regions of the West. The origin of the god is never revealed, nor yet the day on which he will reach Egypt to inundate the soil, and when his wave is greeted with the song of hymns.

[3] Literally, "To let the desert drink of the overflow of heaven, is his abhorrence!" The orchards created by Ra are naturally favoured of the Nile-god; but hill and desert, which are Set's, are abhorrent to the water which comes down from heaven, and is neither more nor less than the flowing of Osiris. Cf. p. 21, note 3.

[4] Freed from mythological allusions, the end of this phrase signifies that at the coming of the waters the earth returns to life and brings forth bread; the corn sprouts, and all crafts flourish under the auspices of Phtah, the artificer and mason-god.

[5] Literally, "Answered are men when he sends forth (his waters), being in the form of Khnûmû." Khnûmû, lord of Elephantinê and of the cataract, is a Nile-god, and inasmuch as he is a supreme deity, he has formed the world of alluvial earth mingled with his waters. In order to comprise within one image all that the Nile can do when rising in answer to the prayers of men, the Egyptian poet states that the god takes upon himself the form of Khnûmû; that is to say, he becomes a creator for the faithful, and works to make for them all good things out of his alluvial earth.

of all seeds of life, pleasant unto his elect,—if his friendship is secured—he produceth fodder for the cattle,—and he provideth for the sacrifices of all the

NILE-GODS FROM THE TEMPLE OF SETI I. AT ABYDOS BRINGING FOOD TO EVERY NOME OF EGYPT.[1]

gods,—finer than any other is the incense which cometh from him;—he taketh possession of the two lands—and the granaries are filled, the storehouses are prosperous,—and the goods of the poor are multiplied.

"V.—He is at the service of all prayers to answer them,—withholding nothing. To make boats to be that is his strength.[2]—Stones are not sculptured for him—nor statues whereon the double crown is placed;—he is unseen;—no tribute is paid unto him and no offerings are brought unto him,—he is not charmed by words of mystery;—the place of his dwelling is unknown, nor can his shrine be found by virtue of magic writings;

"VI.—There is no house large enough for thee,—nor any who may penetrate within thy heart!—Nevertheless, the generations of thy children rejoice in thee —for thou dost rule as a king—whose decrees are established for the whole earth, —who is manifest in presence of the people of the South and of the North,— by whom the tears are washed from every eye,—and who is lavish of his bounties.

"VII.—Where sorrow was, there doth break forth joy—and every heart rejoiceth. Sovkû, the crocodile, the child of Nît, leaps for gladness;[3]—for the Nine gods who accompany thee have ordered all things,—the overflow

[1] From a drawing by Faucher-Gudin, after a photograph by Béato.

[2] Literally, "He makes prosperity (*sûrûd*) at the bâton (*er khît*) of all wishes, withholding nothing: to cause boats (*ammû*) to be, that is his strength." It was said of a man or a thing which depended on some high personage—as, for example, on the Pharaoh or high priest of Amen, that he or it was *at the bâton* (*er khît*) of the Pharaoh or high priest. Our author represents the Nile as putting itself *at the bâton of all wishes* to make Egypt prosperous. And since the traffic of the country is almost entirely carried on by water, he immediately adds that *the forte of the Nile*, that in which it best succeeds, lies in supplying such abundance of riches as to oblige the dwellers by the river to build boats enough for the freight to be transported.

[3] The goddess Nît, the heifer born from the midst of the primordial waters, had two crocodiles as her children, which are sometimes represented on the monuments as hanging from her bosom. Both the part played by these animals, and the reason for connecting them with the goddess, are still imperfectly understood.

giveth drink unto the fields—and maketh all men valiant;—one man taketh to drink of the labour of another,—without charge being brought against him.[1]

"IX.—If thou dost enter in the midst of songs to go forth in the midst of gladness,[2]—if they dance with joy when thou comest forth out of the unknown,—it is that thy heaviness[3] is death and corruption.—And when thou art implored to give the water of the year,—the people of the Thebaïd and of the North are seen side by side,—each man with the tools of his trade,—none tarrieth behind his neighbour;—of all those who clothed themselves, no man clotheth himself (with festive garments)—the children of Thot, the god of riches, no longer adorn themselves with jewels,[4]—nor the Nine gods, but they are in the night!—As soon as thou hast answered by the rising,—each one anointeth himself with perfumes.

"X.—Establisher of true riches, desire of men,—here are seductive words[5] in order that thou mayest reply;—if thou dost answer mankind by waves of the heavenly Ocean,—Napri, the grain-god, presents his offering,—all the gods adore (thee),—the birds no longer descend upon the hills;—though that which thy hand formeth were of gold—or in the shape of a brick of silver,—it is not lapis-lazuli that we eat,—but wheat is of more worth than precious stones.

"XI.—They have begun to sing unto thee upon the harp,—they sing unto thee keeping time with their hands,—and the generations of thy children rejoice in thee, and they have filled thee with salutations of praise;—for it is the god of Riches who adorneth the earth,—who maketh barks to prosper in the sight of man—who rejoiceth the heart of women with child—who loveth the increase of the flocks.

"XII.—When thou art risen in the city of the Prince,—then is the rich man filled—the small man (the poor) disdaineth the lotus,—all is solid and of good quality,—all herbage is for his children.—Doth he forget to give food?—prosperity forsaketh the dwellings,—and earth falleth into a wasting sickness."

[1] This is an allusion to the quarrels and lawsuits resulting from the distribution of the water in years when the Nile was poor or bad. If the inundation is abundant, disputes are at an end.

[2] Here again the text is corrupt. I have corrected it by taking as a model phrases in which it is said of some high personage that *he comes* before the king *amid words of praise, and goes forth in the midst of songs*—ÂQÛ KHIR MÛDITÛ PIRÛ KHIR HOSITÛ (c. 26 of the Louvre, in PIERRET, *Recueil des inscriptions inédites*, vol. ii. p. 25, l. 5). The court of Egypt, like that of Byzantium, had its formulæ of songs and graduated recitatives to mark the entrance and departure of great personages; and the Nile, which brings the inundation, and comes forth from unknown sources, is compared with one of these great personages, and hailed as such according to the rules of etiquette.

[3] The heaviness of the god here means the heaviness of his waters, the slowness and difficulty with which they rise and spread over the soil.

[4] See BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 441, on the identity of Shopsû, the god of riches, with Thot, the ibis or cynocephalus, lord of letters and of song.

[5] Literally, "*delusive* words." The gods were cajoled with promises which obviously could never be kept; and in this case the god allowed himself to be taken in all the same, and *answered* them by the inundation.

The word Nile is of uncertain origin.[1] We have it from the Greeks, and they took it from a people foreign to Egypt, either from the Phœnicians, the Khîti, the Libyans, or from people of Asia Minor. When the Egyptians themselves did not care to treat their river as the god Hâpi, they called it the sea, or the great river.[2] They had twenty terms or more by which to designate the different phases which it assumed according to the seasons,[3] but they would not have understood what was meant had one spoken to them of the Nile. The name Egypt also is part of the Hellenic tradition;[4] perhaps it was taken from the temple-name of Memphis, Hâikûphtah,[5] which barbarian coast tribes of the Mediterranean must long have had ringing in their ears as that of the most important and wealthiest town to be found upon the shores of their sea. The Egyptians called themselves Romitû, Rotû,[6] and their country Qîmit, the black land.[7] Whence came they? How far off in time are we to carry

[1] The least unlikely etymology is still that which derives Neilos from the Hebrew *nahr*, a river, or *nakhal*, a torrent (LEPSIUS, *Einleitung, zur Chronologie der Ægypter*, p. 275). It is also derived from *Ne-ialû*, the branches of the Nile in the Delta (GROFF, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3rd series, vol. iii, pp. 165–175).

[2] See above, p. 16, for what is said on this subject; cf. also p. 6, note 4.

[3] They may be found partially enumerated in the *Hood Papyrus* of the British Museum (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 1282, 1283; MASPERO, *Études égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 6).

[4] It is first met with in the Homeric poems, where it is applied to the river (*Odyssey*, ix. 355, xiv. 258) as well as to the country (*Odyssey*, iv. 351, xiv. 257).

[5] *Hâikûphtah*, *Hâkûphtah*, means *the mansion of the doubles of the god Phtah*. This is the etymology proposed by BRUGSCH (*Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. p. 83). Even in the last century a similar derivation had occurred to FORSTER, viz. *Ai-go-phtash*, which he translated *the earthly house of Phtah* (JABLONSKI, *Opuscula*, TE WATER edition, vol. i. pp. 426, 427). Confirmation of this conjecture might be found in the name Hephæstia, which was sometimes applied to the country. As a matter of fact, Hephæstos was the god with whom the Greeks identified Phtah. Another hypothesis, first proposed by REINISCH (*Ueber die Namen Ægyptens bei den Semiten und Griechen*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna, 1889), and adopted with slight modifications by EBERS (*Ægypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 132, et seq.), derives Ægyptos from *Aï-Kaphtor*, the island of Kaphtor. In that case, the Caphtor of the Bible would be the Delta, not Crete. GUTSCHMID (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. pp. 382, 383), followed by WIEDEMANN (*Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 47, note 1), considers it an archaic, but purely Greek form, taken from *γύψ*, a vulture, like *αἰγυπιός*. "The impetuous river, with its many arms, suggested to the Hellenes the idea of a bird of prey of powerful bearing. The name *eagle*, *ἀετός*, which is occasionally, though rarely, applied to the river, is incontestably in favour of this etymology."

[6] *Romitû* is the more ancient form, and is currently used in the Pyramid texts. By elision of the final *t*, it has become the Coptic *rômi*, *rômé*, the Pi-rômi-s of HECATÆUS OF MILETUS and of HERODOTUS (ii. 143). *Rômi* is one of the words which have inspired PROF. LIEBLEIN with the idea of seeking traces of the Ancient Egyptian in the Gypsy tongue (*Om Zigenerne*, in his *Ægyptologiske Studier*, pp. 26, 27; cf. *Vidensk. Selsk. Forhandlinger*, Christiania, 1870). *Rôtû*, *lotû*, is the same word as *romitû*, without the intermediate nasal. Its ethnic significance was recognized by CHAMPOLLION (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 259). E. DE ROUGÉ connected it with the name Ludim, which is given in Genesis (x. 13) to the eldest son of Mizraïm (*Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, p. 6). ROCHEMONTEIX (*Sur les noms des fils de Mizraïm*, in the *Journal asiatique*, 1888, 8th series, vol. xii. pp. 199–201; cf. *Œuvres diverses*, pp. 86–89) takes it for the name of the fellahîn, and the poorer classes, in distinction to the term Anamim, which would stand for the wealthy classes, the *zaûat* of Mohammedan times.

[7] A digest of ancient discussions on this name is to be found in CHAMPOLLION (*L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. i. pp. 73, 74), and the like service has been done for modern research on the subject by BRUGSCH (*Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 73, 74). The name was known to the Greeks under the form *Khêmia*, *Khimia* (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 33, Parthey edition, p. 58. 7); but it was rarely used, at least for literary purposes.

back the date of their arrival? The oldest monuments hitherto known scarcely transport us further than six thousand years, yet they are of an art so fine, so well determined in its main outlines, and reveal so ingeniously combined a system of administration, government, and religion, that we infer a long past of accumulated centuries behind them. It must always be difficult to estimate exactly the length of time needful for a race as gifted as were the Ancient Egyptians to rise from barbarism into a high degree of culture. Nevertheless, I do not think that we shall be misled in granting them forty or fifty centuries wherein to bring so complicated an achievement to a successful issue, and in placing their first appearance at eight or ten thousand years before our era.[1] Their earliest horizon was a very limited one. Their gaze might wander westward over the ravine-furrowed plains of the Libyan desert without reaching that fabled land of Manû where the sun set every evening;[2] but looking eastward from the valley, they could see the peak of Bâkhû, which marked the limit of regions accessible to man.[3]

Beyond these regions lay the beginnings of To-nûtri, the land of the gods, and the breezes passing over it were laden with its perfumes, and sometimes wafted them to mortals lost in the desert.[4] Northward, the world came to an end towards the lagoons of the Delta, whose inaccessible islands were believed to be the sojourning-place of souls after death.[5] As regards the south, precise knowledge of it scarcely went beyond the defiles of Gebel Silsileh, where the last remains of the granite threshold had perhaps not altogether disappeared. The district beyond Gebel Silsileh, the province of Kônûsit, was still a foreign and almost mythic country, directly connected with heaven by means of the cataract.[6] Long after the Egyptians had broken through this restricted circle,

[1] This is the date admitted by CHABAS, of all savants the least disposed to attribute exaggerated antiquity to races of men (*Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 6–10).

[2] See what is said above on the mountain of Manû, p. 18.

[3] BRUGSCH (*Die altägyptische Völkertafel*, in the *Verhandlungen des 5ten Orientalisten-Congresses*, vol. ii. pp. 62–64) identifies the mountain of Bâkhû with the Emerald Mountain of classic geography, known to-day as Gebel Zabârah. The name of Bâkhû does not seem to have been restricted to an insignificant chain of hills. The texts prove that it was applied to several mountains situate north of Gebel Zabârah, especially to Gebel ed-Dûkhan. Gebel Ghârib, one of the peaks of this region, attains a height of 6180 feet, and is visible from afar (SCHWEINFURTH, *La terra incognita dell' Egitto propiamente detto*, in *l'Esploratore*, 1878).

[4] BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 382–385, 396–398, 1231, 1234–1236. The perfumes and the odoriferous woods of the *Divine Land* were celebrated in Egypt. A traveller or hunter, crossing the desert, "could not but be vividly impressed by suddenly becoming aware, in the very midst of the desert, of the penetrating scent of the *robûl* (*Pulicharia undulata*, SCHWEINF.), which once followed us throughout a day and two nights, in some places without our being able to distinguish whence it came; as, for instance, when we were crossing tracts of country without any traces of vegetation whatever" (GOLENISCHEFF, *Une excursion à Bérénice*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiii. pp. 93, 94).

[5] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 12–14 (cf. the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xvii. pp. 259–261). PROF. LAUTH (*Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 53, et seq.) was the first to show that the sojourning-place of the Egyptian dead, *Sokhit Iarû*, was localized in one of the nomes of the Delta.

[6] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18 (cf. the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xviii. pp. 269, 270).

the names of those places which had as it were marked out their frontiers, continued to be associated in their minds with the idea of the four cardinal points. Bâkhû and Manû were still the most frequent expressions for the extreme East and West.[1] Nekhabit and Bûto, the most populous towns in the neighbourhoods of Gebel Silsileh and the ponds of the Delta, were set over against each other to designate South and North.[2] It was within these narrow limits that Egyptian civilization struck root and ripened, as in a closed vessel. What were the people by whom it was developed, the country whence they came, the races to which they belonged, is to-day unknown. The majority would place their cradle-land in Asia,[3] but cannot agree in determining the route which was followed in the emigration to Africa. Some think that the people took the shortest road across the Isthmus of Suez,[4] others give them longer peregrinations and a more complicated itinerary. They would have them cross the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, and then the Abyssinian mountains, and, spreading northward and keeping along the Nile, finally settle in the Egypt of to-day.[5] A more minute examination compels us to recognize that the hypothesis of an Asiatic origin, however attractive it may seem, is somewhat difficult to maintain. The bulk of the Egyptian population presents the characteristics of those white races which have been found established from all antiquity on the Mediterranean slope of the Libyan continent; this population is of African origin, and came to Egypt from the West or South-West.[6] In the valley, perhaps, it may have

[1] BRUGSCH, *Ueber den Ost-und Westpunkt des Sonnenlaufes nach den altägyptischen Vorstellungen*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1864, pp. 73–76.

[2] BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 213–215, 351–353.

[3] The greater number of contemporary Egyptologists, BRUGSCH, EBERS, LAUTH, LIEBLEIN, have rallied to this opinion, in the train of E. DE ROUGÉ (*Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 1–11); but the most extreme position has been taken up by HOMMEL, the Assyriologist, who is inclined to derive Egyptian civilization entirely from the Babylonian. After having summarily announced this thesis in his *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 12, et seq., he has set it forth at length in a special treatise, *Der Babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur*, 1892, wherein he endeavours to prove that the Heliopolitan myths, and hence the whole Egyptian religion, are derived from the cults of Eridû, and would make the name of the Egyptian city Onû, or Anû, identical with that of *Nûn-ki*, *Nûn*, which is borne by the Chaldean.

[4] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 4; BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 8; WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 21, et seq.

[5] EBERS, *Ægypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 41, *L'Égypte* (French translation), vol. ii. p. 230; DÜMICHEN, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 118, 119. BRUGSCH has adopted this opinion in his *Ægyptische Beiträge zur Völkerkunde der ältesten Welt* (*Deutsche Revue*, 1881, p. 48).

[6] This is the theory preferred by naturalists and ethnologists (R. HARTMANN, *Die Nigritier*, vol. i. p. 180, et seq.; MORTON, who was at first hostile to this view, accepted it in the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. iii. p. 215; cf. NOTT-GLIDDON, *Types of Mankind*, p. 318; HAMY, *Aperçu sur les races humaines de la basse vallée du Nil*, in the *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie*, 1886, pp. 718–743). A Viennese Egyptologist, HERR REINISCH, even holds that not only are the Egyptians of African origin, but that "the human races of the ancient world, of Europe, Asia, and Africa, are descended from a single family, whose original seat was on the shores of the great lakes of equatorial Africa" (*Der einheitliche Ursprung der Sprachen der Alten Welt, nachgewiesen*

met with a black race which it drove back or destroyed;[1] and there, perhaps, too, it afterwards received an accretion of Asiatic elements, introduced by way of the isthmus and the marshes of the Delta. But whatever may be the origin of the ancestors of the Egyptians, they were scarcely settled upon the banks of the Nile before the country conquered, and assimilated them to itself, as it has never ceased to do in the case of strangers who have occupied it. At the time when their history begins for us, all the inhabitants had long formed but one people, with but one language.

This language seems to be connected with the Semitic tongues by many of its roots.[2] It forms its personal pronouns, whether isolated or suffixed, in a similar way.[3] One of the tenses of the conjugation, and that the simplest and most archaic, is formed with identical affixes. Without insisting upon resemblances which are open to doubt, it may be almost affirmed that most of the grammatical processes used in Semitic languages are to be found in a rudimentary condition in Egyptian. One would say that the language of the people of Egypt and the languages of the Semitic races, having once belonged to the same group, had separated very early, at a time when the vocabulary and the grammatical system of the group had not as yet taken definite shape. Subject to different influences, the two families would treat in diverse fashion the elements common to both. The Semitic dialects continued to develop for centuries, while the Egyptian language, although earlier cultivated, stopped short in its growth. "If it is obvious that there was an original connexion between the language of Egypt and that of Asia,

durch Vergleichung der Afrikanischen, Erytræischen und Indogermanischen Sprachen, mit Zugrundlegung des Teda, Vienna, 1873, p. x.).

[1] LEPSIUS, *Ueber die Annahme eines sogenannten prähistorischen Steinalters in Ægypten*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1870, p. 92, et seq.; LEFÉBURE, *Le Cham et l'Adam égyptiens*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. x. pp. 172, 173.

[2] This is the opinion which has generally obtained among Egyptologists since BENFEY'S researches, *Ueber das Verhältniss der Ægyptischen Sprache zum Semitischen Sprachstamm*, 1844; cf. SCHWARTZE, *Das Alte Ægypten*, vol. i. part ii. p. 2003, et seq.; E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 2–4; LEPSIUS, *Ueber die Annahme*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1870, pp. 91, 92; BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 8, 9; ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des alten Ægyptens*, p. 23. ERMAN (*Ægypten*, pp. 54, 55) is tempted to explain the relationships found between Egyptian and the idioms of Northern Africa as the effects of a series of emigrations taking place at different times, probably far enough apart, the first wave having passed over Egypt at a very remote period, another over Syria and Arabia, and, finally, a third over Eastern Africa. Prof. Erman has also published a very substantial memoir, in which he sets forth with considerable caution those points of contact to be observed between the Semitic and Egyptian languages (A. ERMAN, *Das Verhältniss der Ægyptischen zu den Semitischen Sprachen*, in the *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xlvi. pp. 85–129). The many Semitic words introduced into classic Egyptian from the time of the XVIIIth dynasty must be carefully excluded from the terms of the comparison. An extensive list of these will be found in BONDI, *Dem Hebräisch-Phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten*, Leipzig, 1886.

[3] MASPERO, *Des Pronoms personnels en égyptien et dans les langues sémitiques*, in the *Mémoire de la Société de linguistique*, vol. ii. p. 1, et seq. A very forcible exposition of different conclusions may be found in a memoir by LEPAGE-RENOUF (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1888–89, pp. 247–264).

this connexion is nevertheless sufficiently remote to leave to the Egyptian race a distinct physiognomy."[1] We recognize it in sculptured and painted portraits, as well as in thousands of mummied bodies out of subterranean tombs.[2] The highest type of Egyptian was tall and slender, with a proud and imperious air in the carriage of his head and in his whole bearing. He had wide and full shoulders, well-marked and vigorous pectoral muscles, muscular arms, a long, fine hand, slightly developed hips, and sinewy legs. The detail of the knee-joint and the muscles of the calf are strongly marked beneath the skin; the long, thin, and low-arched feet are flattened out at the extremities owing to the custom of going barefoot. The head is rather short, the face oval, the forehead somewhat retreating. The eyes are wide and fully opened, the cheek-bones not too marked, the nose fairly prominent, and either straight or aquiline. The mouth is long, the lips full, and lightly ridged along their outline; the teeth small, even, well-set, and remarkably sound; the ears are set high on the head. At birth the skin is white, but darkens in proportion to its exposure to the sun.[3] Men are generally painted red in the pictures, though, as a matter of fact, there must already have been all the shades which we see among the present population, from a most delicate rose-tinted complexion to that of a smoke-coloured bronze. Women, who were less exposed to the sun, are generally painted yellow, the tint paler in proportion as they rise in the social scale. The hair was inclined to be wavy, and even to curl into little ringlets, but without ever turning into the wool of the negro. The beard was scanty, thick only upon the chin. Such was the highest type; the commoner was squat, dumpy, and heavy. Chest and shoulders seem to be enlarged at the expense of the pelvis and

THE NOBLE TYPE OF EGYPTIAN.[4]

[1] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 3.

[2] All the features of the two portraits given below are taken either from the statues, the bas-reliefs, or the many mummies which it fell to my lot both to see and to study during the time I was in Egypt. They correspond pretty closely with those drawn by HAMY, *Aperçu sur les races humaines de la basse vallée du Nil*, p. 4, et seq. (cf. *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 1886, p. 721, et seq.).

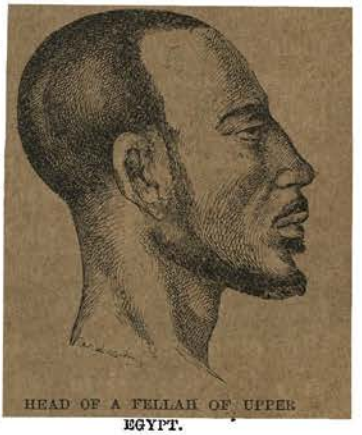
[3] With regard to this question, see, more recently, R. VIRCHOW, *Anthropologie Ægyptens*, in the *Correspondenz-Blatt der d. Anthr. Ges.*, 1888, No. 10, p. 107, et seq.

[4] Statue of Rânofir in the Gîzeh Museum (V[th] dynasty), after a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

the hips, to such an extent as to make the want of proportion between the upper and lower parts of the body startling and ungraceful. The skull is long, somewhat retreating, and slightly flattened on the top; the features are coarse, and as though carved in flesh by great strokes of the blocking-out chisel. Small frænated eyes, a short nose, flanked by widely distended nostrils, round cheeks, a square chin, thick, but not curling lips—this unattractive and ludicrous physiognomy, sometimes animated by an expression of cunning which recalls the shrewd face of an old French peasant, is often lighted up by gleams of gentleness and of melancholy good-nature. The external characteristics of these two principal types in the ancient monuments, in all varieties of modifications, may still be seen among the living.[2] The profile copied from a Theban mummy taken at hazard from a necropolis of the XVIIIth dynasty, and compared with the likeness of a modern Luxor peasant, would almost pass for a family portrait.[3] Wandering Bisharîn have inherited the type of face of a great noble, the contemporary of Kheops; and any peasant woman

AN EGYPTIAN OF THE ORDINARY TYPE.[1]

HEAD OF A THEBAN MUMMY.



HEAD OF A FELLAH OF UPPER EGYPT.

[1] Statue of Ûsiri (VIth dynasty) in the Gîzeh Museum. From a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] According to VIRCHOW (*Anthropologie Ægyptens*, i. 1), this impression is not borne out by facts. Sundry Orientalists, especially BIRCH (*Egypt from the Earliest Times to* B.C. 309–310) and SAYCE (*The Ancient Empires of the East*, pp. 309, 310), have noted considerable differences of type among the personages represented upon monuments of different periods. VIRCHOW (*Die Mumien der Könige im Museum von Bulaq*, p. 17, cf. *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Berlin, 1888, pp. 782, 783, and *Anthropologie Ægyptens*, i. 1) has endeavoured to show that the difference was even greater than had been stated, because the ancient Egyptian was brachycephalic, while the modern is dolichocephalic.

[3] *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. ii. pl. xlix. fig. 1, and JOMARD'S text (vol. ii. pp. 78, 79): "I once tried to sketch a Turkish coiffure, on a head copied from a mummy, and asking some one to

of the Delta may bear upon her shoulders the head of a twelfth-dynasty king. A citizen of Cairo, gazing with wonder at the statues of Khafra or of Seti I. in the Gizeh Museum, is himself, feature for feature, the very image of those ancient Pharaohs, though removed from them by fifty centuries.

Until quite recently nothing, or all but nothing, had been discovered which

A FELLAH WOMAN WITH THE FEATURES OF AN ANCIENT KING.[1]

could be attributed to the primitive races of Egypt: even the flint weapons and implements which had been found in various places could not be ascribed to them with any degree of certainty,[2] for the Egyptians continued to use stone long after metal was known to them. They made stone arrowheads, hammers, and knives, not only in the time of the Pharaohs, but under the Romans, and

whom all the great folks of Cairo were well known which of the sheikhs my drawing was like, he unhesitatingly named a sheikh of the Divan, whom, indeed, it did fairly resemble." Hamy pointed out a similar resemblance between the head to which Jomard refers and the portrait of a fellah from Upper Egypt, painted by Lefébure for the collections of the Museum of Natural History (*Aperçu des races humaines de la basse vallée du Nil*, pp. 10–12; cf. *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie*, 1886, pp. 727–729): these are the two types reproduced by Faucher-Gudin on p. 48.

[1] The face of the woman here given was taken separately, and was subsequently attached to the figure of an Egyptian woman whom Naville had photographed sitting beside a colossal head. The nose of the statue has been restored.

[2] This question, brought forward for the first time by Hamy and François Lenormant (*Découvertes de restes de l'âge de pierre en Égypte*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 22 nov. 1869), gave rise to a long controversy, in which many European savants took part. The whole account of it is given nearly in full by SALOMON REINACH, *Description raisonnée du musée de Saint-Germain*, vol. i. pp. 87, 88. The examination of the sites led me to believe, with Mariette, that the manufactories pointed out before 1896 were certainly not anterior to historic times, but I never doubted, as some have imagined, that there had been a real stone age in Egypt.

during the whole period of the Middle Ages, and the manufacture of them has not yet entirely died out.[1] These objects, and the workshops where they were made, might therefore be less ancient than the greater part of the inscribed monuments. But if so far we had found no examples of any work belonging to the first ages, we met in historic times with certain customs which were out of harmony with the general civilization of the period. A comparison of these customs with analogous practices of barbarous nations threw light upon the former, completed their meaning, and showed us at the same time the successive stages through which the Egyptian people had to pass before reaching their highest civilization. We knew, for example, that even as late as the Cæsars, girls belonging to noble families at Thebes were consecrated to the service of Amon, and were thus licensed to a life of immorality, which, however, did not prevent them from making rich marriages when age obliged them to retire from office.[2] Theban women were not the only people in the world to whom such licence was granted or imposed upon them by law; wherever in a civilized country we see a similar practice, we may recognize in it an ancient custom which in the course of centuries has degenerated into a religious observance.[3] The institution of the women of Amon is a legacy from a time when the practice of polyandry obtained, and marriage did not yet exist.[4] Age and maternity relieved them from this obligation, and preserved them from those incestuous connections of which we find examples in other races.[5] A union of father and daughter, however, was perhaps not wholly forbidden,[6] and that of brother and sister seems to have been

[1] Griffith has called attention to a bas-relief of the XIIth dynasty at Beni-Hasan representing the making of flint knives (NEWBERRY-GRIFFITH, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. iii. pl. viii.). An entire collection of flint tools—axes, adzes, knives, and sickles—mostly with wooden handles, was found by Prof. Petrie in the ruins of Kahun, at the entrance to the Fayûm (*Illahun*, etc., pp. 12, 51-55): they dated from the XIIth dynasty, more than three thousand years before our era. Mariette had previously pointed out (*Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 1869-1871, 1st series, vol. xi. p. 58; cf. *De l'âge de la pierre en Égypte*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vii. p. 129) the fact that a Coptic *Reis*, Salîb of Abydos, in charge of the excavations there, shaved his head with a flint knife, according to the custom of his youth (1820-35). I knew the man, who died at over eighty years of age, in 1887; he was still faithful to his flint implement, while his sons and the whole population of El Kharbeh were using nothing but steel razors. As his scalp was scraped nearly raw by the operation, he used to cover his head with fresh leaves to cool the inflamed skin.

[2] STRABO, xvii. § 46, p. 817; Diodorus (i. 47) speaks only of the tombs of these Pallacides of Amon; his authority, Hecatæus of Abdera, appears not to have known their mode of life.

[3] LIPPERT, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit in ihrem organischen Aufbau*, vol. ii. p. 15.

[4] For the complete development and proofs of the theory on which this view of the fact rests, see LIPPERT, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, vol. ii. p. 6, et seq.

[5] As, for instance, among the Medes, the class of the Magi, according to Xanthos of Lydia (fragm. 28 in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. hist. græc.*, vol. i. p. 43) and of Ctesias (fragm. 30, edit. MÜLLER-DIDOT, p. 60).

[6] E. DE ROUGÉ held that Rameses II. married at least two of his daughters, Bint Anati and Honittui. The Achæmenian kings did the same: Artaxerxes married two of his own daughters (PLUTARCH, *Artaxerxes*, § 27).

regarded as perfectly right and natural;[1] the words *brother* and *sister* possessing in Egyptian love-songs the same significance as *lover* and *mistress* with us.[2] Paternity was necessarily doubtful in a community of this kind, and hence the tie between fathers and children was slight; there being no family, in the sense in which we understand the word, except as it centred around the mother. Maternal descent was, therefore, the only one openly acknowledged, and the affiliation of the child was indicated by the name of the mother alone.[3] When the woman ceased to belong to all, and confined herself to one husband, the man reserved to himself the privilege of taking as many wives as he wished, or as he was able to keep, beginning with his own sisters. All wives did not enjoy identical rights: those born of the same parents as the man, or those of equal rank with himself, preserved their independence. If the law pronounced him the master, *nibû*, to whom they owed obedience and fidelity,[4] they were mistresses of the house, *nibît pirû*, as well as wives, *himitû*, and the two words of the title express their condition.[5] Each of them occupied, in fact, her own house, *pirû*, which she had from her parents or her husband, and of which she was absolute mistress, *nibît*. She lived in it and performed in it without constraint all a woman's duties; feeding the fire, grinding the corn, occupying herself in cooking and weaving, making clothing and perfumes, nursing and teaching her children.[6] When her husband visited her, he was a guest whom she received on an equal footing. It appears that at the outset these various wives were placed under the authority of an older woman, whom they looked on as their mother, and who defended their rights and interests against the master; but this custom

[1] This custom had been noticed in early times, among others by DIODORUS, i. 27, who justifies it by citing the marriage of Osiris with his sister Isis: the testimony of historians of the classical period is daily confirmed by the ancient monuments.

[2] MASPERO, *Études égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 221, 228, 232, 233, 237, 239, 240, etc.

[3] The same custom existed among the Lycians (HERODOTUS, i. 172; NICOLAUS of DAMASCUS, fragm. 129, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. hist. gr.*, vol. iii. p. 461, etc.) and among many semi-civilized peoples of ancient and modern times (J. LUBBOCK, *The Origins of Civilization*, p. 139, etc.). The first writer to notice its existence in Egypt, to my knowledge, was SCHOW, *Charta Papyracea græce scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris*, pp. xxxiv., xxxv.

[4] On the most ancient monuments which we possess, the wife says of herself that she is "*the one devoted to her master—who does every day what her master loves*, and whom, for that reason, her master loves" (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 10 *b*); in the same way a subject who is the favourite of a king says that "he loves *his master*, and that *his master* loves him" (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 20).

[5] The title *nibit pirû* is ordinarily interpreted as if the woman who bore it were *mistress of the house of her husband*. PROF. PETRIE (*A Season in Egypt*, pp. 8, 9) considers that this is not an exact translation, and has suggested that the women called *nibit pirû* are widows. This explanation cannot be applied to passages where the woman, whether married or otherwise, says to her lover, "My good friend, my desire is to share thy goods as thy house-mistress" (MASPERO, *Études égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 247); evidently she does not ask to become the *widow* of her beloved. The interpretation proposed here was suggested to me by a species of marriage still in vogue among several tribes of Africa and America (LIPPERT, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, vol. ii. p. 27, et seq.)

[6] Compare the touching picture which the author of the *Papyrus moral de Boulaq* gives of the good mother, at the end of the Theban period (CHABAS, *l'Egyptologie*, vol. ii. pp. 42–54).

gradually disappeared, and in historic times we read of it as existing only in the families of the gods. The female singers consecrated to Amon and other deities, owed obedience to several superiors, of whom the principal (generally the widow of a king or high priest) was called *chief-superior of the ladies of the harem of Amon*.[1] Besides these wives, there were concubines, slaves purchased or born in the house, prisoners of war, Egyptians of inferior class, who were the chattels of the man and of whom he could dispose as he wished.[2] All the children of one father were legitimate, whether their mother were a wife or merely a concubine, but they did not all enjoy the same advantages; those among them who were born of a brother or sister united in legitimate marriage, took precedence of those whose mother was a wife of inferior rank or a slave.[3] In the family thus constituted, the woman, to all appearances, played the principal part. Children recognized the parental relationship in the mother alone. The husband appears to have entered the house of his wives, rather than the wives to have entered his, and this appearance of inferiority was so marked that the Greeks were deceived by it. They affirmed that the woman was supreme in Egypt; the man at the time of marriage promised obedience to her, and entered into a contract not to raise any objection to her commands.[4]

We had, therefore, good grounds for supposing that the first Egyptians were semi-savages, like those still living in Africa and America, having an analogous organization, and similar weapons and tools.[5] A few lived in the desert, in the oasis of Libya, or in the deep valleys of the Red Land—Doshirit, To Doshiru—between the Nile and the sea; the poverty of the

[1] Most of the princesses of the family of the high priest of the Theban Amon had this title (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deîr-el-Bahari*, in the *Mém. de la Mission franç. du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 575-580). In that species of modern African marriage with which I have compared the earliest Egyptian marriage, the wives of one man are together subject to the authority of an old woman, to whom they give the title of mother; if the comparison is exact, the harem of the god would form a community of this kind, in which the elder would be the superiors of the younger women. Here again the divine family would preserve an institution which had long ceased to exist among mortals.

[2] One of the concubines of Khnumhotpû at Beni-Hasan, after having presented her master with a son, was given by him in marriage to an inferior officer, by whom she had several other children (CHAMPOLLION, *Mon. de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 390, 392, 415; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, vol. ii. 128, 130, 132).

[3] This explains the history of the children of Thothmes I., and of the other princes of the family of Aahmes, as we shall have occasion to see further on.

[4] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 80. Here, as in all he says of Egypt, Diodorus has drawn largely from the historical and philosophic romance of Hecatæus of Abdera.

[5] Up till now but few efforts have been made to throw light on these early times in Egypt; Erman (*Ægypten*, pp. 59, 60) and Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. Ægyp.*, pp. 24-30) have devoted merely a few pages to the subject: a new theory has been started by Prof. Petrie (*A History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 12-15) which seems as yet to have found no acceptance amongst Egyptologists. The examination of the hieroglyphic signs has yielded valuable information; they have often preserved for us a representation of objects, and consequently a record of customs flourishing at the time when they were originally drawn (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 5, in the *Proceedings of the Bib. Arch. Soc.*, 1890-91, vol. xiii. pp. 310, 311; PETRIE, *Epigraphy in Egyptian Research*, in the *Asiatic and Quarterly Review*, 1891, pp. 315-320; *Medum*, pp. 29-34). The later discoveries of Petrie, Quibell, Amélineau, and De Morgan have confirmed the deductions which the study of the Pharaonic monuments had led me to make, and in most cases I have merely had to add to my existing notes a reference to their works in order to bring this volume abreast of our present knowledge.

country fostering their native savagery. Others, settled on the Black Land, gradually became civilized, and we have found of late considerable remains of those of their generations who, if not anterior to the times of written records, were at least contemporary with the earliest kings of the first historical dynasty. Their houses were like those of the fellahs of to-day, low huts of wattle daubed with puddled clay, or of bricks dried in the sun.[1] They contained one room, either oblong or square, the door being the only aperture. Those of the richer class only were large enough to make it needful to support the roof by means of one or more trunks of trees, which did duty for columns. Earthen pots, turned by hand, flint knives and other implements, mats of reeds or plaited straw, two flat stones for grinding corn,[3] a few pieces of wooden furniture, stools, and head-rests for use at night,[4] comprised all the contents. Their ordinary pottery is heavy and almost devoid of ornament, but some of the finer kinds have been moulded and baked in wickerwork baskets, which have left a quaint trellis-like impression on the surface of the clay. In many cases the vases are bicolour, the body being of a fine smooth red, polished with a stone, while the neck and base are of an intense black, the surface of which is even more shining than that of the red part.[5] Sometimes they are ornamented with patterns in white of flowers, palms, ostriches, gazelles, boats with undulated or broken lines, or geometrical figures of a very simple nature. More often the ground is coloured a fine yellow, and the decoration has been traced in red lines. Jars, saucers, double vases, flat plates, large cups, supports for amphoræ, trays raised on a foot—in short, every kind of form is found in use at that remote period.[6] The men went about nearly naked, except the nobles, who wore a panther's skin, sometimes thrown over the shoulders,[7] sometimes drawn round the waist, and covering the lower part

NEGRO PRISONERS WEARING THE PANTHER'S SKIN AS A LOIN-CLOTH.[2]

[1] J. DE MORGAN, *Ethnographie préhistorique*, pp. 65–66, believes that the Egyptians borrowed the use of bricks from the Chaldæans, and that the huts of the earliest inhabitants were merely of reeds.

[2] XIXth dynasty; drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. lxxxv.

[3] MARIETTE, *Album photographique*, pl. xx.; MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, p. 220, Nos. 1012, 1013.

[4] HAMY, *Note sur les chevets des anciens Égyptiens*, etc., in the *Études dédiées à Leemans*, pp. 32–34.

[5] J. DE MORGAN, *L'Âge de la pierre*, etc., pp. 156–159, pls. i.–iii., et *Ethnographie*, pp. 120, 121.

[6] J. DE MORGAN, *L'Âge de la pierre*, etc., pp. 159–161, pls. iv.–ix., et *Ethnogr. préhist.*, pp. 121–123.

[7] It is the panther's skin which is seen, for instance, on the shoulders of the negro prisoners of the XVIIIth dynasty (WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 259, No. 13 *c*, *d*); it was obligatory for certain orders of priests, or for dignitaries performing priestly functions of a prescribed

of the body, the animal's tail touching the heels behind,[1] as we see later in several representations of the negroes of the Upper Nile. They smeared their limbs with grease or oil,[2] and they tattooed their faces and bodies, at least in part, but in later times this practice was retained by the lower classes only.[3] On the other hand, the custom of painting the face was never given up. To complete their toilet, it was necessary to accentuate the arch of the eyebrow with a line of kohl (antimony powder). A similar black line surrounded and prolonged the oval of the eye to the middle of the temple, a layer of green coloured the under lid,[4] and ochre and carmine enlivened the tints of the cheeks and lips.[5] The hair, plaited, curled, oiled, and plastered with grease, formed an erection which was as complicated in the case of the man as in that of the woman. Should the hair be too short, a black or blue wig, dressed with much skill,[6] was substituted for it; ostrich feathers waved on the heads of warriors,[7] and a large lock, flattened behind the right ear, distinguished the military or religious chiefs from their subordinates.[8] When the art of weaving became common, a belt and loin-cloth of white

nature (Statues A 60, 66, 72, 76, in the Louvre, E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice sommaire des Monuments de la Galerie Égyptienne*, 1872, pp. 44, 36, 38, 39; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 18, 19, 21, 22, 30, 31 *b*, 32, etc.; cf. WILKINSON, *op. cit.*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 181, 182; ERMAN, *Ægypten*, p. 286). The sacerdotal costume is a survival of the ancient attire of the head of the family. Those who inherited or who had obtained the right of wearing the panther's skin on certain occasions, bore, under the ancient empire, the title of *Oirû-basit*, "chiefs of the fur" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 252, 253, 254, 275, etc.).

[1] WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 259, No. 84, 9–13, and p. 272, No. 88; cf. J. DE MORGAN, *Ethnographie préhistorique*, pp. 56–58, 124–129.

[2] Castor-oil is the oil of kiki (Herodotus, ii. 94). It was called *saqnunu*, in Greek transcription *psagdas*, with the Egyptian article *p*; Σάγδας, without the article, is found in Hesychius.

[3] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, vol. i. pl. cccLxxxi. *bis*, 4; ROSELLINI, *Mon. civili*, pl. xli., text, vol. ii. pp. 21, 22, where the women are seen tattooed on the bosom. In most of the bas-reliefs also of the temples of Philæ and Kom Ombo, the goddesses and queens have their breasts scored with long incisions, which, starting from the circumference, unite in the centre round the nipple. The "cartonnages" of Akhmîm show that, in the age of Severus, tattooing was as common as it is now among the provincial middle classes and the fellahîn (MASPERO, *Études de Myth. et d'Arch. Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 218; cf. *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 89).

[4] The green powder (*uazit*) and the black pulverized vegetable charcoal, or antimony (*maszimit*), formed part of the offerings considered indispensable to the deceased; but already in the age of the Pyramids the use of green paint appears to have been an affectation of archaism, and we meet with it only on a few monuments, such as the statues of Sapi in the Louvre (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice sommaire*, p. 50 A, 36, 37, 28) and the stela of Hathor-nofer-hotpû at Gizeh (MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, pp. 212, 213, Nos. 991 et 1000). The use of black kohl was in those times, as it is still, supposed to cure or even prevent ophthalmia, and the painted eye was called *uzait*, "the healthy," a term ordinarily applied to the two eyes of heaven—the sun and moon (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 25, in the *Proceedings of the Bib. Arch. Society*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. pp. 313–316).

[5] The mummies of Honittûi and Nsitanibashrû (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales*, in the *Mém. de la Miss.*, vol. i. pp. 577, 579) had their hair dressed and their faces painted before burial.

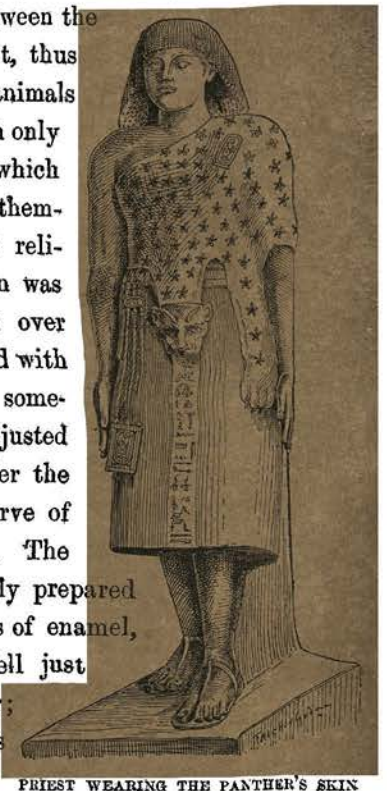
[6] Wigs figure, from the earliest antiquity, in the list of offerings. The use of them is common among many savage tribes in Africa at the present day. The blue wig has been found in Abyssinia, and examples, taken by Jules Borelli, are exhibited in the Museum of the Trocadero.

[7] These may be observed on the head of the little sign , representing foot-soldiers in the current script; in later times they were confined to the mercenaries of Libyan origin.

[8] In historic times only children ordinarily wore the sidelock; with grown men it was the mark of princes of the royal family, or it indicated the exercise of high priestly functions (WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 162, 163, 182).

linen replaced the leathern garment.[1] Fastened round the waist, but so low as to leave the navel uncovered, the loin-cloth frequently reached to the knee; the hinder part was frequently drawn between the legs and attached in front to the belt, thus forming a kind of drawers.[2] Tails of animals and wild beast's skin were henceforth only the insignia of authority with which priests and princes adorned themselves on great days and at religious ceremonies.[3] The skin was sometimes carelessly thrown over the left shoulder and swayed with the movement of the body; sometimes it was carefully adjusted over one shoulder and under the other, so as to bring the curve of the chest into prominence. The head of the animal, skilfully prepared and enlivened by large eyes of enamel, rested on the shoulder or fell just below the waist of the wearer; the paws, with the claws attached, hung down over the thighs; the spots of the skin were manipulated so as to form five-pointed stars. On going out-of-doors, a large wrap was thrown over all; this covering was either

NOTABLE WEARING THE LARGE CLOAK OVER THE LEFT SHOULDER.[4]



PRIEST WEARING THE PANTHER'S SKIN ACROSS THE BREAST.[5]

[1] The monuments of the ancient empire show us the fellah of that period and the artisan at his work still wearing the belt (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 4, 9, 12, 23, 24, 25, 28, 35, 40, etc.).

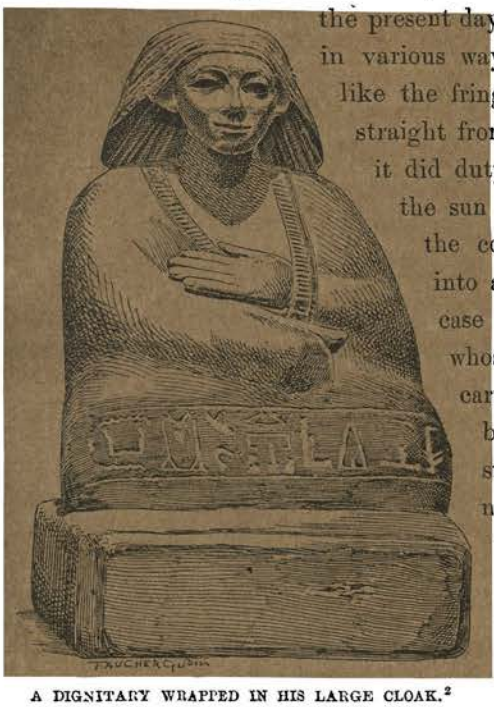
[2] The first fashion often figures in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. pp. 4, 8, 22, 25, 32, 43, etc.; the latter in WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. p. 322. See the two statues, pp. 47, 48.

[3] The custom of wearing a tail made of straw, hemp fibre, or horsehair, still exists among several tribes of the Upper Nile (ÉLISÉE RECLUS, *Géographie universelle*, vol. ix. pp. 140, 158, 165, 175, 178, etc.). The tails worn on state occasions by the Egyptians were imitations of jackals' tails, and not, as has been stated, of those of lions. The movable part was of leather or plaited horsehair, attached to a rigid part of wood. The museum at Marseilles possesses one of these wooden appendages (MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien*, p. 92, No. 279). They formed part of the costume of the deceased, and we find two species of them in his wardrobe (VISCONTI, *Monumenti Egiziani della raccolta del Signor Demetrio Papandriopulo*, pl. vi.; LEPSIUS, *Älteste Texte*, pl. 7, 37; MASPERO, *Trois Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 217, 225, 235).

[4] Wooden statue in the Gizeh Museum (IVth dynasty), drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Béchard. See MARIETTE, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20, and *Notice des principaux monuments*, 4th edit., p. 235, No. 770; MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 219, No. 1009.

[5] Statue of the second prophet of Amon, Aa-nen, in the Turin Museum (XVIIIth dynasty).

smooth or hairy, similar to that in which the Nubians and Abyssinians of the present day envelop themselves. It could be draped in various ways; transversely over the left shoulder like the fringed shawl of the Chaldeans, or hanging straight from both shoulders like a mantle.[1] In fact, it did duty as a cloak, sheltering the wearer from the sun or from the rain, from the heat or from the cold. They never sought to transform it into a luxurious garment of state, as was the case in later times with the Roman toga, whose amplitude secured a certain dignity of carriage, and whose folds, carefully adjusted beforehand, fell around the body with studied grace. The Egyptian mantle, when not required, was thrown aside and folded up. The material being fine and soft, it occupied but a small space, and was reduced to a long thin roll; the ends being then fastened together, it was slung over the shoulder and round the body like a cavalry cloak.[3] Travellers, shepherds, all those whose occupations called them to the fields, carried it as a bundle



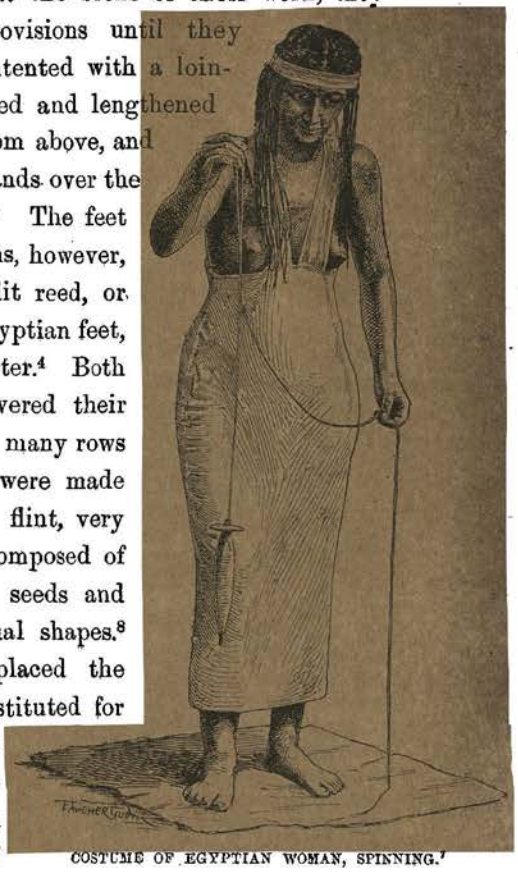
A DIGNITARY WRAPPED IN HIS LARGE CLOAK.[2]

[1] This costume, to which Egyptologists have not given sufficient attention, is frequently represented on the monuments. Besides the two statues reproduced above, I may cite those of Uahibri and of Thoth-nofir in the Louvre (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice des Monuments de la Galérie Égyptienne*, 1872, Nos. 55 and 91, pp. 32, 44), and the Lady Nofrit in the Gizeh Museum (MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, No. 1050, p. 221). Thothotpû in his tomb wears this mantle (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 134 *e*). Khnumhotpû and several of his workmen are represented in it at Beni-Hasan (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 126, 127), as also one of the princes of Elephantinê in the recently discovered tombs, besides many Egyptians of all classes in the tombs of Thebes (a good example is in the tomb of Harmhabi, CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. clvi. 2; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxvi. 1; BOURIANT, *Le Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v. pl. iii.). The reason why it does not figure more often is, in the first place, that the Egyptian artists experienced actual difficulty in representing the folds of its drapery, although these were simple compared with the complicated arrangement of the Roman toga; finally, the wall-paintings mostly portray either interior scenes, or agricultural labour, or the work of various trades, or episodes of war, or religious ceremonies, in all of which the mantle plays no part. Every Egyptian peasant, however, possessed his own, and it was in constant use in his daily life.

[2] Statue of Khiti in the Gizeh Museum (XIIth and XIIIth dynasties), drawn by Faucher-Gudin; see MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux monuments*, 4th edit., p. 188, No. 464, *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos*, p. 36, No. 361, and *Album photographique du musée de Boulaq*, pl. XXV. The statue was found at Abydos.

[3] Many draughtsmen, ignorant of what they had to represent, have made incorrect copies of the manner in which this cloak was worn; but examples of it are numerous, although until now attention has not been called to them. The following are a few instances taken at random of the way in which it was used: Pepi I., fighting against the nomads of Sinai, has the cloak, but with the two ends passed through the belt of his loin-cloth (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 116 *a*); at Zawyet el-Maiyitîn, Khunas, killing birds with the boomerang from his boat, wears it, but simply thrown over the left shoulder, with the two extremities hanging free (*id.*, ii. 106 a). Khnumhotpû at Beni-Hasan (id., ii. 130), the

at the ends of their sticks; once arrived at the scene of their work, they deposited it in a corner with their provisions until they required it.[1] The women were at first contented with a loin-cloth like that of the men;[2] it was enlarged and lengthened till it reached the ankle below and the bosom above, and became a tightly fitting garment, with two bands over the shoulders, like braces, to keep it in place.[3] The feet were not always covered; on certain occasions, however, sandals of coarse leather, plaited straw, split reed, or even painted wood, adorned those shapely Egyptian feet, which, to suit our taste, should be a little shorter.[4] Both men and women loved ornaments, and covered their necks, breasts, arms, wrists, and ankles with many rows of necklaces and bracelets. The bracelets were made of elephant ivory, mother-of-pearl, or even flint, very cleverly perforated.[5] The necklaces were composed of strings of pierced shells,[6] interspersed with seeds and little pebbles, either sparkling or of unusual shapes.[8] Subsequently imitations in terra-cotta replaced the natural shells, and precious stones were substituted for pebbles, as were also beads of enamel, either round, pear-shaped, or cylindrical: the necklaces were terminated and a uniform distance maintained between the rows of beads, by several slips of wood, bone, ivory, porcelain, or terra-cotta, pierced



COSTUME OF EGYPTIAN WOMAN, SPINNING.[7]

Khrihabi (*id.*, 101 *b*), the overseers (*id.*, 105 *b*, 110 *a*, etc.), or the peasant (*id.*, 96), all have it rolled and slung round them; the Prince of el-Bersheh wears it like a mantle in folds over the two shoulders (*id.*, 134 *b*, *d*). If it is objected that the material could not be reduced to such small dimensions as those represented in these drawings of what I believe to be the Egyptian cloak, I may cite our cavalry capes, when rolled and slung, as an instance of what good packing will do in reducing volume.

[1] WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. p. 100, No. 360, and p. 394, No. 466; see a swineherd, carrying his cloak in a roll on the end of his stick, on p. 64 of the present volume.

[2] In the harvest-scenes of the ancient empire, we see the women wearing the loin-cloth tucked up like drawers, to enable them to work with greater freedom (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii.).

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 5, 8 *c*, 11, 15, 19, 20, 21, 46, 47, 57, 58, etc.

[4] Sandals also figure in all periods among the objects contained in the wardrobe of the deceased (VISCONTI, *Monumenti Égiziani*, pl. vii.; LEPSIUS, *Ælteste Texte*, pl. xi. p. xliii.; MASPERO, *Trois Années de fouilles*, in the *Mém. de la Miss. française*, vol. i. pp. 218, 228, 237).

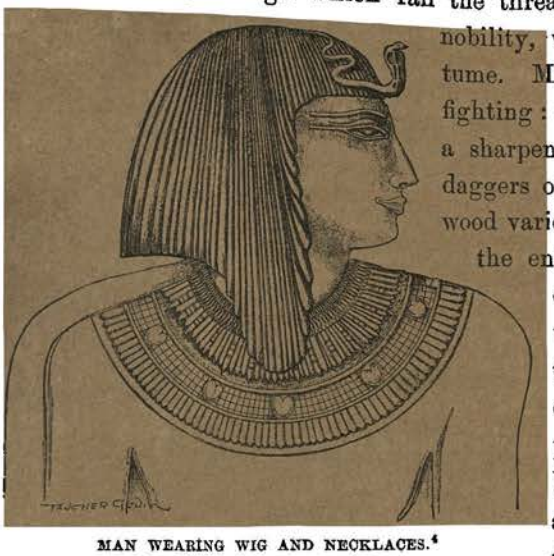
[5] J. DE MORGAN, *Ethnographie préhistorique*, pp. 59–62.

[6] The burying-places of Abydos, especially the most ancient, have furnished us with millions of shells, pierced and threaded as necklaces; they all belong to the species of cowries used as money in Africa at the present day (MARIETTE, *La Galérie de l'Égypte ancienne à l'exposition rétrospective du Trocadéro*, p. 112; MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, p. 271, No. 4130); cf. J. DE MORGAN, *Ethnographie préhistorique*, p. 59, who enumerates among the varieties employed as ornaments, the following which belong to the species found in the Nile or the Red Sea—*Purpura turberculata*, BHAIM; *Conus pusillus*, CHEMM.; *Nerita polita*, LINN.; *Sistrum anaxeres*, DU S.; *Cleopatra bulimoides*, OLIV.

[7] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the spinning-women at the Paris Exhibition of 1889.

[8] Necklaces of seeds have been found in the tombs of Abydos, Thebes, and Gebelên. Of these

with holes, through which ran the threads.[1] Weapons, at least among the nobility, were an indispensable part of costume. Most of them were for hand-to-hand fighting: sticks, clubs, lances furnished with a sharpened bone or stone point,[2] axes and daggers of flint,[3] sabres and clubs of bone or wood variously shaped, pointed or rounded at the end, with blunt or sharp blades,—inoffensive enough to look at, but, wielded by a vigorous hand, sufficient to break an arm, crush in the ribs, or smash a skull with all desirable precision.[5] The plain or triple curved bow was the favourite weapon for attack at a distance,[6] but in addition to this there were the sling, the javelin, and a missile almost forgotten nowadays, the boomerang; we have no proof, however,



MAN WEARING WIG AND NECKLACES.[4]

Schweinfurth has identified, among others, the *Cassia absus, L.*, "a weed of the Soudan whose seeds are sold in the drug bazaar at Cairo and Alexandria under the name of *shishm*, as a remedy, which is in great request among the natives, for ophthalmia" (*Les Dernières Découvertes botaniques dans les anciens tombeaux de l'Égypte*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. vi. p. 257). For the necklaces of pebbles, cf. MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, pp. 270, 271, No. 4129. A considerable number of these pebbles, particularly those of strange shape, or presenting a curious combination of colours, must have been regarded as amulets or fetishes by their Egyptian owners; analogous cases, among other peoples, have been pointed out by E. B. TYLOR, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. p. 189, et seq., 205, et seq. For the imitations of cowries and shells in blue enamelled terra-cotta, cf. MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, p. 271, No. 4130, p. 276, No. 4160; they are numerous at Abydos, side by side with the real cowries. Some coarse imitations of the *Nerita polita* were found at Gebel Tukh by De Morgan; they were cut in a species of hard crystalline porphyry (*Eth. préhist.*, p. 59).

[1] The nature of these little perforated slips has not been understood by the majority of savants; they have been put aside as doubtful objects, or have been wrongly described in our museum catalogues.

[2] The term *mabit* for the lance or javelin is found in the most ancient formulas of the pyramids (*Pepi I.*, l. 424, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. p. 165). The *mabit*, lance or javelin, was pointed with flint, bone, or metal, after the fashion of arrowheads (CHABAS, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., p. 382, et seq., 395). See J. DE MORGAN, *Ethnographie préhistorique*, pp. 79–84, for the most characteristic shapes of lance and arrowheads found in the ancient Egyptian settlements.

[3] In several museums, notably at Leyden, we find Egyptian axes of stone, particularly of serpentine, both rough and polished (CHABAS, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 381, 382). For the flint axes and daggers found in the oldest ruins, cf. DE MORGAN, *Ethn. préhist.*, pp. 72–78.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a portrait of Pharaoh Seti I. of the XIXth dynasty (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. v. 18): the lower part of the necklace has been completed.

[5] In primitive times the bone of an animal served as a club. This is proved by the shape of the object held in the hand in the sign 𓌙 (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 5, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1890–91, vol. xiii. pp. 310, 311): the hieroglyph 𓎛, 𓌙, which is the determinative in writing for all ideas of violence or brute force, comes down to us from a time when the principal weapon was the club, or a bone serving as a club.

[6] For the two principal shapes of the bow, see LEPSIUS, *Der Bogen in der Hieroglyphik* (*Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 79–88). From the earliest times the sign 𓐍 portrays the soldier equipped with the bow and bundle of arrows; the quiver was of Asiatic origin, and was not adopted until much later (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 18, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. 184–187). In the contemporary texts of the first dynasties, the idea of

that the Egyptians handled the boomerang[1] with the skill of the Australians, or that they knew how to throw it so as to bring it back to its point of departure.[2] Such was approximately the most ancient equipment as far as we can ascertain; but at a very early date copper and iron were known in Egypt.[3] Long before historic times, the majority of the weapons in wood were replaced by those of metal,—daggers, sabres, hatchets, which preserved, however, the shape of the old wooden instruments. Those wooden weapons which were retained, were used for hunting, or were only brought out on solemn occasions when tradition had to be respected. The war-baton became the commander's wand of authority, and at last degenerated into the walking-stick of the rich or noble. The club at length represented merely the

THE BOOMERANG AND FIGHTING BOW.[4]

weapons is conveyed by the bow, arrow, and club or axe (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 101).

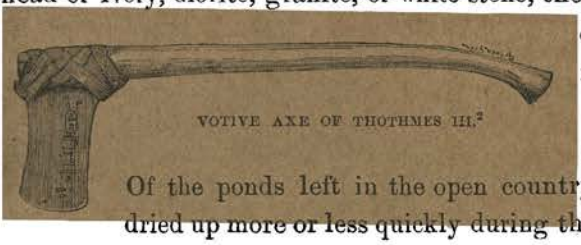
[1] The boomerang is still used by certain tribes of the Nile valley (ÉLISÉE RECLUS, *Géographie universelle*, vol. ix. p. 352). It is portrayed in the most ancient tombs (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 12, 60, 106, etc.), and every museum possesses examples, varying in shape (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice sommaire, Salle Civile, Armoire H.*, p. 73; MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, p. 303, No. 4723). Besides the ordinary boomerang, the Egyptians used one which ended in a knob (MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, p. 303, No. 4724), and another of semicircular shape (CHABAS, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., p. 88; MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 27, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. xiv., 1891–92, pp. 320, 321): this latter, reproduced in miniature in cornelian or in red jasper, served as an amulet, and was placed on the mummy to furnish the deceased in the other world with a fighting or hunting weapon.

[2] The Australian boomerang is much larger than the Egyptian one; it is about a yard in length, two inches in width, and three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness. For the manner of handling it, and what can be done with it, see LUBBOCK, *Prehistoric Man*, pp. 402, 403.

[3] Metals were introduced into Egypt in very ancient times, since the class of blacksmiths is associated with the worship of Horus of Edfû, and appears in the account of the mythical wars of that god (MASPERO, *Les Forgerons d'Horus*, in *Les Études de Mythologie*, vol. ii. p. 313, et seq.). The earliest tools we possess, in copper or bronze, date from the IVth dynasty (GLADSTONE, *On Metallic Copper, Tin, and Antimony from Ancient Egypt*, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1891–92, pp. 223–226): pieces of iron have been found from time to time in the masonry of the Great Pyramid (VYSE, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. i. pp. 275, 276; ST. JOHN VINCENT DAY, *Examination of the Fragment of Iron from the Great Pyramid of Gizeh*, in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, pp. 396–399; MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, p. 296, and *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie*, 1883, p. 813, et seq.). Montélius has, however, repeatedly contested the authenticity of these discoveries, and he thinks that iron was not known in Egypt till a much later period (*L'Age du bronze en Égypte*, in the *Anthropologie*, vol. i. p. 30, et seq.).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a painting in the tomb of Khnumhotpû at Beni-Hasan (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. ccc.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxvii. 3).

rank of a chieftain,[1] while the crook and the wooden-handled mace, with its head of ivory, diorite, granite, or white stone, the favourite weapons of princes, continued to the last the most revered insignia of royalty.[3]



VOTIVE AXE OF THOTHMES III.[2]

Life was passed in comparative ease and pleasure. Of the ponds left in the open country by the river at its fall, some dried up more or less quickly during the winter, leaving on the soil an immense quantity of fish, the possession of which birds and wild beasts disputed with man.[4] Other pools, however, remained till the returning inundation, as so many *vivaria* in which the fish were preserved for dwellers on the banks. Fishing with the harpoon, made either of stone or of metal,[5] with the line, with a net or with traps, were all methods of fishing known and used by the Egyptians from early times. Where the ponds failed, the neighbouring Nile furnished them with inexhaustible supplies. Standing in light canoes, or rather supported by a plank on bundles of reeds bound together,[7] they ventured into mid-stream, in spite of the danger arising from the ever-present hippopotamus; or they penetrated up the canals amid a thicket of aquatic plants, to bring down with the boomerang the birds which found covert there. The fowl and fish which could not be eaten fresh, were dried, salted, or smoked, and kept

KING HOLDING THE BATON, THE WHITE MACE, AND THE CLUB.[6]

[1] The wooden club most commonly represented 𓌙, is the usual insignia of a nobleman. Several kinds of clubs, somewhat difficult for us moderns to distinguish, yet bearing different names, formed a part of the funereal furniture (LEPSIUS, *Ælteste Texte*, pl. x. 26–28, 38; MASPERO, *Trois Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. i. pp. 24, 221, 232, etc.).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Brugsch-Bey of the original at Gizeh.

[3] The crook 𓉔 is the sceptre of a prince, a Pharaoh, or a god; the white mace 𓌃 has still the value apparently of a weapon in the hands of the king who brandishes it over a group of prisoners, or over an ox which he is sacrificing to a divinity (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 2 *a*, *c*, 39 *f*, 116, etc.). Most museums possess specimens of the stone heads of these maces, but until lately their use was not known. I had several placed in the Boulak Museum (*Extrait de l'inventaire*, p. 10, Nos. 26,586, 26,587, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. vi.). It already possessed a model of one entirely of wood (MARIETTE, *La Galerie de l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 104; MASPERO, *Guide*, p. 303, No. 4722). For the stone or ivory heads of these early maces, cf. J. DE MORGAN, *Ethnogr. préhistorique*, pp. 70–72.

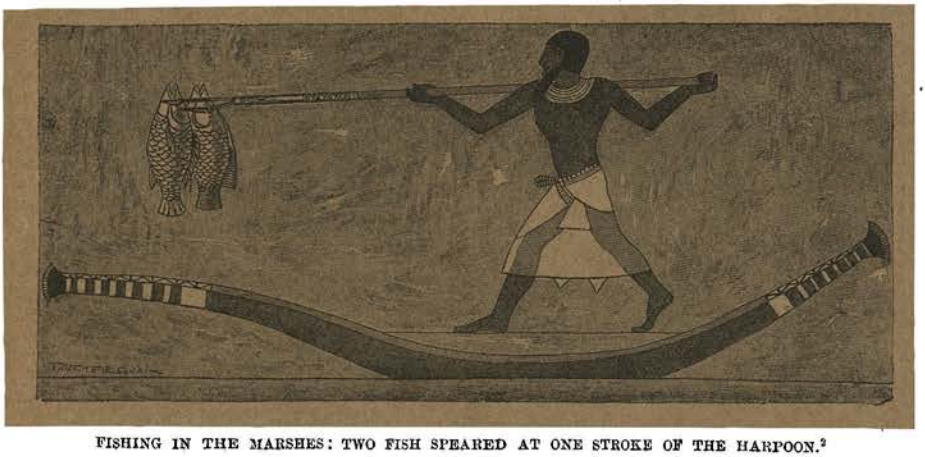
[4] Cf. Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire naturelle des poissons du Nil*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxii. pp. 182, 183. The jackals come down from the mountains in the night, and regale themselves with the fish left on the ground by the gradual drying up of these ponds.

[5] J. DE MORGAN, *Ethnographie préhistorique*, pp. 84–89, gives the principal shapes of the stone, ivory, and horn harpoons discovered both by himself and also by Petrie (*Nagada and Ballas*, pl. lxi. 12–16); for the copper harpoons found on these ancient sites, cf. PETRIE, *op. cit.*, pl. lxv. 7, 8.

[6] Bas-relief in the temple of Luxor, from a photograph taken by Insinger in 1886.

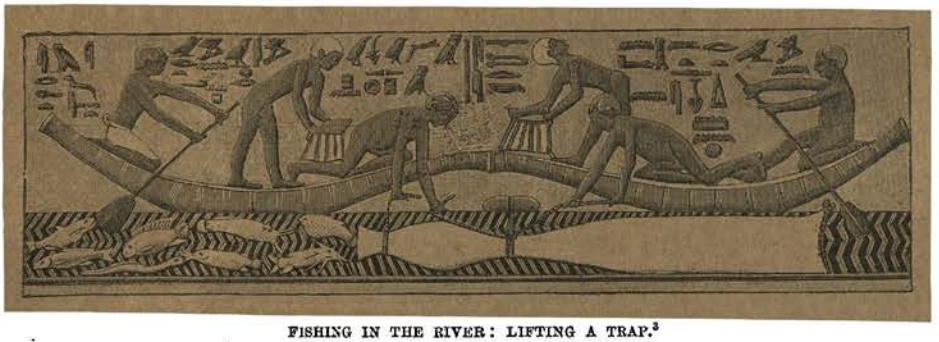
[7] DÜMICHEN, *Resultate der archäologisch-photographischen Expedition*, vol. i. pl. viii. Terra-cotta models of these very ancient canoes were discovered by PETRIE, *Nagada and Ballas*, pl. xxxi.

for a rainy day.[1] Like the river, the desert had its perils and its resources. Only too frequently, the lion, the leopard, the panther, and other large felidæ were met with there. The nobles, like the Pharaohs of later



FISHING IN THE MARSHES: TWO FISH SPEARED AT ONE STROKE OF THE HARPOON.[2]

times, deemed it as their privilege or duty to stalk and destroy these animals, pursuing them even to their dens. The common people preferred attacking the gazelle, the oryx, the mouflon sheep, the ibex, the



FISHING IN THE RIVER: LIFTING A TRAP.[3]

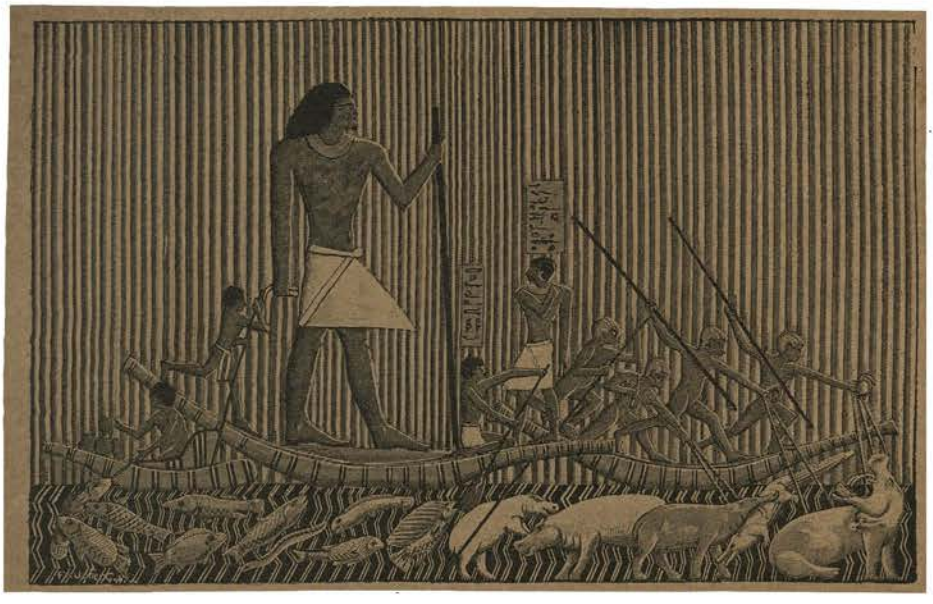
wild ox, and the ostrich, but did not disdain more humble game, such as the porcupine and long-eared hare: nondescript packs, in which the jackal and the hyena ran side by side with the wolf-dog and the lithe Abyssinian

[1] For the yearly value of the ancient fisheries, see HERODOTUS, ii. 149 (cf. iii. 91); DIODORUS, i. 52. On the system of farm rents in use at the beginning of the century, cf. MICHAUD, *Correspondance d'Orient*, vol. vi. letter 156; and WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. pp. 124–126.

[2] Isolated figure from a great fishing scene in the tomb of Khnumhotpû at Beni-Hasan; drawn by Faucher-Gudin after ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. XXV. 1.

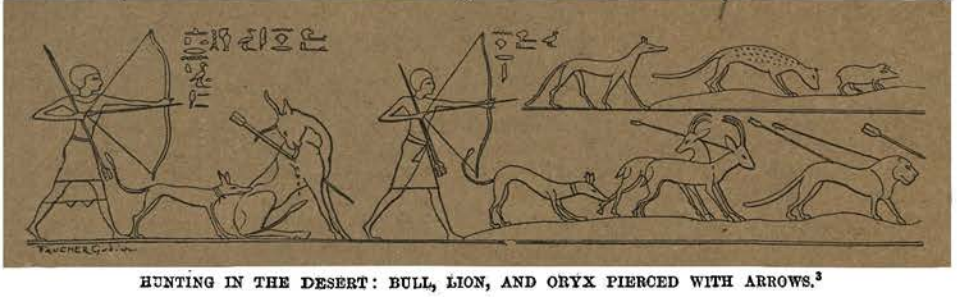
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from squeezes from the tomb of Ti.

greyhound, scented and retrieved for their master the prey which he had pierced with his arrows.[1] At times a hunter, returning with the dead body of



HUNTING IN THE MARSHES: ENCOUNTERING AND SPEARING A HIPPOPOTAMUS.[2]

the mother, would be followed by one of her young; or a gazelle, but slightly wounded, would be taken to the village and healed of its hurt. Such animals,



HUNTING IN THE DESERT: BULL, LION, AND ORYX PIERCED WITH ARROWS.[3]

by daily contact with man, were gradually tamed, and formed about his dwelling a motley flock, kept partly for his pleasure and mostly for his profit, and becoming in case of necessity a ready stock of provisions.[4] Efforts

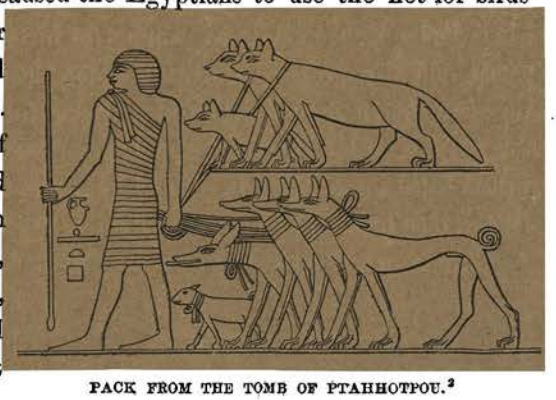
[1] On Egyptian dogs, see ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. i. pp. 197–202; FR. LENORMANT, *Les Animaux employés par les anciens Égyptiens à la chasse et à la guerre*, in *Premières Civilisations*, vol. i. p. 343, et seq.; BIRCH, *The Tablet of Antefaa II.*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. pp. 172–195.

[2] Tomb of Ti. Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. ii. pl. x.

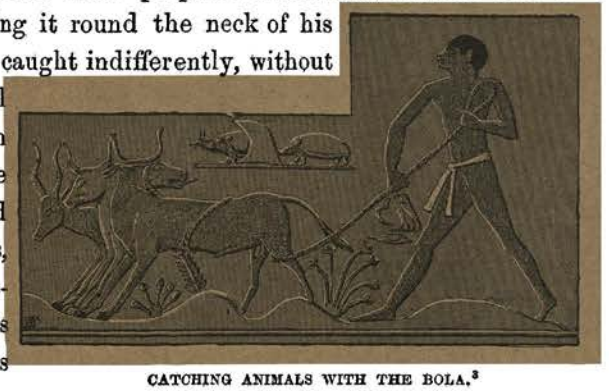
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a painting at Beni-Hasan, LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 136.

[4] In the same way, before the advent of Europeans, the half-civilized tribes of North America used to keep about their huts whole flocks of different animals, which were tame, but not domesticated (LIPPERT, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, vol. i. pp. 484, 485).

were therefore made to enlarge this flock, and the wish to procure animals without seriously injuring them, caused the Egyptians to use the net for birds and the lasso and the *bola* for quadrupeds,[1]—weapons less brutal than the arrow and the javelin. The *bola* was made by them of a single rounded stone, attached to a strap about five yards in length. The stone once thrown, the cord twisted round the legs, muzzle, or neck of the animal pursued, and by the attachment thus made the pursuer, using all his strength, was enabled to bring the beast down half strangled. The lasso has no stone attached to it, but a noose prepared beforehand, and the skill of the hunter consists in throwing it round the neck of his victim while running. They caught indifferently, without distinction of size or kind, all that chance brought within their reach. The daily chase kept up these half-tamed flocks of gazelles, wild goats, water-bucks, stocks, and ostriches, and their numbers are reckoned by hundreds on the monuments of the ancient empire.[4] Experience alone taught the hunter to distinguish between



PACK FROM THE TOMB OF PTAHHOTPOU.[2]



CATCHING ANIMALS WITH THE BOLA.[3]

[1] Hunting with the *bola* is constantly represented in the paintings both of the Memphite and Theban periods. Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. p. 87, f. 352, 353) has confounded it with lasso-hunting, and his mistake has been reproduced by other Egyptologists (ERMAN, *Ægypten*, p. 332). Lasso-hunting is seen in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 96, in DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. viii., and particularly in the numerous sacrificial scenes where the king is supposed to be capturing the bull of the north or south, previous to offering it to the god (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pl. 53). For the terms bola and lasso hunting, cf. MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, §§ 4 and 9, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1890–91, vol. xii. pp. 310, and 427–429.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief of Ptahhotpû (DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. ix.). The dogs on the upper level are of hyenoid type, those on the lower are Abyssinian greyhounds.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief of Ptahhotpû (DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. viii.) Above are seen two porcupines, the foremost of which, emerging from his hole, has seized a grasshopper.

[4] As the tombs of the ancient empire show us numerous flocks of gazelles, antelopes, and storks, feeding under the care of shepherds, Fr. Lenormant concluded that the Egyptians of early times had succeeded in domesticating some species, nowadays rebels to restraint (*Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. i. pp. 323–328). It is my belief that the animals represented were tamed, but not domesticated.

those species from which he could draw profit, and others whose wildness made them impossible to domesticate. The subjection of the most useful kinds had not been finished when the historic period opened. The ass, the sheep, and the goat were already domesticated, but the pig was still out in the marshes in a semi-wild state, under the care of special herdsmen,[1] and the religious rites preserved the remembrance of the times in which the ox was so little tamed, that in order to capture while grazing the animals needed for sacrifice or for slaughter, it was necessary to use the lasso.[2]

Europeans are astonished to meet nowadays whole peoples who make use of herbs and plants whose flavour and properties are nauseating to us: these are mostly so many legacies from a remote past; for example, castor-oil, with which the Berbers rub their limbs, and with which the fellahîn of the Saïd flavour their bread and vegetables, was preferred before all others by the Egyptians of the Pharaonic age for anointing the body and for culinary use.[4] They had begun by eating indiscriminately every kind of fruit which the country produced. Many of these, when their therapeutic virtues had been learned by experience, were gradually banished as articles of food, and their use restricted to medicine; others fell into

A SWINEHERD AND HIS PIGS.[3]

and were the result of great hunting expeditions in the desert. The facts which Lenormant brought forward to support his theory may be used against him. For instance, the fawn of the gazelle nourished by its mother (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 12) does not prove that it was bred in captivity; the gazelle may have been caught before calving, or just after the birth of its young. The fashion of keeping flocks of animals taken from the desert died out between the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties. At the time of the new empire, they had only one or two solitary animals as pets for women or children, the mummies of which were sometimes buried by the side of their mistresses (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au musée de Boulaq*, p. 327, No. 5220).

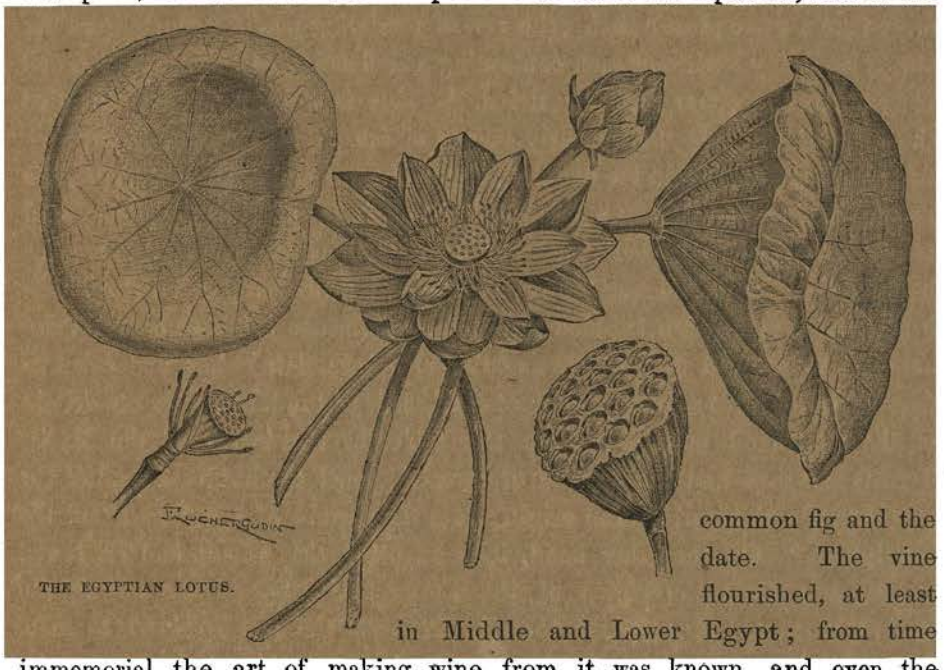
[1] The hatred of the Egyptians for the pig (HERODOTUS, ii. 47) is attributed to mythological motives (NAVILLE, *Le Chapitre CXII du Livre des Morts*, in the *Études archéologiques dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans*, pp. 75–77). LIPPERT (*Kulturgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 545, et seq.) thinks this antipathy did not exist in Egypt in primitive times. At the outset the pig would have been the principal food of the people; then, like the dog in other regions, it must have been replaced at the table by animals of a higher order—gazelles, sheep, goats, oxen—and would have thus fallen into contempt. To the excellent reasons given by Lippert could be added others drawn from the study of the Egyptian myths, to prove that the pig has often been highly esteemed. Thus, Isis is represented, down to late times, under the form of a sow, and a sow, whether followed or not by her young, is one of the amulets placed in the tomb with the deceased, to secure for him the protection of the goddess (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 273, No. 4155).

[2] MARIETTE, *Abydos* (vol. i. pl. 48 *b*, 53). To prevent the animal from evading the lasso and escaping during the sacrifice, its right hind foot was fastened to its left horn.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a painting in a Theban tomb of the XVIIIth dynasty.

[4] I have often been obliged, from politeness, when dining with the native agents appointed by the European powers in Upper Egypt, to eat salads and mayonnaise sauces flavoured with castor-oil; the taste was not so disagreeable as might be at first imagined.

disuse, and only reappeared at sacrifices, or at funeral feasts; several varieties continue to be eaten to the present time—the acid fruits of the nabeca and of the carob tree, the astringent figs of the sycamore, the insipid pulp of the dom-palm, besides those which are pleasant to our Western palates, such as the common fig and the date. The vine flourished, at least in Middle and Lower Egypt; from time immemorial the art of making wine from it was known, and even the most ancient monuments enumerate half a dozen famous brands, red or white.[2] Vetches, lupins, beans, chick-peas, lentils, onions, fenugreek,[3] the bamiâ,[4] the meloukhia,[5] the arum colocasia,[6] all grew wild in the fields, and the river itself supplied its quota of nourishing plants. Two of the species of lotus



THE EGYPTIAN LOTUS.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from the *Description de l'Égypte*, HISTOIRE NATURELLE, pl. 61.

[2] On the wines of Egypt under the Pharaohs, cf. BRUGSCH, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase el-Khargeh*, pp. 90–93. The four kinds of canonical wine, brought respectively from the north, south, east, and west of the country, formed part of the official repast and of the wine-cellar of the deceased from remote antiquity.

[3] All these species have been found in the tombs and identified by savants in archæological botany—Kunth, Unger, Schweinfurth (LORET, *La Flore Pharaonique*, pp. 17, 40, 42, 43, Nos. 33, 97, 102, 104, 105, 106).

[4] The bamiâ, *Hibiscus esculentus*, L., is a plant of the family of the Malvaceæ, having a fruit of five divisions, covered with prickly hairs, and containing round, white, soft seeds, slightly sweet, but astringent in taste, and very mucilaginous (S. DE SACY, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, pp. 16, 37–40). It figures on the monuments of Pharaonic times (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. xxxix. 3, and text, vol. i. pp. 380, 381; cf. WŒNIG, *Die Pflanzen im Alten Ægypten*, pp. 219, 220).

[5] The meloukhia, *Corchorus Olitorius*, L., is a plant belonging to the Tilliaceæ, which is chopped up and cooked much the same as endive is with us, but which few Europeans can eat with pleasure, owing to the mucilage it contains (S. DE SACY, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, pp. 16, 17, 40–42). Theophrastus says it was celebrated for its bitterness (*Historia Plant.*, vii. 7); it was used as food, however, in the Greek town of Alexandria (PLINY, *H. N.*, xxi. 15, 32).

[6] The colocasia, *Arum colocasia*, L., is mentioned in Pliny (*H. N.*, xix. 5; xxiv. 16) among the vegetables of Egypt: the root, cooked in water, is still eaten at the present day.

which grew in the Nile, the white and the blue, have seed-vessels similar to those of the poppy: the capsules contain small grains of the size of millet-seed. The fruit of the pink lotus "grows on a different stalk from that of the flower, and springs directly from the root; it resembles a honeycomb in form," or, to take a more prosaic simile, the rose of a watering-pot. The upper part has twenty or thirty cavities, "each containing a seed as big as an olive stone, and pleasant to eat either fresh or dried."[1] This is what the ancients called the bean of Egypt.[2] "The yearly shoots of the papyrus are also gathered. After pulling them up in the marshes, the points are cut off and rejected, the part remaining being about a cubit in length. It is eaten as a delicacy and is sold in the markets, but those who are fastidious partake of it only after baking."[3] Twenty different kinds of grain and fruits, prepared by crushing between two stones, are kneaded and baked to furnish cakes or bread; these are often mentioned in the texts as cakes of nabeca, date cakes, and cakes of figs. Lily loaves, made from the roots and seeds of the lotus, were the delight of the gourmand, and appear on the tables of the kings of the XIXth dynasty;[4] bread and cakes made of cereals formed the habitual food of the people.[5] Durrah is of African origin; it is the "grain of the South" of the inscriptions.[6] On the other hand, it is supposed that wheat and six-rowed barley came from the region of the Euphrates.[7] Egypt was among the first to procure and cultivate them.[8] The soil there is so kind to man, that in many places no agricultural toil is required. As soon as the

[1] HERODOTUS, ii. 92. The root of two species of lotus is still held in much esteem by the half-savage inhabitants of Lake Menzaleh, but they prefer that of the *Nymphæa Cærulea* (SAVARY, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 8, note 8; RAFFENEAU-DELILE, *Flore d'Égypte*, in the *Description*, vol. xix. p. 425).

[2] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 10, 34; THEOPHRASTUS, *Hist. Pl.*, iv. 10; STRABO, xvii. 799.

[3] HERODOTUS, ii. 92. On the papyrus of Egypt in general, and on its uses, whether as an edible or otherwise, see FR. WŒNIG, *Die Pflanzen im Alten Ægypten*, pp. 74–129.

[4] *Tiû*, which is the most ancient word for bread, appears in early times to have been used for every kind of paste, whether made with fruits or grain; the more modern word *âqû* applies specially to bread made from cereals. The lily loaves are mentioned in the *Papyrus Anastasi*, No. 4, p. 14, l. 1.

[5] From the Ancient Empire downwards, the rations of the workmen were distributed in corn or in loaves. The long flat loaf is, moreover, the principal offering brought for the dead; another oval loaf with a jar of water is the determinative for the idea of funeral repast , which shows that its use dates from early prehistoric times in Egypt.

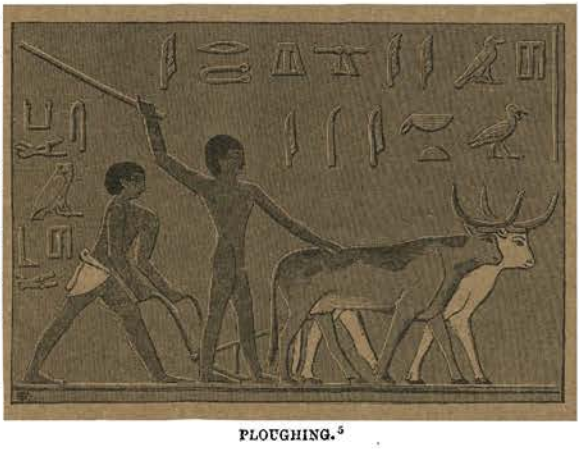
[6] The African origin of the common durrah, *Holcus Sorghum*, L., is admitted by E. DE CANDOLLE, *Origine des plantes cultivées*, pp. 305–307. Its seeds have been found in the tombs (LORET, *La Flore Pharaonique*, p. 12, No. 20), and a representation of it in the Theban paintings (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. xxxvi. 2, and text, vol. i. p. 361, et seq.). I have found it mentioned under the name of *dirati* in the *Papyrus Anastasi*, No. iv., p. 13, l. 12; p. 17, l. 4.

[7] Wheat, *sûut, sûo*, is the *corn of the north* of the inscriptions. Barley is *iati, ioti*. On the Asiatic origin of wheat, see E. DE CANDOLLE, *Origine des plantes cultivées*, pp. 285–288; his conclusions appear to me insufficiently supported by fact. The Semitic name of wheat is found under the form *kamhû* in the Pyramids (MASPERO, *La Pyramide du roi Téti*, in the *Recueil*, vol. v. p. 10).

[8] The position which wheat and barley occupy in the lists of offerings, proves the antiquity of their existence in Egypt. Mariette found specimens of barley in the tombs of the Ancient Empire

water of the Nile retires, the ground is sown without previous preparation, and the grain, falling straight into the mud, grows as vigorously as in the best-ploughed furrows.[1] Where the earth is hard it is necessary to break it up, but the extreme simplicity of the instruments with which this was done shows what a feeble resistance it offered. For a long time the hoe sufficed. It was composed either of a large stone tied to a wooden handle,[2] or was made of two pieces of wood of unequal length, united at one of their extremities, and held together towards the middle by a slack cord: the plough, when first invented, was but a slightly enlarged hoe, drawn by oxen.[4] The cultivation of cereals, once established on the banks of the Nile, developed, from earliest times, to such a degree as to supplant all else: hunting, fishing, the rearing of cattle, occupied but a secondary place compared with agriculture, and Egypt became, that which she still remains, a vast granary of wheat.

THE EGYPTIAN HOE.[3]



PLOUGHING.[5]

The part of the valley first cultivated was from Gebel Silsileh to the apex of the Delta.[6] Between the Libyan and Arabian ranges it presents a slightly

at Saqqarah (SCHWEINFURTH, *Notice sur les restes de végétaux de l'Ancienne Egypte contenus dans une armoire du musée de Boulaq*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. v. p. 4).

[1] P.-S. GIRARD, *Mémoire sur l'Agriculture, l'Industrie et le Commerce de l'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xviii. p. 49.

[2] J. DE MORGAN, *Ethnographie préhistorique*, p. 96.

[3] Bas-relief from the tomb of Ti; drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey.

[4] COSTAZ, *Grottes d'Élethyia*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. vi. p. 105; MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 68–71.

[5] Bas-relief from the tomb of Ti; drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey.

[6] This was the tradition of all the ancients. Herodotus related that, according to the Egyptians, the whole of Egypt, with the exception of the Theban nome, was a vast swamp previous to the time of Menes (HERODOTUS, ii. 4). Aristotle (*Meteorolog.*, i. xiv.) adds that the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the area now occupied by the Delta, formed one sea.

convex surface, furrowed lengthways by a depression, in the bottom of which the Nile is gathered and enclosed when the inundation is over. In the summer, as soon as the river had risen higher than the top of its banks, the water rushed by the force of gravity towards the lower lands, hollowing in its course long channels, some of which never completely dried up, even when the Nile reached its lowest level.[1] Cultivation was easy in the neighbourhood of these natural reservoirs, but everywhere else the movements of the river were rather injurious than advantageous to man. The inundation scarcely ever covered the higher ground in the valley, which therefore remained unproductive; it flowed rapidly over the lands of medium elevation, and moved so sluggishly in the hollows that they became weedy and stagnant pools.[2] In any year the portion not watered by the river was invaded by the sand: from the lush vegetation of a hot country, there was but one step to absolute aridity. At the present day an ingeniously established system of irrigation allows the agriculturist to direct and distribute the overflow according to his needs. From Gebel Ain to the sea, the Nile and its principal branches are bordered by long dykes, which closely follow the windings of the river and furnish sufficiently stable embankments. Numerous canals lead off to right and left, directed more or less obliquely towards the confines of the valley; they are divided at intervals by fresh dykes, starting at the one side from the river, and ending on the other either at the Bahr Yusuf or at the rising of the desert. Some of these dykes protect one district only, and consist merely of a bank of earth; others command a large extent of territory, and a breach in them would entail the ruin of an entire province. These latter are sometimes like real ramparts, made of crude brick carefully cemented; a few, as at Qosheish, have a core of hewn stones, which later generations have covered with masses of brickwork, and strengthened with constantly renewed buttresses of earth. They wind across the plain with many unexpected and apparently aimless turns; on closer examination, however, it may be seen that this irregularity is not to be attributed to ignorance or caprice. Experience had taught the Egyptians the art of picking out, upon the almost imperceptible relief of the soil, the easiest lines to use against the inundation: of these they have followed carefully the sinuosities, and if the course of the dykes appears singular, it is to be ascribed to the natural configuration of the ground. Subsidiary embankments thrown up between the principal ones, and parallel

[1] The whole description of the damage which can be done by the Nile in places where the inundation is not regulated, is borrowed from LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, *Mémoire sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique*, p. 3.

[2] This physical configuration of the country explains the existence at a very early date of those gigantic serpents which I have already mentioned; cf. p. 33, note 5, of this *History*.

to the Nile, separate the higher ground bordering the river from the low lands on the confines of the valley; they divide the larger basins into smaller divisions of varying area, in which the irrigation is regulated by means of special trenches.[1] As long as the Nile is falling, the dwellers on its banks leave their canals in free communication with it; but they dam them up towards the end of the winter, just before the return of the inundation, and do not reopen them till early in August, when the new flood is at its height. The waters then flowing in by the trenches are arrested by the nearest transverse dyke and spread over the fields. When they have stood there long enough to saturate the ground, the dyke is pierced, and they pour into the next basin until they are stopped by a second dyke, which in its turn forces them again to spread out on either side. This operation is renewed from dyke to dyke, till the valley soon becomes a series of artificial ponds, ranged one above another, and flowing one into another from Gebel Silsileh to the apex of the Delta. In autumn, the mouth of each ditch is dammed up anew, in order to prevent the mass of water from flowing back into the stream. The transverse dykes, which have been cut in various places, are also repaired, and the basins become completely landlocked, separated by narrow causeways. In some places, the water thus imprisoned is so shallow that it is soon absorbed by the soil; in others, it is so deep, that after it has been kept in for several weeks, it is necessary to let it run off into a neighbouring depression, or straight into the river itself.[2]

History has left us no account of the vicissitudes of the struggle in which the Egyptians were engaged with the Nile, nor of the time expended in bringing it to a successful issue. Legend attributes the idea of the system and its partial working out to the god Osiris:[3] then Menes, the first mortal king, is said to have made the dyke of Qosheish, on which depends the prosperity of the Delta[4] and Middle Egypt, and the fabulous Mœris is supposed to have extended the blessings of the irrigation to the Fayûm.[5] In reality, the

[1] The first precise information about the arrangement of a basin, or a series of basins, was collected at the beginning of our century by MARTIN, *Description géographique des provinces de Beni-Soueyf et du Fayoum*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xvi. p. 6, et seq. The regulations to which the basins of Upper Egypt and of the Delta are subject has been well described by CHÉLU, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, p. 323, et seq.

[2] P.-S. GIRARD, *Mémoire sur l'Agriculture, l'Industrie et le Commerce de l'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xvii. pp. 10-13. For the technical details of the progressive filling and emptying of the basins, see again CHÉLU, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, pp. 325-333.

[3] DIOD. SICULUS, i. 19, who borrowed this information from the hymns of the Alexandrine period.

[4] BUNSEN, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. ii. p. 41, interpreting a passage of Herodotus (ii. 91), thinks that it was the dyke of Qosheish, the construction of which the Egyptians attributed to Menes.

[5] HERODOTUS, ii. 150, 149, where it is useless to seek to identify an actual Pharaoh with Mœris.

regulation of the inundation and the making of cultivable land are the work of unrecorded generations who peopled the valley. The kings of the historic period had only to maintain and develop certain points of what had already been done, and Upper Egypt is to this day chequered by the network of waterways with which its earliest inhabitants covered it. The work must have begun simultaneously at several points, without previous agreement, and, as it were, instinctively. A dyke protecting a village, a canal draining or watering some small province, demanded the efforts of but few individuals; then the dykes would join one another, the canals would be prolonged till they met others, and the work undertaken by chance would be improved, and would spread with the concurrence of an ever-increasing

BOATMEN FIGHTING ON A CANAL COMMUNICATING WITH THE NILE.[1]

population. What happened at the end of last century, shows us that the system grew and was developed at the expense of considerable quarrels and bloodshed. The inhabitants of each district carried out the part of the work most conducive to their own interest, seizing the supply of water, keeping it and discharging it at pleasure, without considering whether they were injuring their neighbours by depriving them of their supply or by flooding them; hence arose perpetual strife and fighting. It became imperative that the rights of the weaker should be respected, and that the system of distribution should be co-ordinated, for the country to accept a beginning at least of social organization analogous to that which it acquired later: the Nile thus determined the political as well as the physical constitution of Egypt.[2]

The country was divided among communities, whose members were supposed to be descended from the same seed (*pâît*) and to belong to the same

[1] Bas-relief from the tomb of Ti; drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by E. Brugsch-Bey.

[2] For the state of the irrigation service at the beginning of our century, and for the differences which arose between the villages over the distribution of the water, and on the manner in which the supply was cut off, see P.-S. Girard, *Mémoire sur l'Agriculture, l'Industrie et le Commerce de Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xvii. p. 13, et seq.; for the present legislation, see Chélu, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, pp. 308-321, 482, et seq.

family (*pâîtû*[1]): the chiefs of them were called *ropâîtû*, the guardians, or pastors of the family, and in later times their name became a title applicable to the nobility in general. Families combined and formed groups of various importance under the authority of a head chief—*ropâîtû-hâ*.[2] They were, in fact, hereditary lords, dispensing justice, levying taxes in kind on their subordinates, reserving to themselves the redistribution of land, leading their men to battle, and sacrificing to the gods.[3] The territories over which they exercised authority formed small states, whose boundaries even now, in some places, can be pointed out with certainty. The principality of the Terebinth[4] occupied the very heart of Egypt, where the valley is widest, and the course of the Nile most advantageously disposed by nature—a country well suited to be the cradle of an infant civilization. Siaût (Siût), the capital, is built almost at the foot of the Libyan range, on a strip of land barely a mile in width, which

A GREAT EGYPTIAN LORD, TI, AND HIS WIFE.[5]

[1] The word *pâîtû* has been interpreted by M. Lepage-Renouf (*Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1887–88, x. p. 77) to signify "the dead, past generations." The sense indicated in the text was proposed by Maspero (*Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 15, et seq.) and afterwards adopted by Brugsch (*Die Ægyptologie*, p. 291).

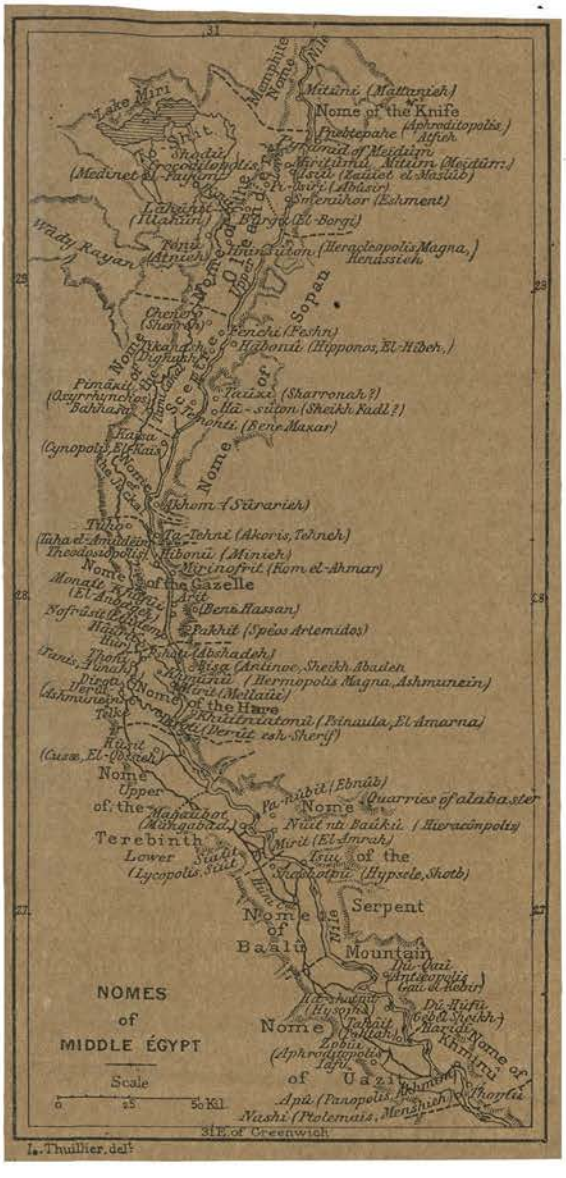
[2] These titles have been explained by Maspero (*Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 15–19, and *Notes au jour le jour*, § 25, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. p. 314; cf. PIEHL, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. p. 133, n. 1, and *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 128).

[3] These prerogatives were still exercised by the princes of the nomes under the Middle and New Empires (MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 179–181); they only enjoyed them then by the good will of the reigning sovereign.

[4] The Egyptian word for the tree which gives its name to this principality is *atf*, *iatf*, *iôtf*: it is only by a process of elimination that I have come to identify it with the *Pistacia Terebinthus*, L., which furnished the Egyptians with the scented resin *snûtir* (LORET, *La Flore pharaonique*, p. 44, No. 110).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. ii. pl. vii.

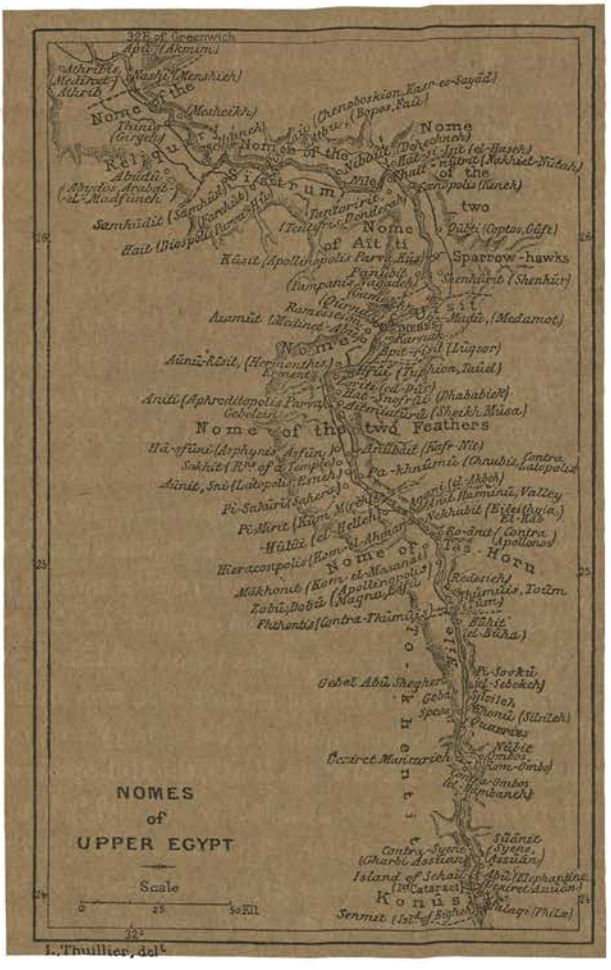
separates the river from the hills. A canal surrounds it on three sides, and makes, as it were, a natural ditch about its walls; during the inundation it is connected with the mainland only by narrow causeways — shaded with mimosas — and looking like a raft of verdure aground in the current.[1] The site is as happy as it is picturesque; not only does the town command the two arms of the river, opening or closing the waterway at will, but from time immemorial the most frequented of the routes into Central Africa has terminated at its gates, bringing to it the commerce of the Soudan. It held sway, at the outset, over both banks, from range to range, northward as far as Deyrût, where the true Bahr Yusuf leaves the Nile, and southward to the neighbourhood of Gebel Sheikh Haridi. The extent and original number of the other principalities is not so easily determined. The most important, to the north of Siût, were those of the Hare and the Oleander. The principality of the Hare never reached the dimensions of that of its neighbour the Terebinth, but its chief town was Khmûnû, whose antiquity was so remote, that a universally accepted tradition made it the scene of the most important acts of creation.[2] That of the Oleander,



[1] Boudier's drawing, reproduced on p. 25, and taken from a photograph by Beato, gives most faithfully the aspect presented by the plain and the modern town of Siout during the inundation.

[2] Khmûnû, the present Ashmûneîn, is the Hermopolis of the Greeks, the town of the god Thot.

on the contrary, was even larger than that of the Terebinth, and from Hininsû, its chief governor ruled alike over the marshes of the Fayûm and the plains of Beni-Suef.[1] To the south, Apû on the right bank governed a district so closely shut in between a bend of the Nile and two spurs of the range, that its limits have never varied much since ancient times. Its inhabitants were divided in their employment between weaving and the culture of cereals. From early times they possessed the privilege of furnishing clothing to a large part of Egypt, and their looms, at the present day, still make those checked or striped "melayahs" which the fellah women wear over their long blue tunics.[2] Beyond Apû, Thinis, the Girgeh of the Arabs, situate on both banks of the river, rivalled Khmûnû in antiquity and Siût in wealth: its plains still produce the richest harvests and feed the most numerous herds of sheep and oxen in the Saïd. As we approach the cataract, information becomes scarcer. Qûbti



For the geography of the nome of the Hare, of which it is the capital, see MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 19, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. pp. 187–204.

[1] Hininsû is the *Heracleopolis Magna* of the Greeks, the present Henassieh, called also Ahnas-el-Medineh. The Egyptian word for the tree which gives its name to this principality, is NÂRÎT (DÜMICHEN, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 209, 210). Loret has shown that this tree, *Nârît*, is the oleander (*Sur l'arbre Nârou des anciens Égyptiens*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 102).

[2] Apû was the Panopolis or Chemmis of the Greeks, the town of the god Mîn or ithyphallic Khimû (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 575, 1380). Its manufactures of linen are mentioned by Strabo (xvii. p. 813); the majority of the beautiful Coptic woven fabrics and embroideries which have been brought to Europe lately, come from the necropolis of the Arab period at Apû.

and Aûnû of the South, the Coptos and Hermonthis of the Greeks, shared peaceably the plain occupied later on by Thebes and its temples, and Nekhabît and Zobû watched over the safety of Egypt.[1] Nekhabît soon lost its position as a frontier town, and that portion of Nubia lying between Gebel Silsileh and the rapids of Syene formed a kind of border province, of which Nubît-Ombos was the principal sanctuary and Abû-Elephantine the fortress:[2] beyond this were the barbarians, and those inaccessible regions whence the Nile descended upon our earth.

The organization of the Delta, it would appear, was more slowly brought about. It must have greatly resembled that of the lowlands of Equatorial Africa, towards the confluence of the Bahr el Abiad and the Bahr el Ghazâl. Great tracts of mud, difficult to describe as either solid or liquid, marshes dotted here and there with sandy islets, bristling with papyrus reeds, water-lilies, and enormous plants through which the arms of the Nile sluggishly pushed their ever-shifting course, low-lying wastes intersected with streams and pools, unfit for cultivation and scarcely available for pasturing cattle.[3] The population of such districts, engaged in a ceaseless struggle with nature, always preserved relatively ruder manners, and a more rugged and savage character, impatient of all authority. The conquest of this region began from the outer edge only. A few principalities were established at the apex of the Delta in localities where the soil had earliest been won from the river. It appears that one of these divisions embraced the country south of and between the bifurcation of the Nile: Aûnû of the North, the Heliopolis of the Greeks, was its capital. In very early times the principality was divided, and formed three new states, independent of each other. Those of Aûnû and the Haunch were opposite to each other, the first on the Arabian, the latter on the Libyan bank of the Nile. The district of the White Wall marched with that of the Haunch on the north, and on the south touched the territory of the Oleander. Further down the river, between the more important branches, the governors of Saïs and of Bubastis, of Athribis and of Busiris, shared among themselves the primitive Delta.[4] Two frontier provinces of unequal size, the Arabian on

[1] Nûkhabît, Nekhabît, the hieroglyphic name of which was first correctly read by E. de Rougé (*Cours professé au Collège de France*, 1869), is el-Kab, the Eilithyia of the Greeks (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 351–353), and Zobû, Edfû, Apollinopolis Magna (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 921, 922).

[2] The nome of Elephantine was called Khontît, the advanced, the point of Egypt (LEPSIUS, *Der Bogen in der Hieroglyphik*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 86–88; cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, p. 26, et seq.).

[3] All the features of this description are taken from notes of my travels; it is the aspect presented in those districts of the Delta where the artificial regulation of the water has completely disappeared owing to the inveterate negligence of the central government.

[4] See p. 4 of this volume for the description of this primitive Delta.

the east in the Wady Tumilat, and the Libyan on the west to the south of Lake Mareotis, defended the approaches of the country from the attacks of Asiatic Bedâwins and of African nomads. The marshes of the interior and the dunes of the littoral, were not conducive to the development of any great industry or civilization. They only comprised tracts of thinly populated country, like the principalities of the Harpoon and of the Cow, and others whose limits varied from century to century with the changing course of the river. The work of

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
NOMES OF LOWER EGYPT
Scale
Nome of the Western Harpoon
Nome of Sam-hûdi
Nome of the Silurus
Eastern Marches
Nome of Ka-Hobs
Nome of the Cow
Nome of the Prince of Aunu (On, Heliopolis, Matarieh)
Nome of the Knife
Nome of the West
Nome of the Tanite
Nome of the Black Land
Nome of the Haunch
Nome of the Cultivators
Nome of the Lake
Nome of the Tract
Nome of the Abomination
Nome of the Thistle Land
Nome of the Wall
Nome of the Lake of Natron
Nome of the Eastern Harpoon
Nome of the Lake of Kamarit
Nome of the Red Mountain
Nome of the Tract of Tell Bastah
Nome of the Tract of Tell el-Yahudieh
Nome of the Tract of Tell Nebesheh
Nome of the Tract of Tell Abu Seifeh
Nome of the Tract of Tell el-Amâsgah
Nome of the Tract of Tell Maskhûtah
Nome of the Tract of Tell Basta
Nome of the Tract of Tell Belbeis
Nome of the Tract of Tell Tûrah
Nome of the Tract of Tell Mattanieh
Nome of the Tract of Tell Sebakh
Nome of the Tract of Tell Sebakh
Nome of the Tract of Tell Sebak

work of several generations was for a long time undone. The Delta of one epoch rarely presented the same aspect as that of previous periods, and Northern Egypt never became as fully mistress of her soil as the Egypt of the south.[1]

These first principalities, however small they appear to us, were yet too large to remain undivided. In those times of slow communication, the strong attraction which a capital exercised over the provinces under its authority did not extend over a wide radius. That part of the population of the Terebinth, living sufficiently near to Siût to come into the town for a few hours in the morning, returning in the evening to the villages when business was done, would not feel any desire to withdraw from the rule of the prince who governed there. On the other hand, those who lived outside that restricted circle were forced to seek elsewhere some places of assembly to attend the administration of justice, to sacrifice in common to the national gods, and to exchange the produce of the fields and of local manufactures. Those towns which had the good fortune to become such rallying-points naturally played the part of rivals to the capital, and their chiefs, with the district whose population, so to speak, gravitated around them, tended to become independent of the prince. When they succeeded in doing this, they often preserved for the new state thus created, the old name, slightly modified by the addition of an epithet. The primitive territory of Siût was in this way divided into three distinct communities; two, which remained faithful to the old emblem of the tree—the Upper Terebinth, with Siût itself in the centre, and the Lower Terebinth, with Kûsit to the north; the third, in the south and east, took as their totem the immortal serpent which dwelt in their mountains, and called themselves the Serpent Mountain, whose chief town was that of the Sparrow Hawk. The territory of the Oleander produced by its dismemberment the principality of the Upper Oleander, that of the Lower Oleander, and that of the Knife. The territory of the Harpoon in the Delta divided itself into the Western and Eastern Harpoon.[2] The fission in most cases could not have been accomplished without struggles; but it did take place, and all the principalities having a domain of any considerable extent had to submit to it, however they may have striven to avoid it. This parcelling out was continued as circumstances afforded opportunity, until the whole of Egypt, except the

[1] For the geography of the Delta, consult the work of J. DE ROUGÉ, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, 1891, in which are brought together, discussed, and carefully co-ordinated, the information scattered about in alphabetical order in the admirable *Dictionnaire Géographique* of Brugsch.

[2] J. DE ROUGÉ, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, pp. 30–56.

half desert districts about the cataract, became but an agglomeration of petty states nearly equal in power and population.[1]

The Greeks called them nomes, and we have borrowed the word from them;[2] the natives named them in several ways, the most ancient term being "nûît," which may be translated *domain*,[3] and the most common appellation in recent times being "hospû," which signifies *district*.[4] The number of the nomes varied considerably in the course of centuries: the hieroglyphic monuments and classical authors fixed them sometimes at thirty-six, sometimes at forty, sometimes at forty-four, or even fifty. The little that we know of their history, up to the present time, explains the reason of this variation. Ceaselessly quarrelled over by the princely families who possessed them, the nomes were alternately humbled and exalted by civil wars, marriages, and conquest, which caused them continually to pass into fresh hands, either entire or divided. The Egyptians, whom we are accustomed to consider as a people respecting the established order of things, and conservative of ancient tradition, showed themselves as restless and as prone to modify or destroy the work of the past, as the most inconstant of our modern nations. The distance of time which separates them from us, and the almost complete absence of documents, gives them an appearance of immobility, by which we are liable to be unconsciously deceived; when the monuments still existing shall have been unearthed, their history will present the same complexity of incidents, the same agitations, the same instability, which we suspect or know to have been characteristic of most other Oriental nations. One thing alone remained stable among them in the midst of so many revolutions, and which prevented them from losing their individuality and from coalescing in a common unity. This was the belief in and the worship of one particular deity. If the little capitals of the petty states whose origin is lost in a remote past—Edfû and Denderah, Nekhabît and Bûto, Siût, Thinis, Khmûnû, Saïs, Bubastis, Athribis—had only possessed that importance which resulted from the presence

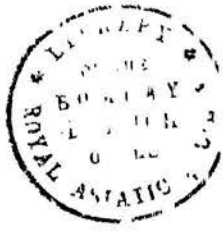
[1] Examples of the subdivision of ancient nomes and the creation of fresh nomes are met with long after primitive times. We find, for example, the nome of the Western Harpoon divided under the Greeks and Romans into two districts—that of the Harpoon proper, of which the chief town was Sonti-nofir; and that of Ranûfir, with the Onûphis of classical geographers for its capital (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 1012-1020).

[2] The definition of the word *nome*, and those passages in ancient authors where it is used, will be found in JABLONSKI, *Opuscula*, ed. T. WATER, vol. i. pp. 169-176.

[3] For the various meanings of this word, see MASPERO, *Sur le sens des mots Nûit et Hâit*, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1889-90, vol. xii. p. 236, et seq.

[4] BRUGSCH, *Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 18-21; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 183-186. The word *tôsh*, which in the Coptic texts has replaced *hospû* and *nûît*, signified originally *limit, frontier;* it is, properly speaking, the territory *marked out and limited by the stelæ* which belongs to a town or a village.

of an ambitious petty prince, or from the wealth of their inhabitants, they would never have passed safe and sound through the long centuries of existence which they enjoyed from the opening to the close of Egyptian history. Fortune raised their chiefs, some even to the rank of rulers of the world, and in turn abased them: side by side with the earthly ruler, whose glory was but too often eclipsed, there was enthroned in each nome a divine ruler, a deity, a god of the domain, "nûtir nûiti," whose greatness never perished. The princely families might be exiled or become extinct, the extent of the territory might diminish or increase, the town might be doubled in size and population or fall in ruins: the god lived on through all these vicissitudes, and his presence alone preserved intact the rights of the state over which he reigned as sovereign. If any disaster befell his worshippers, his temple was the spot where the survivors of the catastrophe rallied around him, their religion preventing them from mixing with the inhabitants of neighbouring towns and from becoming lost among them. The survivors multiplied with that extraordinary rapidity which is the characteristic of the Egyptian fellah, and a few years of peace sufficed to repair losses which apparently were irreparable. Local religion was the tie which bound together those divers elements of which each principality was composed, and as long as it remained, the nomes remained; when it vanished, they disappeared with it.



THE GODS OF EGYPT.

THEIR NUMBER AND NATURE—THE FEUDAL GODS, LIVING AND DEAD—TRIADS—THE TEMPLES AND PRIESTHOOD—THE COSMOGONIES OF THE DELTA—THE ENNEADS OF HELIOPOLIS AND HERMOPOLIS.

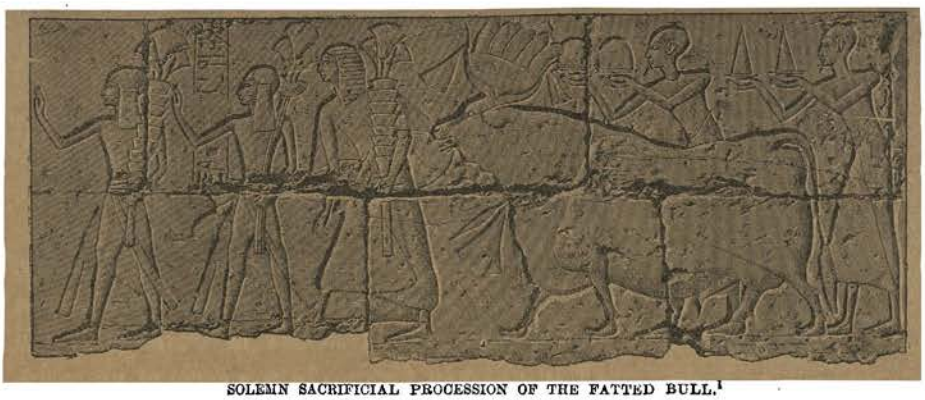
Multiplicity of the Egyptian gods: the commonalty of the gods, its varieties, human, animal, and intermediate between man and beast; gods of foreign origin, indigenous gods, and the contradictory forms with which they were invested in accordance with various conceptions of their nature.

The Star-gods—The Sun-god as the Eye of the Sky; as a bird, as a calf, and as a man; its barks, voyages round the world, and encounters with the serpent Apopi—The Moon-god and its enemies—The Star-gods: the Haunch of the Ox, the Hippopotamus, the Lion, the five Horus-planets; Sothis Sirius, and Sahû Orion.

The feudal gods and their classes: the Nile-gods, the earth-gods, the sky-gods and the sun-god, the Horus-gods—The equality of feudal gods and goddesses; their persons, alliances, and marriages: their children—The triads and their various developments.

The nature of the gods: the double, the soul, the body, death of men and gods, and their fate after death—The necessity for preserving the body, mummification—Dead gods the gods of the dead—The living gods, their temples and images—The gods of the people, trees, serpents, family fetiches—The theory of prayer and sacrifice: the servants of the temples, the property of the gods, the sacerdotal colleges.

The cosmogonies of the Delta: Sibû and Nûît, Osiris and Isis, Sît and Nephthys—Heliopolis and its theological schools: Râ, his identification with Horus, his dual nature, and the conception of Âtûmû—The Heliopolitan Enneads: formation of the Great Ennead—Thot and the Hermopolitan Ennead: creation by articulate words and by voice alone—Diffusion of the Enneads: their connection with the local triads, the god One and the god Eight—The one and only gods.



SOLEMN SACRIFICIAL PROCESSION OF THE FATTED BULL.[1]

CHAPTER II.

THE GODS OF EGYPT.

Their number and their nature—The feudal gods, living and dead—The Triads—Temples and priests—The cosmogonies of the Delta—The Enneads of Heliopolis and of Hermopolis.

THE incredible number of religious scenes to be found among the representations on the ancient monuments of Egypt is at first glance very striking. Nearly every illustration in the works of Egyptologists brings before us the figure of some deity receiving with an impassive countenance the prayers and offerings of a worshipper. One would think that the country had been inhabited for the most part by gods, and contained just sufficient men and animals to satisfy the requirements of their worship.

On penetrating into this mysterious world, we are confronted by an actual rabble of gods, each one of whom has always possessed but a limited and almost unconscious existence. They severally represented a function, a moment in the life of man or of the universe: thus Naprît was identified with the ripe ear, or the grain of wheat;[2]

[1] Bas-relief in the temple of Luxor. Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato, taken in 1890. The two personages marching in front, carrying great bouquets, and each with an uplifted hand, are the last in a long procession of the sons of Rameses II. The vignette, which represents King Seti I. kneeling, is also drawn by Boudier, and is from a bas-relief of the temple of Abydos.

[2] The word *naprît* means *grain*, the grain of wheat (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Hiéroglyphique*, pp. 752, 753). The grain-god is represented in the tomb of Seti I. (LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Séti Ier*, in the

Maskhonît appeared by the child's cradle at the very moment of its birth;[1] and Raninît presided over the naming and the nurture of the newly born.[2] Neither Raninît, the fairy godmother, nor Maskhonît exercised over nature as a whole that sovereign authority which we are accustomed to consider the primary attribute of deity. Every day of every year was passed by the one in easing the pangs of women in travail; by the other, in choosing for each baby a name of an auspicious sound, and one which would afterwards serve to exorcise the influences of evil fortune. No sooner were their tasks accomplished in one place than they hastened to another, where approaching birth demanded their presence and their care. From child-bed to child-bed they passed, and if they fulfilled the single offices in which they were accounted adepts, the pious asked nothing more of them. Bands of mysterious cynocephali haunting the Eastern and the Western mountains concentrated the whole of their activity on one passing moment of the day. They danced and chattered in the East for half an hour, to salute the sun at

THE GODDESS NAPRÎT, NAPÎT.[3]

Mémoires de la Mission Française, vol. ii. part iv. pl. xxix., 2nd row; pl. xxxi., 3rd row) as a man wearing two full ears of wheat or barley upon his head. He is mentioned in the *Hymn to the Nile* (cf. p. 40) about the same date, and in two or three other texts of different periods. The goddess *Naprît*, or *Napît*, to whom reference is here made, was his duplicate (BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xix.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv. 52; DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. ii. pl. lxi.); her head-dress is a sheaf of corn (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pp. 380, 381), as in the illustration.

[1] This goddess, whose name expresses and whose form personifies the brick or stone couch, the child-bed or -chair, upon which women in labour bowed themselves, is sometimes subdivided into two or four secondary divinities (MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. iv. pl. lxxiv. *a*, and p. 288 of the text). She is mentioned along with Shaît, *destiny*, and Raninît, *suckling* (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 27). Her part of fairy godmother at the cradle of the new-born child is indicated in the passage of the *Westcar Papyrus* giving a detailed account of the births of three kings of the fifth dynasty (ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, pl. ix. part 21, et seq.; cf. MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 76–81; PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. pp. 33–38). She is represented in human form, and often wears upon her head two long palm-shoots, curling over at their ends (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pp. 329, 330, and pl. cxxxiv. 1, 2).

[2] *Raninît* presides over the child's suckling, but she also gives him his name (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 76, note 1), and hence, his fortune (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 27). She is on the whole the nursing goddess (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pp. 472–477, and pls. clxxxviii.–clxxxix.). Sometimes she is represented as a human-headed woman (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 188 *a*; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. xlv. 5, 6, and pp. 213, 214), or as lioness-headed (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv. 57), most frequently with the head of a serpent (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. pl. clxx.; PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments*, pl. i.; MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. iii. pl. lxxv. *b–c*); she is also the uræus, clothed, and wearing two long plumes on her head (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments*, frontispiece), and a simple uræus, as represented in the illustration on p. 120.

[3] The goddess Naprît, Napît; bas-relief from the first chamber of Osiris, on the east side of the great temple of Denderah. Drawn by Faucher-Gudin.

his rising, even as others in the West hailed him on his entrance into night.[1] It was the duty of certain genii to open gates in Hades, or to keep the paths daily traversed by the sun.[2] These genii were always at their posts, never free to leave them, and possessed no other faculty than that of punctually fulfilling their appointed offices. Their existence, generally unperceived, was suddenly revealed at the very moment when the specific acts of their lives were on the point of accomplishment. These being completed, the divinities fell back into their state of inertia, and were, so to speak, reabsorbed by their functions until the next

SOME FABULOUS BEASTS OF THE EGYPTIAN DESERT.[3]

occasion.[4] Scarcely visible even by glimpses, they were not easily depicted; their real forms being often unknown, these were approximately conjectured from their occupations. The character and costume of an archer, or of a spear-man, were ascribed to such as roamed through Hades, to pierce the dead with arrows or with javelins. Those who prowled around souls to cut their throats and hack them to pieces were represented as women armed with knives, carvers—*donît*—or else as lacerators—*nokît*.[5] Some appeared in human form; others as animals—bulls or lions, rams or monkeys, serpents, fish, ibises, hawks; others dwelt in inanimate things,

[1] This is the subject of a vignette in the *Book of the Dead*, ch. xvi. (NAVILLE's edition, pl. xxi. A2 and L*a*, pl. xxii. D*a*), where the cynocephali are placed in echelon upon the slopes of the hill on the horizon, right and left of the radiant solar disk, to which they offer worship by gesticulations.

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 34, 35.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from Champollion's copies, made from the tombs of Beni-Hassan. To the right is the *sha*, one of the animals of Sît, and an exact image of the god with his stiff and arrow-like tail. Next comes the *safir*, the griffin; and, lastly, we have the serpent-headed *saza*.

[4] The Egyptians employed a still more forcible expression than our word "absorption" to express this idea. It was said of objects wherein these genii concealed themselves, and whence they issued in order to re-enter them immediately, that these forms *ate* them, or that they *ate* their own forms (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 104, 105, 106, 124, etc.).

[5] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 34, 35. Examples of *donît* and *nokît* are incidentally given on the walls of the tomb of Seti I. (LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Seti Ier*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. ii., 4th part, pl. xliv., 2nd row).

such as trees,[1] sistrums,[2] stakes stuck in the ground;[3] and lastly, many betrayed a mixed origin in their combinations of human and animal forms. These latter would be regarded by us as monsters; to the Egyptians, they were beings, rarer perhaps than the rest, but none the less real, and their like might be encountered in the neighbourhood of Egypt.[4] How could men who believed themselves surrounded by sphinxes and griffins of flesh and blood doubt that there were bull-headed and hawk-headed divinities with human busts? The existence of such paradoxical creatures was proved by much authentic testimony; more than one hunter had distinctly seen them as they ran along the furthest planes of the horizon, beyond the herds of gazelles of which he was in chase; and shepherds dreaded them for their flocks as truly as they dreaded the lions, or the great felidæ of the desert.[5]

This nation of gods, like nations of men, contained foreign elements, the origin of which was known to the Egyptians themselves. They knew that Hâthor, the milch cow, had taken up her abode in their land from very ancient times, and they called her the Lady of Pûanît, after the name of her native country.[6] Bîsû had followed her in course of time, and claimed his share of honours and worship along with her. He first appeared as a leopard; then he became a man clothed in a leopard's

[1] Thus, the sycamores planted on the edge of the desert were supposed to be inhabited by Hâthor, Nûît, Selkît, Nît, or some other goddess (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29). In vignettes representing the deceased as stopping before one of these trees and receiving water and loaves of bread, the bust of the goddess generally appears from amid her sheltering foliage (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pl. cli. 2). But occasionally, as on the sarcophagus of Petosiris (MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, p. 52), the transformation is complete, and the trunk from which the branches spread is the actual body of the god or goddess (cf. ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, pl. xxix. *a*, Isis and Nephthys in the sycamore). Finally, the whole body is often hidden, and only the arm of the goddess to be seen emerging from the midst of the tree, with an overflowing libation vase in her hand (NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch*, pls. lxxiii., ciii.).

[2] Thus, in MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. ii. pl. 55 *c*, we have the image of the great sistrum consecrated by Thûtmosis III., which was the fetish of the goddess Hâthor.

[3] The trunk of a tree, disbranched, and then set up in the ground, seems to me the origin of the Osirian emblem called *tat* or *didû* (MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, p. 164, No. 878). The symbol was afterwards so conventionalized as to represent four columns seen in perspective, one capital overtopping another; it thus became the image of the four pillars which uphold the world (PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 31; MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 359, note 3).

[4] The belief in the real existence of fantastic animals was first noted by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 117, 118, 132, and vol. ii. p. 213. Until then, scholars only recognized the sphinx, and other Egyptian monsters, as allegorical combinations by which the priesthood claimed to give visible expression in one and the same being to physical or moral qualities belonging to several different beings. The later theory has now been adopted by WIEDEMANN (*Le Culte des animaux en Égypte*, pp. 14, 15), and by most contemporary Egyptologists.

[5] At Beni-Hassan and in Thebes many of the fantastic animals mentioned in the text, griffins, hierosphinxes, serpent-headed lions, are placed along with animals which might be encountered by local princes hunting in the desert (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. cccLxxxi. 3, 4, cccCxviii. *bis*, and vol. ii. pp. 339, 360; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. xxxiii.; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. p. 93).

[6] On Hâthor, Lady of Pûanît, her importation into Egypt, and the bonds of kinship connecting her with Bîsû, see PLEYTE, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, p. 134, et seq.

skin, but of strange countenance and alarming character, a big-headed dwarf with high cheek-bones, and a wide and open mouth, whence hung an enormous tongue; he was at once jovial and martial, the friend of the dance and of battle.[1] In historic times all nations subjugated by the Pharaohs transferred some of their principal divinities to their conquerors, and the Libyan Shehadidi was enthroned in the valley of the Nilé, in the same way as the Semitic Baâlû and his retinue of Astartes, Anitis, Reshephs, and Kadshûs.[2] These divine colonists fared like all foreigners who have sought to settle on the banks of the Nile: they were promptly assimilated, wrought, moulded, and made into Egyptian deities scarcely distinguishable from those of

SOME FABULOUS BEASTS OF THE EGYPTIAN DESERT.[3]

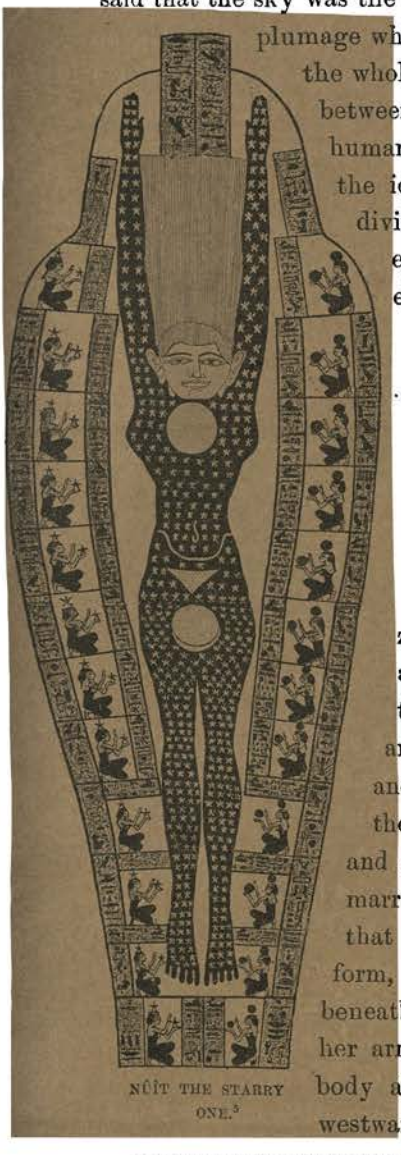
the old race. This mixed pantheon had its grades of nobles, princes, kings, and each of its members was representative of one of the elements constituting the world, or of one of the forces which regulated its government. The sky, the earth, the stars, the sun, the Nile, were so many breathing and thinking beings whose lives were ob'v manifest in the life of the universe. They were worshipped from one end of the valley to the other, and the whole nation agreed in proclaiming their sovereign power. But when the people began to name them, to define their powers and attributes, to particularize their forms, or the relationships that subsisted among them, this unanimity was at an end. Each principality, each nome, each city, almost every village, conceived and represented them differently. Some

[1] Bisû has been closely studied by PLEYTE (*Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts, Traduction et Commentaire*, pp. 111–184), and by KRALL (*Ueber den Ægyptischen Gott Bes*, in BENNDORF-NIEMANN'S *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, pp. 72–96). The tail-piece to the summary of this chapter is a figure of Bisû, drawn by Faucher-Gudin from an amulet in blue enamelled pottery.

[2] The name of Shehadidi is found in that of a certain Peteshehadidi, whose statue has passed from the Posno collection (*Antiquités Égyptiennes*, 1883, p. 15, No. 57, pl. 2) into the Berlin Museum; cf. the god Saharûaû in MASPERO'S *Sur deux stèles récemment découvertes*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xv. p. 85. The Semitic gods introduced into Egypt have been studied at length by M. DE VOGÜÉ (*Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 41, et seq., 76, et seq.) and by ED. MEYER (*Ueber einige Semitische Götter*, § ii., *Semitische Götter in Ægypten*, in the *Zeitschrift d. Deut. Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxi. pp. 724–729).

[3] The hawk-headed monster with flower-tipped tail, represented in the illustration, was called the *saga*.

said that the sky was the Great Horus, Haroêris, the sparrow-hawk of mottled plumage which hovers in highest air, and whose gaze embraces the whole field of creation.[1] Owing to a punning assonance between his name and the word *horû*, which designates the human countenance, the two senses were combined, and to the idea of the sparrow-hawk there was added that of a divine face, whose two eyes opened in turn, the right eye being the sun, to give light by day, and the left eye the moon, to illumine the night.[2] The face shone also with a light of its own, the zodiacal light, which appeared unexpectedly, morning or evening, a little before sunrise, and a little after sunset. These luminous beams, radiating from a common centre, hidden in the heights of the firmament, spread into a wide pyramidal sheet of liquid blue, whose base rested upon the earth, but whose apex was slightly inclined towards the zenith.[3] The divine face was symmetrically framed, and attached to earth by four thick locks of hair; these were the pillars which upbore the firmament and prevented its falling into ruin.[4] A no less ancient tradition disregarded as fabulous all tales told of the sparrow-hawk, or of the face, and taught that heaven and earth are wedded gods, Sibû and Nûît, from whose marriage come forth all that has been, all that is, and all that shall be. Most people invested them with human form, and represented the earth-god Sibû as extended beneath Nûît the Starry One; the goddess stretched out her arms, stretched out her slender legs, stretched out her body above the clouds, and her dishevelled head drooped westward. But there were also many who believed that Sibû



NÛÎT THE STARRY ONE.[5]

[1] It is generally admitted that Haroêris is Râ, the sun (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, p. 529, et seq.). Haroêris was worshipped in Upper Egypt, where he and his fellow, Sît of Ombos, represented the heavens and the earth (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. p. 329, et seq.). They were often depicted as a two-headed personage (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 234 *b*).

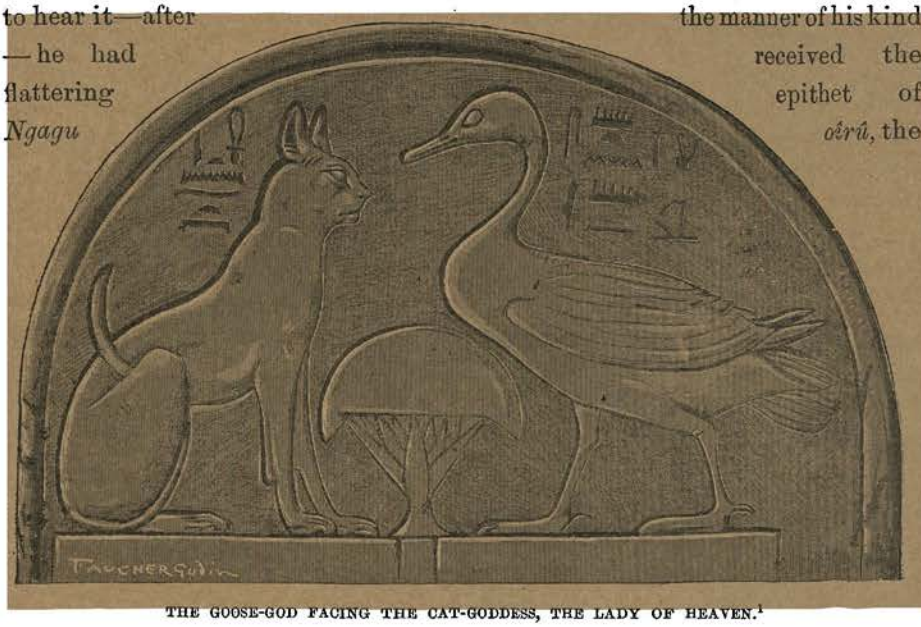
[2] E. LEFÉBURE, *Les Yeux d'Horus*, pp. 96–98. The part played by the two eyes of the celestial Horus, *irîti*, *ûzaîti*, was first recognized by BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. p. 75.

[3] BRUGSCH, Δ *ou la lumière zodiacale*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1892–93, vol. xv. p. 233, et seq.; HERMANN GRUSON, *Im Reiche des Lichtes, Sonnen, Zodiakallichter, Kometen, Dämmerungslicht-Pyramiden nach den ältesten ægyptischen Quellen*, 1893.

[4] These locks, and the gods presiding over them, are mentioned in the Pyramid texts (*Papi I.*, lines 436–440, *Mirinri*, lines 649–656; cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. pp. 366, 367).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a painted coffin of the XXIst dynasty in Leyden.

was concealed under the form of a colossal gander, whose mate once laid the Sun Egg, and perhaps still laid it daily. From the piercing cries wherewith he congratulated her, and announced the good news to all who cared to hear it—after the manner of his kind—he had received the flattering epithet of *Ngagu* *oîrû*, the



THE GOOSE-GOD FACING THE CAT-GODDESS, THE LADY OF HEAVEN.[1]

Great Cackler.[2] Other versions repudiated the goose in favour of a vigorous bull, the father of gods and men,[3] whose companion was a cow, a large-eyed Hâthor, of beautiful countenance. The head of the good beast rises into the heavens, the mysterious waters which cover the world flow along her spine; the star-covered underside of her body, which we call the firmament, is visible to the inhabitants of earth, and her four legs are the four pillars standing at the four cardinal points of the world.[4]

The planets, and especially the sun, varied in form and nature according to the prevailing conception of the heavens. The fiery disk *Atonû*, by which the sun revealed himself to men, was a living god, called Râ, as was also the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a stela in the museum of Gîzeh (GRÉBAUT, *Le Musée Égyptien*, pl. iii.). This is not the goose of Sibû, but the goose of Amon, which was nurtured in the temple of Karnak, and was called Smonû. Facing it is the cat of Maût, the wife of Amon. Amon, originally an earth-god, was, as we see, confounded with Sibû, and thus naturally appropriated that deity's form of a goose.

[2] *Book of the Dead*, ch. liv., NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. lxvi.; cf. LEPAGE-RENOUF, *Seb the great Cackler*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vii. pp. 152–154. On the egg of Sibû, and as to Egyptian ideas in general concerning the egg, see LEFÉBURE (*l'Œuf dans la Religion Égyptienne*, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xvi. pp. 16–25). On the other hand, several Egyptologists (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 171–173; LIEBLEIN, *Proceedings*, 1884–85, pp. 99, 100) consider that the sign of the goose, currently used for writing the god's name, itself gave birth to the myth ascribing to him a goose's form.

[3] Hence he is called the bull of Nûît in the Pyramid text of Unas (l. 452).

[4] See it as represented in LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Séti Ier*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission*, vol. ii. pt. 4, pl. xvii.

planet itself.[1] Where the sky was regarded as Horus, Râ formed the right eye of the divine face:[2] when Horus opened his eyelids in the morning, he made the dawn and day; when he closed them in the evening, the dusk and night were at hand. Where the sky was looked upon as the incarnation of a goddess, Râ was considered as her son,[3] his father being the earth-god, and he was born again with every new dawn, wearing a sidelock, and with his finger to his lips as human children were conventionally represented. He was also that luminous egg, laid and hatched in the East by the celestial goose, from which the sun breaks forth to fill the world with its rays.[4] Nevertheless, by an anomaly not uncommon in religions, the egg did not always contain the same kind of bird; a lapwing, or a heron, might come out of it,[6] or perhaps, in memory of Horus,

THE COW HÂTHOR, THE LADY OF HEAVEN.[5]

[1] The name of Râ has been variously explained. The commonest etymology is that deriving the name from a verb RÂ, *to give, to make to be* a person or a thing, so that Râ would thus be the great organizer (BIRCH, in WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p. 214), the author of all things (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 86, 87). LAUTH (*Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, pp. 46, 68) goes so far as to say that "notwithstanding its brevity, Râ is a composite word (R-A, *maker—to be*)." As a matter of fact, the word is simply the name of the planet applied to the god. It means the *sun*, and nothing more.

[2] The Edfû texts mention the face of Horus *furnished with its two eyes* (NAVILLE, *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus*, pl. xxii. l. 1). As for the identification of the right eye of the god with the sun, cf. the unimpeachable evidence collected by CHABAS (*Lettre à M. le Dr. R. Lepsius sur les mots égyptiens signifiant la droite et la gauche*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1865, p. 10), and by LEPSIUS (*An Herrn F. Chabas, über* rechts *und* links *im Hieroglyphischen*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1865, p. 13).

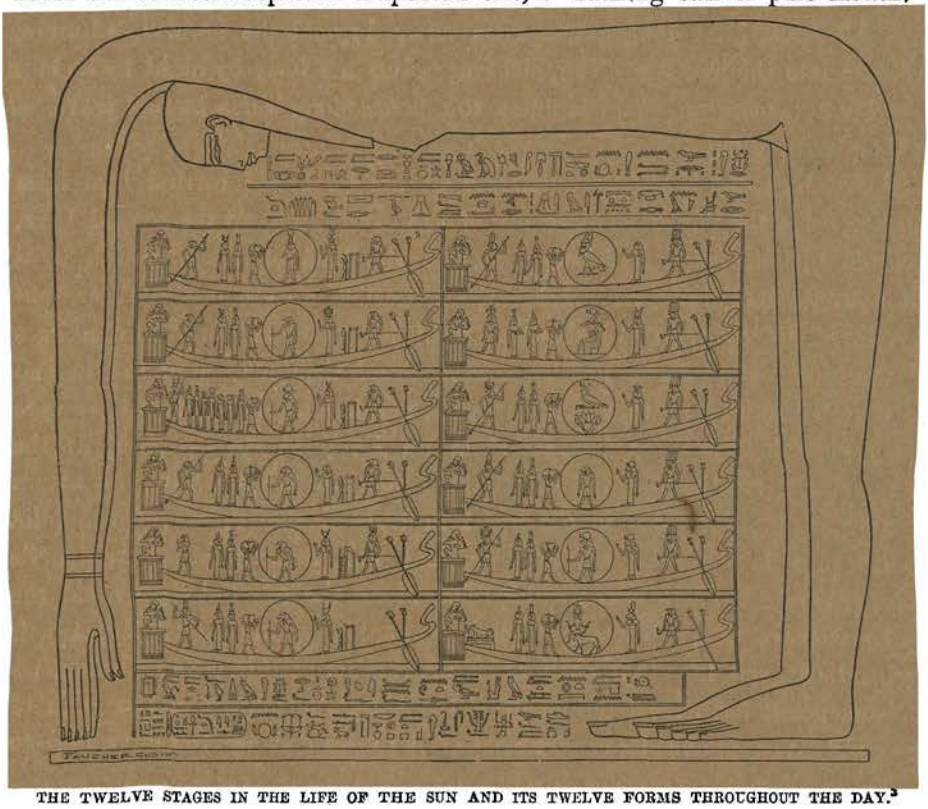
[3] Several passages from the Pyramid texts prove that the *two eyes* were very anciently considered as belonging to the face of Nûît (*Papi I.*, l. 100), and this conception persisted to the last days of Egyptian paganism. Hence, we must not be surprised if the inscriptions generally represent the god Râ as coming forth from Nûît under the form of a disc, or a scarabæus, and born of her even as human children are born (*Papi I.*, lines 10, 32, 60, etc.).

[4] These are the very expressions used in the seventeenth chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. xxv. lines 58–61; LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, pl. ix. ll. 50, 51).

[5] Drawn by Boudier, from a XXXth-dynasty statue of green basalt in the Gîzeh Museum (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 345, No. 5243). The statue was also published by MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 96 A–B, and in the *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. x.

[6] The lapwing or the heron, the Egyptian *bonû*, is generally the Osirian bird. The persistence with which it is associated with Heliopolis and the gods of that city shows that in this also we have a secondary form of Râ. Cf. the form taken by the sun during the third hour of the day, as given in the text published and explained by BRUGSCH, *Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen* (*Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 23).

one of the beautiful golden sparrow-hawks of Southern Egypt.[1] A Sun-Hawk, hovering in high heaven on outspread wings, at least presented a bold and poetic image; but what can be said for a Sun-Calf? Yet it is under the innocent aspect of a spotted calf, a "sucking calf of pure mouth."[2]



THE TWELVE STAGES IN THE LIFE OF THE SUN AND ITS TWELVE FORMS THROUGHOUT THE DAY.[3]

that the Egyptians were pleased to describe the Sun-God when Sibû, the father, was a bull, and Hâthor a heifer. But the prevalent conception was that in which the life of the sun was likened to the life of man. The two deities presiding over the East received the orb upon their hands at its birth, just as midwives receive a new-born child, and cared for it during the first hour of the day and of its life.[4] It soon left them, and proceeded "under the belly

[1] *Book of the Dead*, ch. lxxvii. (NAVILLE'S edition, pl. lxxxviii. l. 2, et seq.), and ch. lxxviii. (pl. lxxxix.); cf. the forms of the sun during the third and eighth hours of the day, as given in the text published and explained by BRUGSCH, *Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen* (*Zeitschrift*, 1867, pp. 23, 24).

[2] The calf is represented in ch. cix. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, pl. cxx.), where the text says (lines 10, 11), "I know that this calf is Harmakhis the Sun, and that it is no other than the Morning Star, daily saluting Râ." The expression "*sucking calf of pure mouth*" is taken word for word from a formula preserved in the Pyramid texts (*Ûnas*, l. 20).

[3] The twelve forms of the sun during the twelve hours of the day, from the ceiling of the Hall of the New Year at Edfû (ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, pl. xxxiii. *c*). Drawing by Faucher-Gudin.

[4] The birth of the sun was represented in detail at Erment (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. cxlv.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pls. lii., liii., and *Texte*, p. 293, et seq.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv.

of Nûît," growing and strengthening from minute to minute, until at noon it had become a triumphant hero whose splendour is shed abroad over all. But as night comes on his strength forsakes him and his glory is obscured; he is bent and broken down, and heavily drags himself along like an old man leaning upon his stick.[1] At length he passes away beyond the horizon, plunging westward into the mouth of Nûît, and traversing her body by night to be born anew the next morning, again to follow the paths along which he had travelled on the preceding day.[2]

A first bark, the *saktît*,[3] awaited him at his birth, and carried him from the Eastern to the Southern extremity of the world. *Mâzît*,[4] the second bark, received him at noon, and bore him into the land of Manû, which is at the entrance into Hades; other barks, with which we are less familiar, conveyed him by night, from his setting until his rising at morn.[5] Sometimes he was supposed to enter the barks alone, and then they were magic and self-directed, having neither oars, nor sails, nor helm.[6] Sometimes they were equipped with a full crew, like that of an Egyptian boat—a pilot at the prow to take soundings in the channel and forecast the wind, a pilot astern to steer, a quartermaster in the midst to transmit the orders of the pilot at the prow to the pilot at the stern, and half a dozen sailors to handle poles or oars.[7] Peacefully the bark glided along the celestial river amid the acclamations of the gods who dwelt upon its shores. But, occasionally, Apôpi, a gigantic serpent, like that which hides within the earthly Nile and devours its banks, came forth from the depth of the waters and arose in the path of the god.[8] As soon as they caught sight of it in the distance, the crew flew to

pl. 60, *a*, *c*, *d*), and in a more abridged form on the sarcophagus of one of the rams of Mendes, now in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. lxvi., and *Texte*, pp. 13, 14).

[1] The growth and decadence of the forms of the sun are clearly marked in the scene first published by BRUGSCH (*Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1867, pp. 21–26, and plate; *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, pp. 55–59), taken from the coffin of Khâf in the Gîzeh Museum; and from two scenes, of which the one is at Denderah (*Description de l'Égypte*, Ant., vol. iv. pls. 16–19), the other in the Hall of the New Year at Edfû (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. cxxiii., et seq.; ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. ix. pl. xxxiii. *c*).

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 218, note 2.

[3] Its most ancient name was *Samktît* (*Teta*, l. 222; *Papi I.*, ll. 570, 670, etc.). BRUGSCH (*Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, pp. 1327, 1328) first determined the precedence of the Saktît and Mâzît boats.

[4] In the oldest texts it is *Mânzît*, with an interpolated nasal (*Teta*, ll. 222, 223, 344, etc.).

[5] In the formulæ of the *Book of Knowing that which is in Hades*, the dead sun remains in the bark Saktît during part of the night, and it is only to traverse the fourth and fifth hours that he changes into another (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 69, et seq.).

[6] Such is the bark of the sun in the other world. Although carrying a complete crew of gods, yet for the most part it progresses at its own will, and without their help. The bark containing the sun alone is represented in many vignettes of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, pl. xxx., *La*, *Ag*, pl. cxiii., *Pe*, cxxxiii., *Pa*, cxlv.), and at the head of many stelæ.

[7] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.

[8] In Upper Egypt there is a widespread belief in the existence of a monstrous serpent, who dwells at the bottom of the river, and is the genius of the Nile. It is he who brings about those falls of earth (*batabit*) at the decline of the inundation which often destroy the banks and *eat* whole fields. At such times, offerings of durrah, fowls, and dates are made to him, that his hunger may be

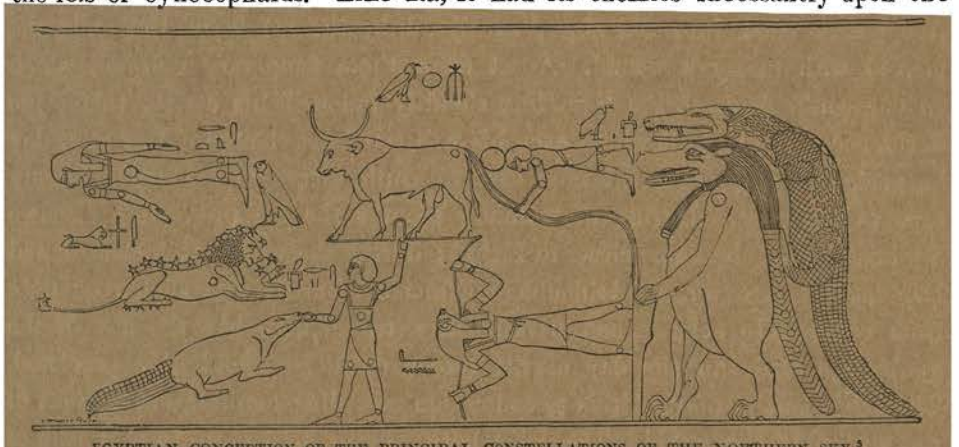
arms, and entered upon the struggle against him with prayers and spear-thrusts. Men in their cities saw the sun faint and fail, and sought to succour him in his distress; they cried aloud, they were beside themselves with excitement, beating their breasts, sounding their instruments of music, and striking with all their strength upon every metal vase or utensil in their possession, that their clamour might rise to heaven and terrify the monster. After a time of anguish, Râ emerged from the darkness and again went on his way, while Apôpi sank back into the abyss,[1] paralysed by the magic of the gods, and pierced with many a wound. Apart from these temporary eclipses, which no one could foretell, the Sun-King steadily followed his course round the world, according to laws which even his will could not change. Day after day he made his oblique ascent from east to south, thence to descend obliquely towards the west. During the summer months the obliquity of his course diminished, and he came closer to Egypt; during the winter it increased, and he went farther away. This double movement recurred with such regularity from equinox to solstice, and from solstice to equinox, that the day of the god's departure and the day of his return could be confidently predicted. The Egyptians explained this phenomenon according to their conceptions of the nature of the world. The solar bark always kept close to that bank of the celestial river which was nearest to men; and when the river overflowed at the annual inundation, the sun was carried along with it outside the regular bed of the stream, and brought yet closer to Egypt. As the inundation abated, the bark descended and receded, its greatest distance from earth corresponding with the lowest level of the waters. It was again brought back to us by the rising strength of the next flood; and, as this phenomenon was yearly repeated, the periodicity of the sun's oblique movements was regarded as the necessary consequence of the periodic movements of the celestial Nile.[2]

appeased, and it is not only the natives who give themselves up to these superstitious practices. Part of the grounds belonging to the Karnak hotel at Luxor having been carried away during the autumn of 1884, the manager, a Greek, made the customary offerings to the serpent of the Nile (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 412, 413).

[1] The character of Apôpi and of his struggle with the sun was, from the first, excellently defined by CHAMPOLLION as representing the conflict of darkness with light (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., 1833, p. 231, et seq.). Occasionally, but very rarely, Apôpi seems to win, and his triumph over Râ furnishes one explanation of a solar eclipse (LEFÉBURE, *Les Yeux d'Horus*, p. 46, et seq.; LEPAGE-RENOUF, *The Eclipse in Egyptian Texts*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1884–85, vol. viii. p. 163, et seq.). A similar explanation is common to many races (cf. E. TYLOR, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 297, et seq.). In one very ancient form of the Egyptian legend, the sun is represented by a wild ass running round the world along the sides of the mountains that uphold the sky, and the serpent which attacks it is called *Haiû* (*Ûnas*, ll. 544, 545; *Book of the Dead*, ch. xl., NAVILLE's edition, vol. i. pl. liv.).

[2] This explanation of Egyptian beliefs concerning the oblique course of the sun was proposed by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 208–210. It is no more strange nor yet more puerile than most of the explanations of the same phenomenon advanced by Greek cosmographers (LETRONNE, *Opinions populaires et scientifiques des Grecs sur la route oblique du soleil*, in his *Œuvres choisies*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 336–359).

The same stream also carried a whole crowd of gods, whose existence was revealed at night only to the inhabitants of earth. At an interval of twelve hours, and in its own bark, the pale disk of the moon—*Yâûhû Aûhû*—followed the disk of the sun along the ramparts of the world.[1] The moon, also, appeared in many various forms—here, as a man born of Nûît;[2] there, as a cynocephalus or an ibis;[3] elsewhere, it was the left eye of Horus,[4] guarded by the ibis or cynocephalus. Like Râ, it had its enemies incessantly upon the



EGYPTIAN CONCEPTION OF THE PRINCIPAL CONSTELLATIONS OF THE NORTHERN SKY.[5]

watch for it: the crocodile, the hippopotamus, and the sow. But it was when at the full, about the 15th of each month, that the lunar eye was in greatest peril. The sow fell upon it, tore it out of the face of heaven, and cast it, streaming with blood and tears, into the celestial Nile,[6] where it was gradually extinguished,

[1] The lunar Thot is represented on the heads of stelæ as alone within his bark, either in the form of the lunar disk, or seated, as an ibis-headed man (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pls. xxxvii., xxxviii.). We also read in *De Iside* (ch. xxxiv., PARTHEY's edition, p. 58), "Ηλιον δὲ καὶ Σελήνην οὐχ ἅρμασιν ἀλλὰ πλοίοις ὀχήμασι χρωμένους περιπλεῖν ἀεί. The most striking examples are to be found in the astronomic ceilings of Esneh and Denderah, often reproduced since their publication at the beginning of the century in the *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. i. pl. lxxix.; vol. iv. pl. xviii.).

[2] He may be seen as a child, or man, bearing the lunar disk upon his head, and pressing the lunar eye to his breast (LANZONE, *Dizionario*, pl. xxxvi. 2, 4; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. xxxvi. 3, and p. 170, No. 54). Passages from the Pyramid text of Ûnas (lines 236, 240–252) indicate the relationship subsisting between Thot, Slbû, and Nûît, making Thot the brother of Isis, Sît, and Nephthys. In later times he was considered a son of Râ (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 445).

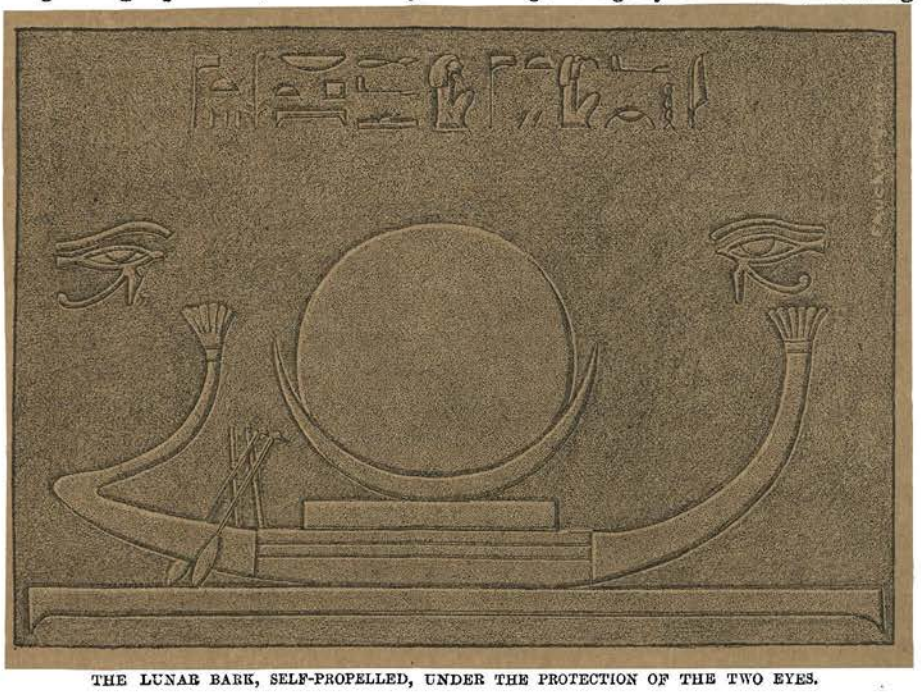
[3] Even as late as the Græco-Roman period, the temple of Thot at Khmûnû contained a sacred ibis, which was the incarnation of the god, and said to be immortal by the local priesthood. The temple sacristans showed it to Apion the grammarian, who reports the fact, but is very sceptical in the matter (APION OASITA, frag. 11, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta historicorum græcorum*, vol. iii. p. 512). See the drawing of the cynocephalous Thot in WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. xxxvi. 4.

[4] The texts quoted by Chabas and Lepsius (p. 88, note 2) to show that the sun is the right eye of Horus also prove that his left eye is the moon.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the ceiling of the Ramesseum. On the right, the *female hippopotamus* bearing the *crocodile*, and leaning on the *Monâit;* in the middle, the *Haunch*, here represented by the whole bull; to the left, *Selkit* and the *Sparrow-hawk*, with the *Lion*, and the *Giant fighting the Crocodile.*

[6] These facts are set forth briefly, but clearly enough, in chs. cxii. and cxiii. of the *Book of the*

and lost for days; but its twin, the sun, or its guardian, the cynocephalus, immediately set forth to find it and to restore it to Horus. No sooner was it replaced, than it slowly recovered, and renewed its radiance; when it was well—*ûzaît*[1]—the sow again attacked and mutilated it, and the gods rescued and again revived it. Each month there was a fortnight of youth and of growing splendour, followed by a fortnight's agony and ever-increasing



THE LUNAR BARK, SELF-PROPELLED, UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE TWO EYES.

pallor. It was born to die, and died to be born again twelve times in the year, and each of these cycles measured a month for the inhabitants of the world. One invariable accident from time to time disturbed the routine of its existence. Profiting by some distraction of the guardians, the sow greedily swallowed it, and then its light went out suddenly, instead of fading gradually. These eclipses, which alarmed mankind at least as much as did those of the sun, were scarcely more than momentary, the gods compelling the monster to cast up the eye before it had been destroyed.[2] Every evening the lunar bark issued out of Hades by the door which Râ had passed through in the morning, and as it rose on the horizon, the star-lamps scattered over the firmament appeared one by one, giving light here and there like the camp-fires

Dead (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. cxxiv., cxxv.; LEPSIUS' edition, pl. xliii.). GOODWIN (*On the 112th Chapter of the Ritual*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 144–147) pointed out the importance of these chapters, but their complete explanation came later, and was given by LEFÉBURE in the first part of his work on the *Mythe Osirien; I. les Yeux d'Horus*.

[1] The exact sense of this expression is pointed out on p. 54, note 4.

[2] Cf. the work of LEFÉBURE, *Les Yeux d'Horus*, p. 43, et seq., for the explanation of this little drama

of a distant army. However many of them there might be, there were as many Indestructibles—*Akhîmû Sokû*—or Unchanging Ones—*Akhîmû Ûrdû*—whose charge it was to attend upon them and watch over their maintenance.[1]

They were not scattered at random by the hand which had suspended them, but their distribution had been ordered in accordance with a certain plan, and they were arranged in fixed groups like so many star republics, each being independent of its neighbours. They represented the outlines of bodies of men and animals dimly traced out upon the depths of night, but shining with greater brilliancy in certain important places. The seven stars which we liken to a chariot (Charles's Wain) suggested to the Egyptians the haunch of an ox placed on the northern edge of the horizon.[3] Two lesser stars connected the haunch—*Maskhaît*—with thirteen others, which recalled the silhouette of a female hippopotamus—*Rirît*—erect upon her hind legs,[4] and

THE HAUNCH, AND THE FEMALE HIPPOPOTAMUS.[2]

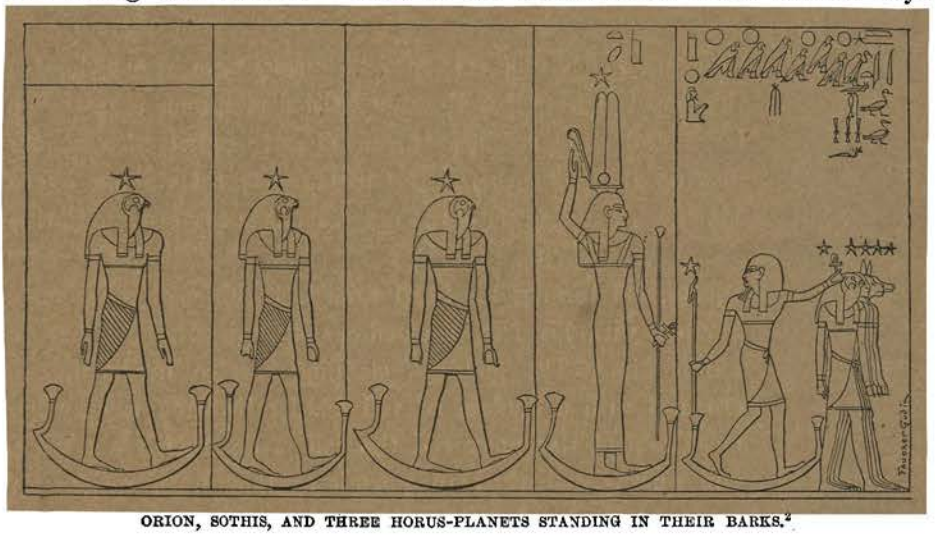
[1] The *Akhîmû-Sokû* and the *Akhîmû-Ûrdû* have been very variously defined by different Egyptologists who have studied them. CHABAS (*Hymne à Osiris*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xiv. p. 71, note 1, and *Le Papyrus magique Harris*, pp. 82–84) considered them to be gods or genii of the constellations of the ecliptic, which mark the apparent course of the sun through the sky. Following the indications given by Dévéria, he also thought them to be the sailors of the solar bark, and perhaps the gods of the twelve hours, divided into two classes: the *Akhîmû-Sokû* being those who are rowing, and the *Akhîmû-Ûrdû* those who are resting. But texts found and cited by BRUGSCH (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, pp. 40–42; *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 321, et seq.) show that the *Akhîmû-Sokû* are the planets accompanying Râ in the northern sky, while the *Akhîmû-Ûrdû* are his escort in the south. The nomenclature of the stars included in these two classes is furnished by monuments of widely different epochs (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 79, et seq.). The two names should be translated according to the meaning of their component words: *Akhîmû Sokû*, those who know not destruction, the *Indestructibles*; and *Akhîmû Ûrdû* (*Ûrzû*), those who know not the immobility of death, the *Imperishables*.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the rectangular zodiac carved upon the ceiling of the great temple of Denderah (DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. ii. pl. xxxix.).

[3] The forms of the constellations, and the number of stars composing them in the astronomy of different periods, are known from the astronomical scenes of tombs and temples. The identity of the *Haunch* with the *Chariot*, or *Great Bear* of modern astronomy, was discovered by LEPSIUS (*Einleitung zur Chronologie der Ægypter*, p. 184) and confirmed by BIOT (*Sur les restes de l'ancienne Uranographie égyptienne que l'on pourrait retrouver aujourd'hui chez les Arabes qui habitent l'intérieur de l'Égypte*, p. 51, et seq., in the *Journal des Savants*, 1854). MARIETTE pointed out that the Pyramid Arabs applied the name of the *Haunch* (*er-Rigl*) to the same group of stars as that thus designated by the ancient Egyptians (cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 343). CHAMPOLLION had noted the position of the *Haunch* in the northern sky (*Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique*, p. 355), but had not suggested any identification. The *Haunch* appertained to Sît-Typhon (*De Iside et Osiride*), § 21, PARTHEY's edition, p. 36).

[4] The connection of *Rirît*, the female hippopotamus, with the Haunch is made quite clear in scenes from Philæ and Edfû (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, pp. 126, 127), representing Isis holding back Typhon by a chain, that he might do no hurt to Sâhû-Osiris (*ibid.*, p. 122). JOLLOIS and

jauntily carrying upon her shoulders a monstrous crocodile whose jaws opened threateningly above her head. Eighteen luminaries of varying size and splendour, forming a group hard by the hippopotamus, indicated the outline of a gigantic lion couchant, with stiffened tail, its head turned to the right, and facing the Haunch.[1] Most of the constellations never left the sky:



ORION, SOTHIS, AND THREE HORUS-PLANETS STANDING IN THEIR BARKS.[2]

night after night they were to be found almost in the same places, and always shining with the same even light. Others borne by a slow movement passed annually beyond the limits of sight for months at a time. Five at least of our planets were known from all antiquity, and their characteristic colours and appearances carefully noted. Sometimes each was thought to be a hawk-headed Horus. Ûapshetatûi, our Jupiter, Kahiri-(Saturn), Sobkû-(Mercury), steered their barks straight

DEVILLIERS (*Recherches sur les bas-reliefs astronomiques des Égyptiens*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. viii. p. 451) thought that the hippopotamus was the *Great Bear*. BIOT (*Recherches sur plusieurs points de l'astronomie égyptienne*, pp. 87–91) contested their conclusions, and while holding that the hippopotamus might at least in part present our constellation of the Dragon, thought that it was probably included in the scene only as an ornament, or as an emblem (cf. *Sur les restes de l'ancienne uranographie égyptienne*, p. 56). The present tendency is to identify the hippopotamus with the Dragon and with certain stars not included in the constellations surrounding it (BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 343).

[1] The Lion, with its eighteen stars, is represented on the tomb of Seti I. (LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Seti Ier*, 4th part, pl. xxxvi., in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. ii.); on the ceiling of the Ramesseum (BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. lviii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. lxxii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, iii. 170); and on the sarcophagus of Htari (BRUGSCH, *Recueil de monuments*, vol. i. pl. xvii.). The Lion is sometimes shown as having a crocodile's tail. According to BIOT (*Sur un calendrier astronomique et astrologique trouvé à Thèbes en Égypte*, pp. 102–111) the Egyptian Lion has nothing in common with the Greek constellation of that name, nor yet with our own, but was composed of smaller stars, belonging to the Greek constellation of the Cup or to the continuation of the Hydra, so that its head, its body, and its tail would follow the α of the Hydra, between the ϕ' and ξ of that constellation, or the γ of the Virgin.

[2] From the astronomic ceiling in the tomb of Seti I. (LEFÉBURE, 4th part, pl. xxxvi.).

ahead like Iâûhû and Râ; but Mars-Doshiri, the red, sailed backwards. As a star, Bonû the bird (Venus) had a dual personality;[1] in the evening it was Ûati, the lonely star which is the first to rise, often before nightfall; in the morning it became Tiû-nûtiri, the god who hails the sun before his rising and proclaims the dawn of day.[2]

SAHÛ-ORION.[4]

Sahû and Sopdît, Orion and Sirius, were the rulers of this mysterious world. Sahû consisted of fifteen stars, seven large and eight small, so arranged as to represent a runner darting through space, while the fairest of them shone above his head, and marked him out from afar to the admiration of mortals. With his right hand he flourished the *crux ansata*, and turning his head towards Sothis as he beckoned her on with his left, seemed as though inviting her to follow him. The goddess, standing sceptre in hand, and crowned with a diadem of tall feathers surmounted by her most radiant star, answered the call of Sahû with a gesture, and quietly embarked in pursuit as though in no anxiety to overtake him.[3] Sometimes she is represented as a cow lying down in her bark, with three stars along her back, and Sirius flaming from between her horns.[5] Not content to shine by night only, her bluish rays, suddenly darted forth in full daylight and without any warning, often described upon the sky the mystic lines of the

[1] The personages representing the five planets known to the ancient Egyptians were first recognized by LEPSIUS (*Einleitung zur Chronologie der Ægypter*, p. 84, et seq.). Their names were afterwards partly determined by BRUGSCH (*Nouvelles Recherches sur les divisions de l'année chez les anciens Égyptiens suivies d'un mémoire sur des observations planétaires*, p. 140, et seq.), and finally settled by E. DE ROUGÉ (*Note sur les noms égyptiens des planètes*, in the *Bulletin archéologique de l'Athenæum français*, vol. ii. pp. 18–21, 25–28).

[2] The connection between *Ûâti* and *Tiû-nûtiri*, between the Evening and the Morning Star, was first noted by BRUGSCH (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, p. 72, et seq., and *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 332–337).

[3] It is thus that Sahû and Sopdît are represented in the Ramesseum (BURTON, *Excerpta*, pl. lviii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. lxxi.; LEPSIUS, *Denk.*, iii. 170), in the tomb of Seti I. (LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Séti Ier*, part 4, pl. xxxvi., in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. ii.), and, with slight variations, upon other monuments (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, p. 80). CHAMPOLLION, who had recognized Orion in the astronomic scene at Denderah, read his name as *Keskes*, or *Kos*, on what authority I do not know (*Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 95). LEPSIUS (*Einleitung zur Chronologie*, p. 77) proposed that it should be read *Sek*, and E. DE ROUGÉ found the true reading—*Sâhû* (*Mémoire sur l'inscription d'Ahmès*, p. 88, et seq.). In the same way, CHAMPOLLION transcribed the name of Sothis by Thot, Tet, without being under any misapprehension as to the identity of that goddess (*Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 96; *Mémoire sur les signes employés par les anciens Égyptiens à la notation des divisions du temps*, p. 38); LEPSIUS was the first to decipher it correctly (*Einleitung zur Chronologie*, pp. 135, 136).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a small bronze in the Gîzeh Museum, published by MARIETTE, in the *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 9. The legs are a modern restoration.

[5] The identity of the cow with Sothis was discovered by JOLLOIS and DEVILLIERS (*Sur les bas-*

triangle which stood for her name. It was then that she produced those curious phenomena of the zodiacal light which other legends attributed to Horus himself.[1] One, and perhaps the most ancient of the innumerable accounts of this god and goddess, represented Sahû as a wild hunter.[2] A world as vast as ours rested upon the other side of the iron firmament; like ours, it was distributed into seas, and continents divided by rivers and canals, but peopled by races unknown to men. Sahû traversed it during the day, surrounded by genii who presided over the lamps forming his constellation.

ORION AND THE COW SOTHIS SEPARATED BY THE SPARROW-HAWK.[3]

At his appearing "the stars prepared themselves for battle, the heavenly archers rushed forward, the bones of the gods upon the horizon trembled at the sight of him," for it was no common game that he hunted, but the very gods themselves. One attendant secured the prey with a lasso, as bulls are caught in the pastures, while another examined each capture to decide if it were pure and good for food. This being determined, others bound the divine victim, cut its throat, disembowelled it, cut up its carcass, cast the joints into a pot, and superintended their cooking. Sahû did not devour indifferently all that the fortune of the chase might bring him, but classified his game in

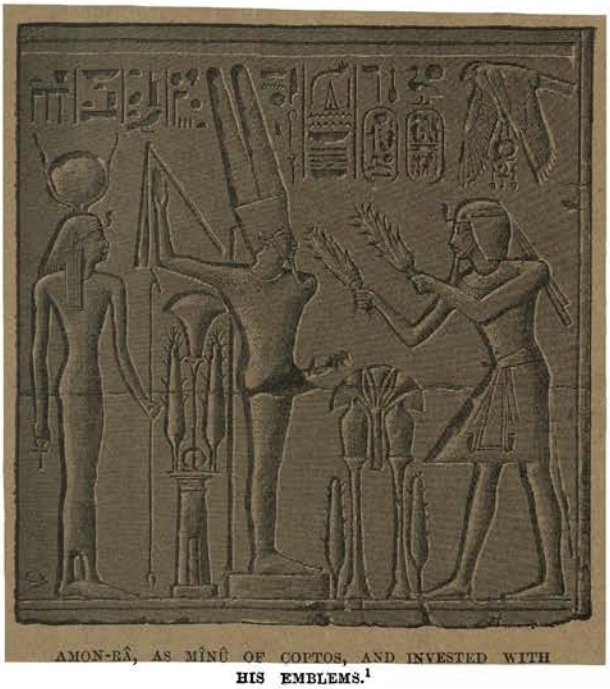
reliefs astronomiques, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. viii. pp. 464, 465). It is under this animal form that Sothis is represented in most of the Græco-Roman temples, at Denderah, Edfû, Esneh, Dêr el-Medîneh (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, pp. 80–82).

[1] BRUGSCH, *Δ ou la lumière zodiacale*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1892–93, vol. xv. p. 233; and in HERMANN GRUSON, *Im Reiche des Lichtes*, 1st edit., pp. 126, 127.

[2] For this legend, see *Ûnas*, lines 496–525; and *Teti*, lines 318–331. Its meaning was pointed out by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 156; vol. ii. p. 18, et seq., pp. 231, 232.

[3] Scene from the rectangular zodiac of Denderah, drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken with magnesium light by DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, pl. xxxvi.

accordance with his wants. He ate the great gods at his breakfast in the morning, the lesser gods at his dinner towards noon, and the small ones at his supper; the old were rendered more tender by roasting. As each god was assimilated by him, its most precious virtues were transfused into himself; by the wisdom of the old was his wisdom strengthened, the youth of the young repaired the daily waste of his own youth, and all their fires, as they penetrated his being, served to maintain the perpetual splendour of his light.



AMON-RÂ, AS MÎNÛ OF COPTOS, AND INVESTED WITH HIS EMBLEMS.[1]

The nome gods who presided over the destinies of Egyptian cities, and formed a true feudal system of divinities, belonged to one or other of these natural categories.[2] In vain do they present themselves under the most shifting aspects and the most deceptive attributes; in vain disguise themselves with the utmost care; a closer examination generally discloses the principal features of their original physiognomies. Osiris of the Delta,[3] Khnûmû of the Cataract,[4] Harshâfitû of Heracleopolis,[5] were each of

[1] Scene on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak; drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1882. The king, Seti I., is presenting bouquets of leaves to Amon-Mînû. Behind the god stands Isis (of Coptos), sceptre and *crux ansata* in hand.

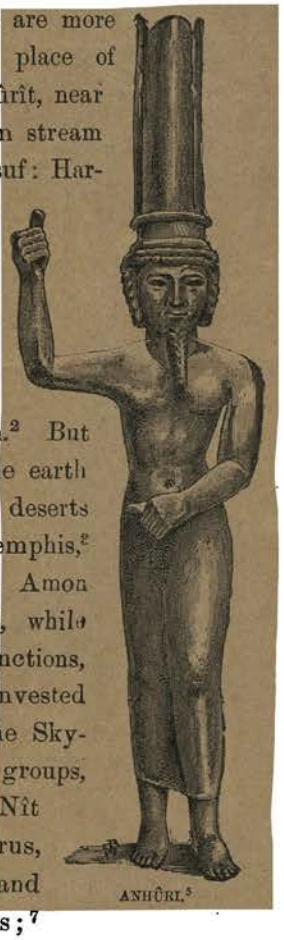
[2] Champollion had already very clearly recognized this primordial character of the Egyptian religion. "These gods," said he, "had in a manner divided Egypt and Nubia among themselves, thus making a kind of feudal subdivision of the land" (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., 1833, p. 157).

[3] The identity of Osiris and the Nile was well known to the classic writers: *οἱ δὲ σοφώτεροι τῶν ἱερέων οὐ μόνον τὸν Νεῖλον Ὄσιριν καλοῦσιν, . . . ἀλλὰ Ὄσιριν μὲν ἁπλῶς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑγροποιὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν, αἰτίαν γενέσεως καὶ σπέρματος οὐσίαν νομίζοντες . . . τὸν δὲ Ὄσιριν αὖ πάλιν μελάγχρουν γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦσιν* (*De Iside et Oriside*, § xxxiii., PARTHEY's edition, p. 57; cf. § xxxiii. p. 54). That was indeed his original character, afterwards amplified, and partially obscured by the various attributes ascribed to him when confounded with other gods.

[4] For an analysis of the *rôle* attributed to the god Khnûmû of the cataract, and for his identity with the Nile, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 273, et seq.

[5] The position of the god Harshâfitû, of Heracleopolis Magna, has not yet been studied as it should be. BRUGSCH (*Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 303-308) regards him as a duplication of Khnûmû, and this is the most commonly received opinion. My own researches have led me to consider him a Nile-god, like all the ram-headed gods.

them incarnations of the fertilizing and life-sustaining Nile. Wherever there is some important change in the river, there they are more especially installed and worshipped: Khnûmû at the place of its entering into Egypt, and again at the town of Hâûrît, near the point where a great arm branches off from the Eastern stream to flow towards the Libyan hills and form the Bahr-Yûsuf: Harshâfitû at the gorges of the Fayûm, where the Bahr-Yûsuf leaves the valley; and, finally, Osiris at Mendes and at Busiris, towards the mouth of the middle branch, which was held to be the true Nile by the people of the land.[1] Isis of Bûto denoted the black vegetable mould of the valley, the distinctive soil of Egypt annually covered and fertilized by the inundation.[2] But the earth in general, as distinguished from the sky—the earth with its continents, its seas, its alternation of barren deserts and fertile lands—was represented as a man: Phtah at Memphis,[3] Amon at Thebes, Mînû at Coptos and at Panopolis.[4] Amon seems rather to have symbolized the productive soil, while Mînû reigned over the desert. But these were fine distinctions, not invariably insisted upon, and his worshippers often invested Amon with the most significant attributes of Mînû. The Sky-gods, like the Earth-gods, were separated into two groups, the one consisting of women: Hâthor of Denderah, or Nît of Saïs; the other composed of men identical with Horus, or derived from him: Anhûri-Shû[6] of Sebennytos and Thinis; Harmerati, Horus of the two eyes, at Pharbæthos;[7] Har-Sapdi, Horus the source of the zodiacal light, in the Wâdy Tumilât;[8]



ANHÛRI.[5]

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 333.

[2] Even in the Greek period, the soil is sometimes Isis herself (*De Iside et Osiride*, § xxxviii., PARTHEY's edition, p. 54, § lvii. p. 102), and sometimes the body of Isis: Ἶσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐ πᾶσαν ἀλλ' ἧς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων καὶ μιγνύμενος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνουσίας ταύτης γεννῶσι τὸν Ὧρον (*ibid.*, § xxxviii. pp. 56–68). In the case of Isis, as in that of Osiris, we must mark the original character; and note her characteristics as goddess of the Delta before she had become a multiple and contradictory personality through being confounded with other divinities.

[3] The nature of Phtah is revealed in the processes of creation and in the various surnames, *Tonen*, *To-tûi-nen*, by which some of his most ancient forms were known at Memphis (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 509–511; WIEDEMANN, *Die Religion der alten Ægypter*, pp. 74, 75).

[4] Amon and his neighbour Mînû of Coptos are in fact both ithyphallic, and occasionally mummies. Each wears the mortar head-dress surmounted by two long plumes.

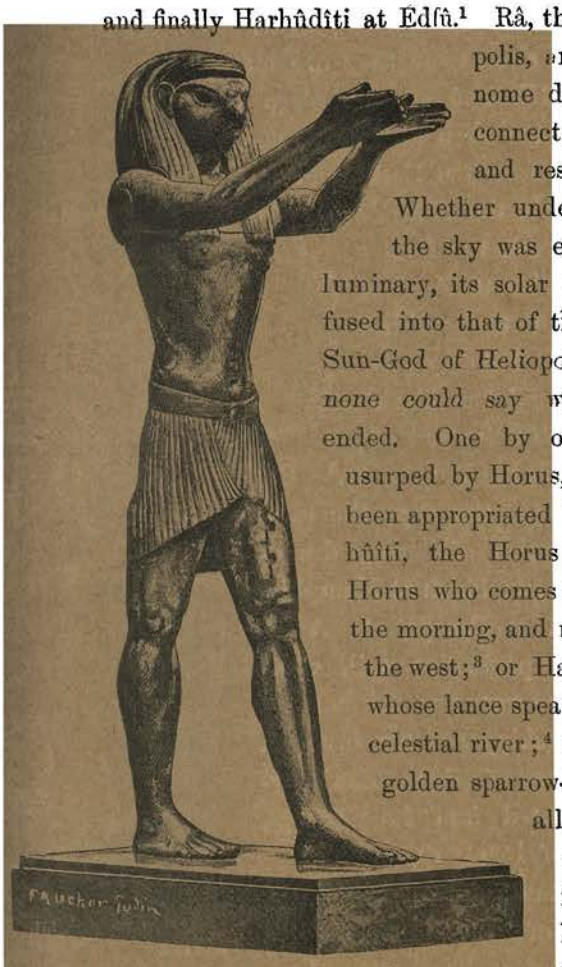
[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bronze of the Saïte period, in my own possession.

[6] For the duality of Anhûri-Shû and his primitive nature as a combination of Sky-god and Earth-god, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 332, 356, 357.

[7] BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, p. 667; LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pp. 616–619.

[8] BRUGSCH, Δ *ou la lumière zodiacale*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1892–93, vol. xv. p. 235; cf. BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, pp. 566–571, for the feudal *rôle* of Horus Sapdi, or Sapdîti in the east of the Delta.

and finally Harhûdîti at Edfû.[1] Râ, the solar disk, was enthroned at Heliopolis, and sun-gods were numerous among the nome deities, but they were sun-gods closely connected with gods representing the sky, and resembled Horus quite as much as Râ. Whether under the name of Horus or of Anhûri, the sky was early identified with its most brilliant luminary, its solar eye, and its divinity was as it were fused into that of the Sun.[2] Horus the Sun, and Râ, the Sun-God of Heliopolis, had so permeated each other that none could say where the one began and the other ended. One by one all the functions of Râ had been usurped by Horus, and all the designations of Horus had been appropriated by Râ. The sun was styled Harmakhûîti, the Horus of the two mountains—that is, the Horus who comes forth from the mountain of the east in the morning, and retires at evening into the mountain of the west;[3] or Hartimâ, Horus the Pikeman, that Horus whose lance spears the hippopotamus or the serpent of the celestial river;[4] or Harnûbi, the Golden Horus, the great golden sparrow-hawk with mottled plumage, who puts all other birds to flight;[5] and these titles were indifferently applied to each of the feudal gods who represented the sun. The latter were numerous. Sometimes, as in the case of Harkhobi, Horus of Khobiû,[7]



THE HAWK-HEADED HORUS.[6]

[1] The reading Har-Behûdîti was proposed by Mr. LEPAGE-RENOUF (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1885–86, pp. 143, 144), and has been adopted by most Egyptologists. I do not think it so well founded as to involve an alteration of the old reading of *Hûdit* for the name of the city of Edfû (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 313, note 2).

[2] The confusion of Horus, the sky, with Râ, the sun, has supplied M. LEFÉBURE with the subject of one of the most interesting chapters in his *Yeux d'Horus*, p. 94, et seq., to which I refer the reader for further details.

[3] From the time of Champollion, Harmakhûîti has been identified with the Harmachis of the Greeks, the great Sphinx.

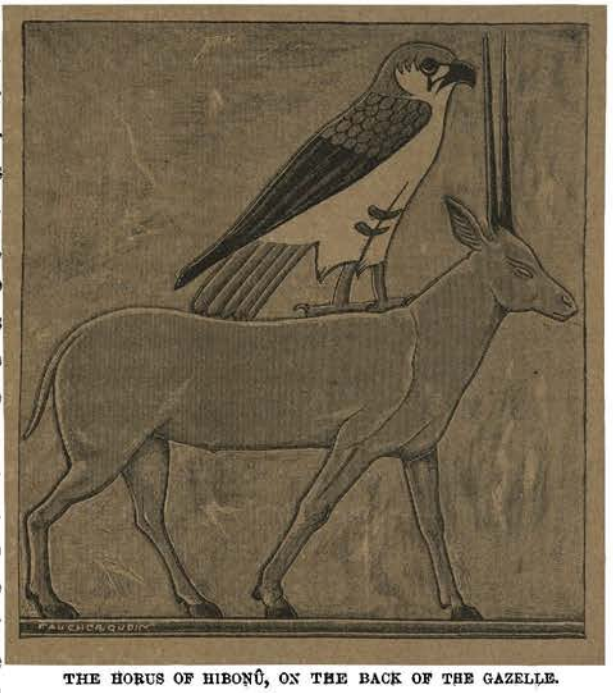
[4] *Har-timâ* has long been considered as a Horus *making truth* by the destruction of his adversaries (PIERRET, *Le Panthéon égyptien*, pp. 18–21). I gave the true meaning of this word as early as 1876, in the course of my lectures at the Collège de France (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 411).

[5] Harnûbi is the god of the Antæopolite nome (J. DE ROUGÉ, *Textes géographiques du temple d'Edfou*, in the *Revue archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xxii. pp. 6, 7; cf. BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 507)

[6] A bronze of the Saïte period, from the Posno collection, and now in the Louvre; drawn by Faucher-Gudin. The god is represented as upholding a libation vase with both hands, and pouring the life-giving water upon the king, standing, or prostrate, before him. In performing this ceremony, he was always assisted by another god, generally by Sit, sometimes by Thot or Anubis.

[7] *Harkhobi*, *Harûmkhobiû* is the Horus of the marshes (*khobiû*) of the Delta, the lesser Horus the son of Isis (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 568, et seq.), who was also made into the son of Osiris.

a geographical qualification was appended to the generic term of Horus, while specific names, almost invariably derived from the parts which they were supposed to play, were borne by others. The sky-god worshipped at Thinis in Upper Egypt, at Zarît and at Sebennytos in Lower Egypt, was called Anhûri. When he assumed the attributes of Râ, and took upon himself the solar nature, his name was interpreted as denoting the conqueror of the sky. He was essentially combative. Crowned with a group of upright plumes, his spear raised and ever ready to strike the foe, he advanced along the firmament and triumphantly traversed it day by day.[1] The sun-god who at Medamôt Taûd and Erment had preceded Amon as ruler of the Theban plain, was also a warrior, and his name of Montû had reference to his method of fighting. He was depicted as brandishing a curved sword and cutting off the heads of his adversaries.[2]



THE HORUS OF HIBONÛ, ON THE BACK OF THE GAZELLE.

Each of the feudal gods naturally cherished pretensions to universal dominion, and proclaimed himself the suzerain, the father of all the gods, as the local prince was the suzerain, the father of all men; but the effective suzerainty of god or prince really ended where that of his peers ruling over the adjacent nomes began. The goddesses shared in the exercise of supreme power, and had the same right of inheritance and possession as regards sovereignty that women had in human law.[3] Isis was entitled lady and mistress at Bûto, as

[1] The right reading of the name was given as far back as LEPSIUS (*Ueber den ersten Ægyptischen Götterkreis*, p. 170, n. 3). The part played by the god, and the nature of the link connecting him with Shû, have been explained by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 332, 356, 357). The Greeks transcribed his name Onouris, and identified him with Ares (LEEMANS, *Papyri Græci*, vol. i. p. 124, l. 13, and p. 128).

[2] Montû preceded Amon as god of the land between Kûs and Gebelên, and he recovered his old position in the Græco-Roman period after the destruction of Thebes. Most Egyptologists, and finally BRUGSCH (*Religion und Mythologie*, p. 701), made him into a secondary form of Amon, which is contrary to what we know of the history of the province. Just as Onû of the south (Erment) preceded Thebes as the most important town in that district, so Montû had been its most honoured god. HERR WIEDEMANN (*Die Religion der alten Ægypter*, p. 71) thinks the name related to that of Amon and derived from it, with the addition of the final *tû*.

[3] In attempts at reconstituting Egyptian religions, no adequate weight has hitherto been given to the equality of gods and goddesses, a fact to which attention was first called by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 253, et seq.).

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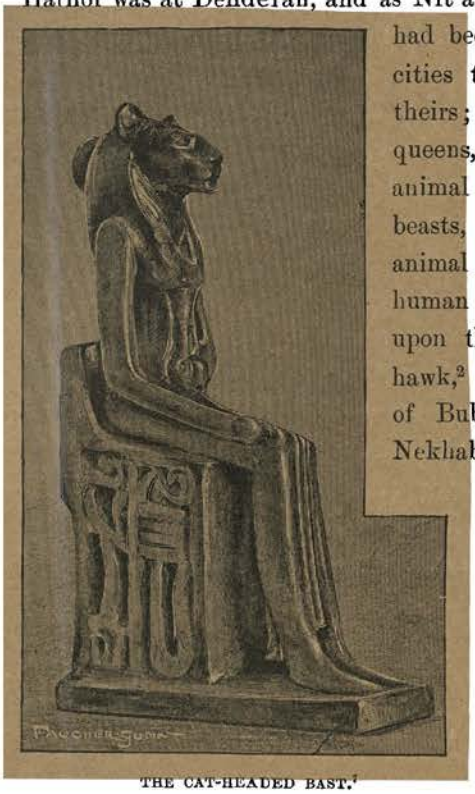
Hâthor was at Denderah, and as Nit at Saïs, "the firstborn, when as yet there had been no birth."[1] They enjoyed in their cities the same honours as the male gods in theirs; as the latter were kings, so were they queens, and all bowed down before them. The animal gods, whether entirely in the form of beasts, or having human bodies attached to animal heads, shared omnipotence with those in human form. Horus of Hibonû swooped down upon the back of a gazelle like a hunting hawk,[2] Hâthor of Denderah was a cow, Bastît of Bubastis was a cat or a tigress, while Nekhabit of El Kab was a great bald-headed vulture.[3] Hermopolis worshipped the ibis and cynocephalus of Thot; Oxyrrhynchus the *mormyrus* fish;[4] and Ombos and the Fayûm a crocodile, under the name of Sobkû,[5] sometimes with the epithet of Azaï, the brigand.[6] We cannot always understand what led the inhabitants of each nome to affect one animal rather than another. Why, towards Græco-Roman times, should they have worshipped the jackal, or even



THE CAT-HEADED BAST.[7]

[1] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. p. 683 A; cf. the inscription on the Naophoros statuette in the Vatican (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 637, l. 8): "Nît the Great, the mother of Râ, who was born the first, in the time when as yet there had been no birth."

[2] J. DE ROUGÉ, *Textes Géographiques du Temple d'Edfou*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xxiii. pp. 72, 73; BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 664, 665.

[3] Nekhabît, the goddess of the south, is the vulture, so often represented in scenes of war or sacrifice, who hovers over the head of the Pharaohs. She is also shown as a vulture-headed woman (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 1020, and pl. cccxlviii. 2, 4).

[4] We have this on the testimony of classic writers, STRABO, book xvii. p. 812; *De Iside et Osiride*, § vii., 1872, PARTHEY'S edition, pp. 9, 30, 128; ÆLIANUS, *Hist. anim.*, book x. § 46.

[5] *Sobkû*, *Sovkû* is the animal's name, and the exact translation of *Sovkû* would be crocodile-god. Its Greek transcription is Σοῦχος (STRABO, book xvii. p. 811; cf. WILCKEN, *Der Labyrintherbauer Petesuchos*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1884, pp. 136–139). On account of the assonance of the names he was sometimes confounded with *Sivû*, *Sibû* by the Egyptians themselves, and thus obtained the titles of that god (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xx. 3; cf. BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 590, 591). This was especially the case at the time when Sît having been proscribed, Sovkû the crocodile, who was connected with Sît, shared his evil reputation, and endeavoured to disguise his name or true character as much as possible.

[6] Azaï is generally considered to be the Osiris of the Fayûm (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 770; LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, p. 103), but he was only transformed into Osiris, and that by the most daring process of assimilation. His full name defines him as *Osiri Azaï hi-hâît To-shît* (*Osiris the Brigand, who is in the Fayûm*), that is to say, as Sovkû identified with Osiris (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 39 *b*).

[7] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a green enamelled figure in my possession (Saïte period).

the dog, at Siût?[1] How came Sît to be incarnate in a fennec, or in an imaginary quadruped?[2] Occasionally, however, we can follow the train of thought that determined their choice. The habit of certain monkeys in assembling as it were in full court, and chattering noisily a little before sunrise and sunset, would almost justify the as yet uncivilized Egyptians in entrusting cynocephali with the charge of hailing the god morning and evening as he appeared in the east, or passed away in the west.[3] If Râ was held to be a grasshopper under the Old Empire, it was because he flew far up in the sky like the clouds of locusts driven from Central Africa which suddenly fall upon the fields and ravage them.[4]

THE FENNEC, SUPPOSED PROTOTYPE OF THE TYPHONIAN ANIMAL.

TWO CYNOCEPHALI IN ADORATION BEFORE THE RISING SUN.[5]

Most of the Nile-gods, Khnûmû, Osiris, Harshafitû, were incarnate in the form of a ram or of a buck. Does not the masculine vigour and procreative rage of these animals naturally point them out as fitting images of the life-giving Nile and the overflowing of its waters? It is easy to understand how the neighbourhood of a marsh or of a rock-encumbered rapid should have suggested the crocodile as supreme deity to the inhabitants of the

[1] Ûapuaîtû, the *guide of the celestial ways*, who must not be confounded with Anubis of the Cynopolite nome of Upper Egypt, was originally the feudal god of Siût. He guided human souls to the paradise of the Oasis, and the sun upon its southern path by day, and its northern path by night.

[2] Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, have held that the Typhonian animal was a purely imaginary one, and Wilkinson says that the Egyptians themselves admitted its unreality by representing it along with other fantastic beasts (*Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pp. 136, 137). This would rather tend to show that they believed in its actual existence (cf. p. 84 of this *History*). PLEYTE (*La Religion des Pré-Israélites*, p. 187) thinks that it may be a degenerated form of the figure of the ass or oryx.

[3] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 34, 35; cf. LEPAGE-RENOUF, *The Book of the Dead*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiv. pp. 272, 273.

[4] Cf. *La sauterelle de Râ* from *Papi II.*, l. 660, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xii. p. 170.

[5] Sculptured and painted scene from the tympanum of a stela in the Gîzeh Museum. Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey.

Fayûm or of Ombos. The crocodiles there multiplied so rapidly as to constitute a serious danger; there they had the mastery, and could be appeased only by means of prayers and sacrifices. When instinctive terror had been superseded by reflection, and some explanation was offered of the origin of the various cults, the very nature of the animal seemed to justify the veneration with which it was regarded. The crocodile is amphibious; and Sobkû was supposed to be a crocodile, because before the creation the sovereign god plunged recklessly into the dark waters and came forth to form the world, as the crocodile emerges from the river to lay its eggs upon the bank.[1]

NÎT OF SAÏS.

Most of the feudal divinities began their lives in solitary grandeur, apart from, and often hostile to, their neighbours. Families were assigned to them later.[2] Each appropriated two companions and formed a trinity, or as it is generally called, a triad. But there were several kinds of triads. In nomes subject to a god, the local deity was frequently content with one wife and one son; but often he was united to two goddesses, who were at once his sisters and his wives according to the national custom. Thus, Thot of Hermopolis possessed himself of a harem consisting of Seshaît-Safkhîtâbûi and Nahmâûît.[3] Tûmû divided the homage of the inhabitants of Heliopolis with Nebthôtpît and with Iûsasît.[4] Khnûmû seduced

[1] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. p. 233: "Sobkû, lord of Ombos, the god Sibû, father of the gods, the great god, lord of Neshît (Ptolemaïs), crocodile which ariseth resplendent from the waters of the divine Nû, which was in the beginning, and, when once it was, then was all which has been since the time of Râ."

[2] The existence of the Egyptian triads was discovered and defined by CHAMPOLLION (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., 1833, pp. 155–159). These triads have long served as the basis upon which modern writers have sought to establish their systems of the Egyptian religion. Brugsch was the first who rightly attempted to replace the triad by the Ennead, in his book *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*. The process of forming local triads, as here set forth, was first pointed out by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 269, et seq.).

[3] At Denderah, for example, we find Thot followed by his two wives (DÜMICHEN, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, pp. 26, 27). Nahmâûît, Νεμαονῦς, is a form of Hâthor, and wears the sistrum upon her head. Her name signifies *she who removes evil;* it was an epithet of Hâthor's, and alludes to the power of her sistrum's sound to drive away evil spirits (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 471, 472). There has, as yet, been no satisfactory interpretation of the name of Safkhît-âbûi, or Seshaît (LEPAGE-RENOUF, *The Book of the Dead*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1892–93, vol. xv. p. 378). The goddess herself is a duplicate of Thot as the inventor of letters and founder of temples (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 473–475).

[4] Here again the names are only epithets showing the impersonal character of the goddesses. The first may mean *the lady of the quarry*, or *of the mine*, and denote Hâthor of Belbeïs or Sinai, as united with Tûmû. It is found on monuments of various epochs (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 332, 333, 1272, 1273). The second name, which the Greeks transcribed as Σάωσις (*De Iside et Osiride*, § xv., PARTHEY'S edition, p. 26), seems to mean, "She comes, she grows," and is also nothing but a qualification applied to Hâthor in allusion to some circumstance as yet unknown to us (LEDRAIN, *Le Papyrus de Luynes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. p. 91; cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et*

and married the two fairies of the neighbouring cataract—Anûkît the constrainer, who compresses the Nile between its rocks at Philæ and at Syene, and Satît the archeress, who shoots forth the current straight and swift as an arrow.[1] Where a goddess reigned over a nome, the triad was completed by two male deities, a divine consort and a divine son. Nît of Saïs had taken for her husband Osiris of Mendes, and borne him a lion's whelp, Ari-hos-nofir.[2] Hâthor of Denderah had completed her household with Haroêris and a younger Horus, with the epithet of Ahi—he who strikes the sistrum.[3] A triad containing two goddesses produced no legitimate offspring, and was unsatisfactory to a people who regarded the lack of progeny as a curse from heaven; one in which the presence of a son promised to ensure the perpetuity of the race was more in keeping with the idea of a blessed and prosperous family, as that of gods should be. Triads of the former kind were therefore almost everywhere broken up into two new triads, each containing a divine father, a divine mother, and a divine son. Two fruitful households arose from the barren union of Thot with Safkhîtâbûi and Nahmâûît: one composed of Thot, Safkhîtâbûi, and Harnûbi, the golden sparrow-hawk;[4] into the other Nahmâûît and her nursling Nofirhorû entered.[5]

IMHOTPÛ.[6]

The persons united with the old feudal divinities in order to form triads were not all of the same class. Goddesses, especially, were made to order, and might often be described as grammatical, so obvious is the linguistic device to which they owe their being. From Râ, Amon, Horus, Sobkû, female Râs, Amons, Horuses, and Sobkûs were derived, by the addition of the regular

d'Archéologie Égyptiennes, vol. ii. p. 273). In the Luynes Papyrus, for instance, they are represented as standing behind their husband (*Recueil*, vol. i., plate belonging to M. Ledrain's memoir).

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 273, et seq.

[2] *Arihosnofir* means *the lion whose gaze has a beneficent fascination* (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 349–351). He also goes under the name of *Tûtû*, which seems as though it should be translated "*the bounding*,"—a mere epithet characterizing one gait of the lion-god's.

[3] BRUGSCH (*Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, p. 376) explains the name of Ahi as meaning *he who causes his waters to rise*, and recognizes this personage as being, among other things, a form of the Nile. The interpretation offered by myself is borne out by the many scenes representing the child of Hâthor playing upon the sistrum and the *monâit* (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pl. xl. 2, 3). Moreover, *ahi*, *ahît* is an invariable title of the priests and priestesses whose office it is, during religious ceremonies, to strike the sistrum, and that other mystic musical instrument, the sounding whip called *monâit* (cf. MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1893, vol. i. p. 289).

[4] This somewhat rare triad, noted by WILKINSON (*Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p. 230), is sculptured on the wall of a chamber in the Tûrah quarries.

[5] BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, pp. 483, 484.

[6] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bronze statuette encrusted with gold, in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 6). The seat is alabaster, and of modern manufacture.

feminine affix to the primitive masculine names—Râît, Amonît, Horît, Sobkît.[1] In the same way, detached cognomens of divine fathers were embodied in divine sons. Imhotpû, "he who comes in peace," was merely one of the epithets of Phtah before he became incarnate as the third member of the Memphite triad.[2] In other cases, alliances were contracted between divinities of ancient stock, but natives of different nomes, as in the case of Isis of Bûto and the Mendesian Osiris; of Haroêris of Edfû and Hâthor of Denderah. In the same manner Sokhît of Letopolis and Bastît of Bubastis were appropriated as wives to Phtah of Memphis, Nofirtûmû being represented as his son by both unions.[3] These improvised connections were generally determined by considerations of vicinity; the gods of conterminous principalities were married as the children of kings of two adjoining kingdoms are married, to form or to consolidate relations, and to establish bonds of kinship between rival powers whose unremitting hostility would mean the swift ruin of entire peoples.

NOFIRTÛMÛ.[4]

The system of triads, begun in primitive times and continued unbrokenly up to the last days of Egyptian polytheism, far from in any way lowering the prestige of the feudal gods, was rather the means of enhancing it in the eyes of the multitude. Powerful lords as the new-comers might be at home, it was only in the strength of an auxiliary title that they could enter a strange city, and then only on condition of submitting to its religious law. Hâthor, supreme at Denderah, shrank into insignificance before Haroêris at Edfû, and there retained only the somewhat subordinate part of a wife in the house of her husband.[5] On the other hand, Haroêris when at

[1] MASPERO, *Etudes de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8, 256.

[2] Imhotpû, the Imouthes of the Greeks, and by them identified with Æsculapius, was discovered by SALT (*Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics*, pp. 49, 50, pl. iii. 1), and his name was first translated as *he who comes with offering* (ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum*, p. 29). The translation, *he who comes in peace*, proposed by E. de Rougé, is now universally adopted (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 526; PIERRET, *Le Panthéon Égyptien*, p. 77; WIEDEMANN, *Die Religion der alten Ægypter*, p. 77). Imhotpû did not take form until the time of the New Empire; his great popularity at Memphis and throughout Egypt dates from the Saïte and Greek periods.

[3] Originally, Nofirtûmû appears to have been the son of cat or lioness-headed goddesses, Bastît and Sokhît, and from them he may have inherited the lion's head with which he is often represented (cf. LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, p. 385, pl. cxlvii. 4, cxlviii. 1, 2). His name shows him to have been in the first place an incarnation of Atûmû, but he was affiliated to the god Phtah of Memphis when that god became the husband of his mothers, and preceded Imhotpû as the third personage in the oldest Memphite triad.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bronze statuette incrusted with gold, in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 5).

[5] Each year, and at a certain time, the goddess came in high state to spend a few days in the

Denderah descended from the supreme rank, and was nothing more than the almost useless consort of the lady Hâthor. His name came first in invocations of the triad because of his position therein as husband and father; but this was simply a concession to the propriety of etiquette, and even though named in second place, Hâthor was none the less the real chief of Denderah and of its divine family.[1] Thus, the principal personage in any triad was always the one who had been patron of the nome previous to the introduction of the triad: in some places the father-god, and in others the mother-goddess. The son in a divine triad had of himself but limited authority. When Isis and Osiris were his parents, he was generally an infant Horus, naked, or simply adorned with necklaces and bracelets; a thick lock of hair depended from his temple, and his mother squatting on her heels, or else sitting, nursed him upon her knees, offering him her breast.[2] Even in triads where the son was supposed to have attained to man's estate, he held the lowest place, and there was enjoined upon him the same respectful attitude towards his parents as is observed by children of human race in the presence of theirs. He took the lowest place at all solemn receptions, spoke only with his parents' permission, acted only by their command and as the agent of their will. Occasionally he was vouchsafed a character of his own, and filled a definite position, as at Memphis, where Imhotpû was the patron of science.[4] But, generally, he was not considered as having either office or marked individuality; his being was but a feeble reflection of his father's, and possessed neither life nor power except as derived from him. Two such contiguous personalities must needs have

HORUS, SON OF ISIS.[3]

great temple of Edfû, with her husband Haroêris (J. DE ROUGÉ, *Textes géographiques du temple d'Edfou*, pp. 52, 53; MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. iii. pl. vii. 73, and *Texte*, pp. 99, 107).

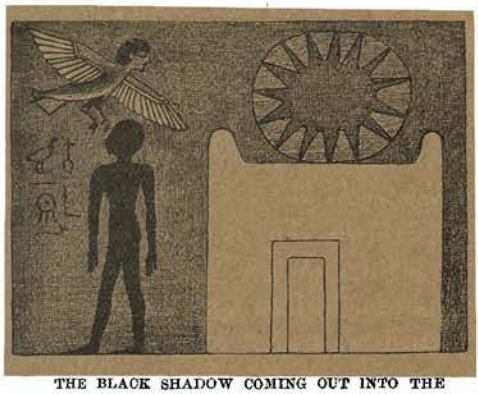
[1] The part played by Haroêris at Denderah was so inconsiderable that the triad containing him is not to be found in the temple. "In all our four volumes of plates, the triad is not once represented, and this is the more remarkable since at Thebes, at Memphis, at Philæ, at the cataracts, at Elephantinê, at Edfû, among all the data which one looks to find in temples, the triad is most readily distinguished by the visitor. But we must not therefore conclude that there was no triad in this case. The triad of Edfû consists of Hor-Hut, Hâthor, and Hor-Sam-ta-ui. The triad of Denderah contains Hâthor, Hor-Hut, and Hor-Sam-ta-ui. The difference is obvious. At Edfû, the male principle, as represented by Hor-Hut, takes the first place, whereas the first person at Denderah is Hâthor, who represents the female principle" (MARIETTE, *Dendérah, Texte*, pp. 80, 81).

[2] For representations of Harpocrates, the child Horus, see LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pls. ccxxvii., ccxxviii., and particularly pl. cccx. 2, where there is a scene in which the young god, represented as a sparrow-hawk, is nevertheless sucking the breast of his mother Isis with his beak.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a statuette in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Album du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 4).

[4] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice sommaire des Monuments Égyptiens*, 1855, p. 106; BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, p. 526, et seq.; WIEDEMANN, *Die Religion der alten Ægypter*, p. 77. Hence he is generally represented as seated, or squatting, and attentively reading a papyrus roll, which lies open upon his knees; cf. the illustration on p. 105.

been confused, and, as a matter of fact, were so confused as to become at length nothing more than two aspects of the same god, who united in his own person degrees of relationship mutually exclusive of each other in a human family. Father, inasmuch as he was the first member of the triad; son, by virtue of being its third member; identical with himself in both capacities, he was at once his own father, his own son, and the husband of his mother.[1]



THE BLACK SHADOW COMING OUT INTO THE SUNLIGHT.[3]

Gods, like men, might be resolved into at least two elements, soul and body;[2] but, in Egypt, the conception of the soul varied in different times and in different schools. It might be an insect—butterfly, bee, or praying mantis;[4] or a bird—the ordinary sparrow-hawk, the human-headed sparrow-hawk, a heron or a crane—*bi*, *baï*—whose wings enabled it to pass rapidly through space;[5] or the black shadow—*khaîbît*—that is attached to every body,[6] but which death sets free, and which thenceforward leads an independent existence, so that it can move about at will, and go out into the open sunlight. Finally, it might be a kind of light shadow, like a reflection from the surface of calm water, or from a polished mirror, the living and coloured projection of the human figure, a double—*ka*—reproducing in minutest detail

[1] The part and the genesis of these son-deities were first clearly defined by E. DE ROUGÉ (*Explication d'une inscription égyptienne prouvant que les anciens Égyptiens ont connu la génération éternelle du Fils de Dieu*, p. 24, et seq.; cf. *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, May, 1851; *Étude sur une stèle égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque impériale*, pp. 6, 7).

[2] In one of the Pyramid texts, Sâhû-Orion, the wild hunter, captures the gods, slaughters and disembowels them, cooks their joints, their haunches, their legs, in his burning cauldrons, and feeds on their souls as well as on their bodies (*Ûnas*, lines 509–514). A god was not limited to a single body and a single soul; we know from several texts that Râ had *seven souls and fourteen doubles* (DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften, I, Edfou*, pl. xxix.; E. VON BERGMANN, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, pl. xxxiii. l. 3, and p. 25, note 1, of the text; BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique, Supplément*, pp. 997, 1230; LEPAGE-RENOUF, *On the true Sense of an important Egyptian Word*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vi. pp. 504, 505).

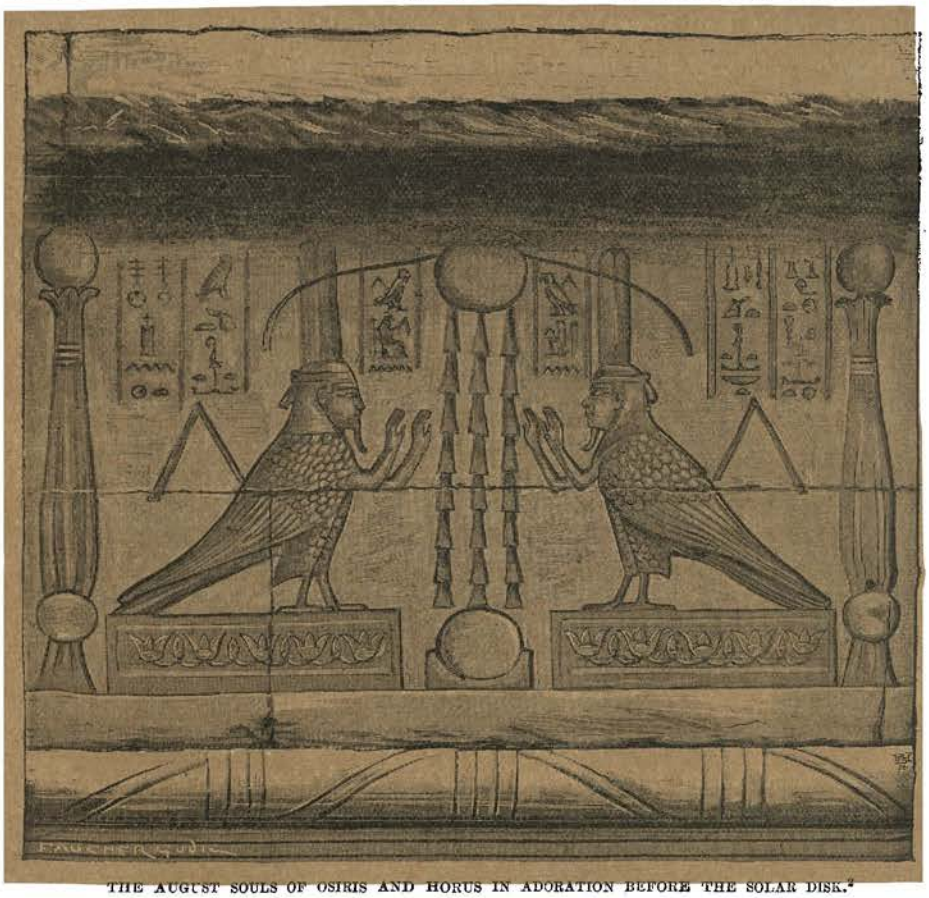
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from NAVILLE'S *Das Thebanische Todtenbuch*, vol. i. pl. civ. Pc.

[4] Mr. LEPAGE-RENOUF supposes that the soul may have been considered as being a butterfly at times, as in Greece (*A Second Note*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiv. p. 400); M. LEFÉBURE thinks that it must sometimes have been incarnate as a wasp—I should rather say a bee or a praying mantis (*Étude sur Abydos*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. xv. pp. 142, 143).

[5] The simple sparrow-hawk is chiefly used to denote the soul of a god; the human-headed sparrow-hawk , the heron, or the crane , is used indifferently for human or divine souls. It is from HORAPOLLO (book i. § 7, LEEMANS' edition, pp. 8, 151, 152) that we learn this symbolic significance of the sparrow-hawk and the pronunciation of the name of the soul as *baï*.

[6] For the black Shadow, see BIRCH, *On the Shade or Shadow of the Dead* (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. viii. pp. 386–397), and the illustrations of his paper.

the complete image of the object or the person to whom it belonged.[1] The soul, the shadow, the double of a god, was in no way essentially different from



THE AUGUST SOULS OF OSIRIS AND HORUS IN ADORATION BEFORE THE SOLAR DISK.[2]

the soul, shadow, or double of a man; his body, indeed, was moulded out of a more rarefied substance, and generally invisible, but endowed with the same qualities, and subject to the same imperfections as ours. The gods,

[1] The nature of the double has long been misapprehended by Egyptologists, who had even made its name into a kind of pronominal form (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, 2nd part, pp. 61–63). That nature was publicly and almost simultaneously announced in 1878, first by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 1–34; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 35–52), and directly afterwards by LEPAGE-RENOUF (*On the true Sense of an important Egyptian Word*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vi. pp. 494–508). The idea which the Egyptians had formed of the *double*, and the influence which that idea exercised upon their conception of the life beyond, have been mainly studied by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 77–91, 388–406), and WIEDEMANN, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, 1895.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by DÜMICHEN (*Resultate*, vol. ii. pl. lix.), of a scene on the cornice of the front room of Osiris on the terrace of the great temple of Denderah. The soul on the left belongs to Horus, that on the right to Osiris, lord of Amentît. Each bears upon its head the group of tall feathers which is characteristic of figures of Anhûri (cf. p. 99).

therefore, on the whole, were more ethereal, stronger, more powerful, better fitted to command, to enjoy, and to suffer than ordinary men, but they were still men. They had bones,[1] muscles, flesh, blood; they were hungry and ate, they were thirsty and drank; our passions, griefs, joys, infirmities, were also theirs. The *sa*, a mysterious fluid, circulated throughout their members, and carried with it health, vigour, and life.[2] They were not all equally charged with it; some had more, others less, their energy being in proportion to the amount which they contained. The better supplied willingly gave of their superfluity to those who lacked it, and all could readily transmit it to mankind, this transfusion being easily accomplished in the temples. The king, or any ordinary man who wished to be thus impregnated, presented himself before the statue of the god, and squatted at its feet with his back towards it. The statue then placed its right hand upon the nape of his neck, and by making passes, caused the fluid to flow from it, and to accumulate in him as in a receiver. This rite was of temporary efficacy only, and required frequent renewal in order that its benefit might be maintained. By using or transmitting it the gods themselves exhausted their *sa* of life; and the less vigorous replenished themselves from the stronger, while the latter went to draw fresh fulness from a mysterious pond in the northern sky, called the "pond of the Sa."[3] Divine bodies, continually recruited by the influx of this magic fluid, preserved their vigour far beyond the term allotted to the bodies of men and beasts. Age, instead of quickly destroying them, hardened and transformed them into precious metals. Their bones were changed to silver, their flesh to gold; their hair, piled up and painted blue, after the manner of great chiefs, was turned into lapis-lazuli.[4] This transformation of each into an animated statue did not altogether do away with

[1] For example, the text of the *Destruction of Men* (l. 2), and other documents, teach us that the flesh of the aged sun had become gold, and his bones silver (LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Séti Ier*, 4th part, pl. xv. l. 2, in vol. ii. of the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*). The blood of Râ is mentioned in the *Book of the Dead* (chap. xvii. l. 29, NAVILLE'S edition, pl. xxiv.), as well as the blood of Isis (chap. clvi.; cf. *Mirinrî*, l. 774) and of other divinities.

[2] On the *sa of life*, whose action had already been partially studied by E. DE ROUGÉ (*Étude sur une stèle égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque impériale*, p. 110, et seq.), see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 307–309.

[3] It is thus that in the *Tale of the Daughter of the Prince of Bakhtan* we find that one of the statues of the Theban Khonsû supplies itself with *sa* from another statue representing one of the most powerful forms of the god (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude sur une stèle*, pp. 110, 111; MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 221). The *pond of Sa*, whither the gods go to draw the magic fluid, is mentioned in the Pyramid texts.

[4] Cf. the text of the *Destruction of Men* (ll. 1, 2) referred to above, where age produces these transformations in the body of the sun. This changing of the bodies of the gods into gold, silver, and precious stones, explains why the alchemists, who were disciples of the Egyptians, often compared the transmutation of metals to the metamorphosis of a genius or of a divinity: they thought by their art to hasten at will that which was the slow work of nature.

the ravages of time. Decrepitude was no less irremediable with them than with men, although it came to them more slowly; when the sun had grown old "his mouth trembled, his drivelling ran down to earth, his spittle dropped upon the ground."[1]

None of the feudal gods had escaped this destiny; for them as for mankind the day came when they must leave the city and go forth to the tomb.[2] The ancients long refused to believe that death was natural and inevitable. They thought that life, once begun, might go on indefinitely: if no accident stopped it short, why should it cease of itself? And so men did not die in Egypt; they were assassinated.[4] The murderer often belonged to this world, and was easily recognized as another man, an animal, some inanimate object such as a stone loosened from the hillside, a tree which fell upon the passer-by and crushed him. But often too the murderer was of the unseen world, and so was hidden, his presence being betrayed in his malignant attacks only. He was a god, an evil spirit, a disembodied soul who slily

THE KING AFTER HIS CORONATION RECEIVING THE IMPOSITION OF THE *SA*.[3]

[1] PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Les Papyrus Hiératiques de Turin*, pl. cxxxii. ll. 1, 2; cf. LEFÉBURE, *Un Chapitre de la chronique solaire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 28.

[2] The idea of the inevitable death of the gods is expressed in other places as well as in a passage of the eighth chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE's edition, pl. x. ll. 6, 7), which has not to my knowledge hitherto been noticed: "I am that Osiris in the West, and Osiris knoweth his day in which he shall be no more;" that is to say, the day of his death when he will cease to exist. All the gods, Atûmû, Horus, Râ, Thot, Phtah, Khnûmû, are represented under the forms of mummies, and this implies that they are dead. Moreover, their tombs were pointed out in several places in Egypt (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 21, LEEMANS' edition, p. 36).

[3] Drawn by Boudier from a photograph by M. Gayet, taken in 1889, of a scene in the hypostyle hall at Lûxor. This illustration shows the relative positions of prince and god. Amon, after having placed the pschent upon the head of the Pharaoh Amenôthes III., who kneels before him, proceeds to *impose the sa*.

[4] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 250.

insinuated itself into the living man, or fell upon him with irresistible violence —illness being a struggle between the one possessed and the power which possessed him. As soon as the former succumbed he was carried away from his own people, and his place knew him no more. But had all ended for him with the moment in which he had ceased to breathe? As to the body, no one was ignorant of its natural fate. It quickly fell to decay, and a few years sufficed to reduce it to a skeleton. And as for the skeleton, in the lapse of centuries that too was disintegrated and became a mere train of dust, to be blown away by the first breath of wind. The soul might have a longer career and fuller fortunes, but these were believed to be dependent upon those of the body, and commensurate with them. Every advance made in the process of decomposition robbed the soul of some part of itself; its consciousness gradually faded until nothing was left but a vague and hollow form that vanished altogether when the corpse had entirely disappeared. From an early date the Egyptians had endeavoured to arrest this gradual destruction of the human organism, and their first effort to this end naturally was directed towards the preservation of the body, since without it the existence of the soul could not be ensured. It was imperative that during that last sleep, which for them was fraught with such terrors, the flesh should neither become decomposed nor turn to dust, that it should be free from offensive odour[1] and secure from predatory worms.[2]

They set to work, therefore, to discover how to preserve it. The oldest burials which have as yet been found prove that these early inhabitants were successful in securing the permanence of the body for a few decades only. When one of them died, his son, or his nearest relative, carefully washed the corpse in water impregnated with an astringent or aromatic substance, such as natron or some solution of fragrant gums, and then fumigated it with burning herbs and perfumes which were destined to overpower, at least temporarily, the odour of death.[3] Having taken these precautions, they placed the body in the grave, sometimes entirely naked, sometimes partially covered with its ordinary garments, or sewn up in a closely fitting gazelle skin.[4] The dead

[1] Cf., among other examples, the passage from the Pyramid of *Teti*, ll. 347–354, in MASPERO, *Les Pyramides de Sakkarah*, p. 141.

[2] *Book of the Dead*, LEPSIUS's edition, pl. lxxvii. ch. clxiii. l. 1. Various chapters of the same book show a similar horror of the worm, and give various ways of preserving flesh and bones from its attacks. Thus in ch. cliv. a hope is expressed that the body may not decay nor become *a multitude of worms*.

[3] This is to be gathered from the various Pyramid texts relating to the purification by water and to fumigation: the pains taken to secure material cleanliness, described in these formulas, were primarily directed towards the preservation of the bodies subjected to these processes, and further to the perfecting of the souls to which these bodies had been united.

[4] For the primitive mode of burial in hides, and the rites which originated in connection with it, cf. LEFÉBURE, *Études sur Abydos*, ii., in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1892–93, vol. xv. pp. 433–435. De Morgan found some bodies wrapped in a gazelle skin (*Ethnogr. préhist.*, p. 134).

man was placed on his left side, lying north and south with his face to the east, in some cases on the bare ground, in others on a mat, a strip of leather or a fleece, in the position of a child in the fœtal state. The knees were sharply bent at an angle of 45° with the thighs, while the latter were either at right angles with the body, or drawn up so as almost to touch the elbows. The hands are sometimes extended in front of the face, sometimes the arms are folded and the hands joined on the breast or neck. In some instances the legs are bent upward in such a fashion that they almost lie parallel with the trunk. The deceased could only be made to assume this position by a violent effort, and in many cases the tendons and the flesh had to be cut to facilitate the operation. The dryness of the ground selected for these burial-places retarded the corruption of the flesh for a long time, it is true, but only retarded it, and so did not prevent the soul from being finally destroyed. Seeing decay could not be prevented, it was determined to accelerate the process, by taking the flesh from the bones before interment. The bodies thus treated are often incomplete; the head is missing, or is detached from the neck and laid in another part of the pit, or, on the other hand, the body is not there, and the head only is found in the grave, generally placed apart on a brick, a heap of stones, or a layer of cut flints. The forearms and the hands were subjected to the same treatment as the head. In many cases no trace of them appears, in others they are deposited by the side of the skull or scattered about haphazard. Other mutilations are frequently met with; the ribs are divided and piled up behind the body, the limbs are disjointed or the body is entirely dismembered, and the fragments arranged upon the ground or enclosed together in an earthenware cist.[1]

These precautions were satisfactory in so far as they ensured the better preservation of the more solid parts of the human frame, but the Egyptians felt this result was obtained at too great a sacrifice. The human organism thus deprived of all flesh was not only reduced to half its bulk, but what remained had neither unity, consistency, nor continuity. It was not even a perfect skeleton with its constituent parts in their relative places, but a mere mass of bones with no connecting links. This drawback, it is true, was remedied by the artificial reconstruction in the tomb of the individual thus completely dismembered in the course of the funeral ceremonies. The bones were laid in their natural order; those of the feet at the bottom, then those of the leg, trunk, and arms, and finally the skull itself. But the superstitious fear inspired by the dead man, particularly of one thus harshly handled, and

[1] J. DE MORGAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–139. For the traces of these primitive customs in the formulas and rites of the times of the Pharaohs, cf. the curious memoir by WIEDEMANN, *Les modes d'ensevelissement dans la Nécropole de Nagadah*, etc., in J. DE MORGAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–228.

particularly the apprehension that he might revenge himself on his relatives for the treatment to which they had subjected him, often induced them to make this restoration intentionally incomplete. When they had reconstructed the entire skeleton, they refrained from placing the head in position, or else they suppressed one or all of the vertebræ of the spine, so that the deceased should be unable to rise and go forth to bite and harass the living. Having taken this precaution, they nevertheless felt a doubt whether the soul could really enjoy life so long as one half only of the body remained, and the other was lost for ever: they therefore sought to discover the means of preserving the fleshy parts in addition to the bony framework of the body. It had been observed that when a corpse had been buried in the desert, its skin, speedily desiccated and hardened, changed into a case of blackish parchment beneath which the flesh slowly wasted away,[1] and the whole frame thus remained intact, at least in appearance, while its integrity ensured that of the soul. An attempt was made by artificial means to reproduce the conservative action of the sand, and, without mutilating the body, to secure at will that incorruptibility without which the persistence of the soul was but a useless prolongation of the death-agony. It was the god Anubis—the jackal lord of sepulture—who was supposed to have made this discovery. He cleansed the body of the viscera, those parts which most rapidly decay, saturated it with salts and aromatic substances, protected it first of all with the hide of a beast, and over this laid thick layers of linen. The victory the god had thus gained over corruption was, however, far from being a complete one. The bath in which the dead man was immersed could not entirely preserve the softer parts of the body: the chief portion of them was dissolved, and what remained after the period of saturation was so desiccated that its bulk was seriously diminished.

When any human being had been submitted to this process, he emerged from it a mere skeleton, over which the skin remained tightly drawn:[2] these shrivelled limbs, sunken chest, grinning features, yellow and blackened skin spotted by the efflorescence of the embalmer's salts, were not the man himself, but rather a caricature of what he had been. As nevertheless he was secure against immediate destruction, the Egyptians described him as furnished with his shape; henceforth he had been purged of all that was evil in him,[3] and he could face with tolerable security whatever awaited him in the future. The art of Anubis, transmitted to the embalmers and employed by them from gene-

[1] Such was the appearance of the bodies of Coptic monks of the sixth, eighth, and ninth centuries, which I found in the convent cemeteries of Contra-Syene, Taûd, and Akhmîm, right in the midst of the desert.

[2] This is stated as early as Herodotus (ii. 88): *Τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ νίτρον κατατήκει καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μοῦνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα.*

[3] Cf. *Pepi I.*, l. 14, in MASPERO, *Les Pyramides de Sakkarah*, p. 150.

ration to generation, had, by almost eliminating the corruptible part of the body without destroying its outward appearance, arrested decay, if not for ever, at least for an unlimited period of time. If there were hills at hand, thither the mummied dead were still borne, partly from custom, partly because the dryness of the air and of the soil offered them a further chance of preservation. In districts of the Delta where the hills were so distant as to make it very costly to reach them, advantage was taken of the smallest sandy islet rising above the marshes, and there a cemetery was founded.[1] Where this resource failed, the mummy was fearlessly entrusted to the soil itself, but only after being placed within a sarcophagus of hard stone, whose lid and trough, hermetically fastened together with cement, prevented the penetration of any moisture. Reassured on this point, the soul followed the body to the tomb, and there dwelt with it as in its eternal house, upon the confines of the visible and invisible worlds.

Here the soul kept the distinctive character and appearance which pertained to it "upon the earth:" as it had been a "double" before death, so it remained a double after it, able to perform all functions of animal life after its own fashion. It moved, went, came, spoke, breathed, accepted pious homage, but without pleasure, and as it were mechanically, rather from an instinctive horror of annihilation than from any rational desire for immortality. Unceasing regret for the bright world which it had left disturbed its mournful and inert existence. "O my brother, withhold not thyself from drinking and from eating, from drunkenness, from love, from all enjoyment, from following thy desire by night and by day; put not sorrow within thy heart, for what are the years of a man upon earth? The West is a land of sleep and of heavy shadows, a place wherein its inhabitants, when once installed, slumber on in their mummy-forms, never more waking to see their brethren; never more to recognize their fathers or their mothers, with hearts forgetful of their wives and children. The living water, which earth giveth to all who dwell upon it, is for me but stagnant and dead; that water floweth to all who are on earth, while for me it is but liquid putrefaction, this water that is mine. Since I came into this funereal valley I know not where nor what I am. Give me to drink of running water! . . . Let me be placed by the edge of the water with my face to the North, that the breeze may caress me and my heart be refreshed from its sorrow."[2] By day the double remained

[1] As in the case of the islets forming the cemetery of the great city of Tennis, in the midst of Lake Menzaleh (ÉTIENNE QUATREMÈRE, *Mémoires geographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 331, 332).

[2] This text is published in PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments*, pl. xxvi. *bis*, ll. 15-21, and in LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xvi. It has been translated into English by BIRCH, *On Two Egyptian Tablets of the Ptolemaic Period* (from *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix.), into German by BRUGSCH,

concealed within the tomb. If it went forth by night, it was from no capricious or sentimental desire to revisit the spots where it had led a happier life. Its organs needed nourishment as formerly did those of its body, and of itself it possessed nothing "but hunger for food, thirst for drink."[1] Want and misery drove it from its retreat, and flung it back among the living. It prowled like a marauder about fields and villages, picking up and greedily devouring whatever it might find on the ground—broken meats which had been left or forgotten, house and stable refuse—and, should these meagre resources fail, even the most revolting dung and excrement.[2] This ravenous spectre had not the dim and misty form, the long shroud or floating draperies of our modern phantoms, but a precise and definite shape, naked, or clothed in the garments which it had worn while yet upon earth, and emitting a pale light, to which it owed the name of Luminous—*Khû*, *Khûû*.[3] The double did not allow its family to forget it, but used all the means at its disposal to remind them of its existence. It entered their houses and their bodies, terrified them waking and sleeping by its sudden apparitions, struck them down with disease or madness,[4] and would even suck their blood like

Die Ægyptische Gräberwelt, pp. 39, 40, and into French by MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 187–190. As regards the persistence of this gloomy Egyptian conception of the other world, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 179–181.

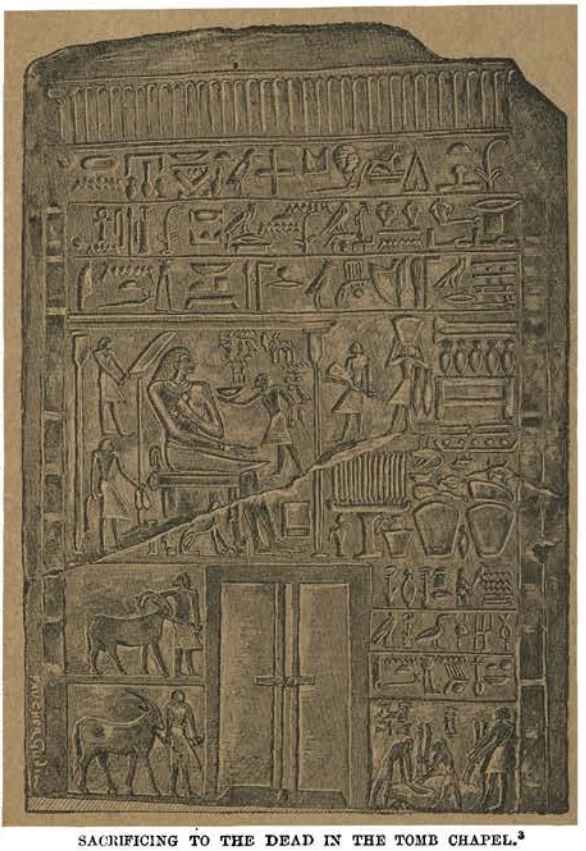
[1] *Teti*, ll. 74, 75. "Hateful unto Teti is hunger, and he eateth it not; hateful unto Teti is thirst, nor hath he drunk it." We see that the Egyptians made hunger and thirst into two substances or beings, to be swallowed as food is swallowed, but whose effects were poisonous unless counteracted by the immediate absorption of more satisfying sustenance (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 154–156).

[2] King Teti, when distinguishing his fate from that of the common dead, stated that he had abundance of food, and hence was not reduced to so pitiful an extremity. "Abhorrent unto Teti is excrement, Teti rejecteth urine, and Teti abhorreth that which is abominable in him; abhorrent unto him is fæcal matter and he eateth it not, hateful unto Teti is liquid filth" (*Teti*, ll. 68, 69). The same doctrine is found in several places in the *Book of the Dead*.

[3] The name of *luminous* was at first so explained as to make the light wherewith souls were clothed, into a portion of the divine light (MASPERO, *Études démotiques*, in the *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 21, note 6, and the *Revue critique*, 1872, vol. ii. p. 338; DÉVÉRIA, *Lettre à M. Paul Pierret sur le chapitre Ier du Todtenbuch*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1870, pp. 62–64). In my opinion the idea is a less abstract one, and shows that, as among many other nations, so with the Egyptians the soul was supposed to appear as a kind of pale flame, or as emitting a glow analogous to the phosphorescent halo which is seen by night about a piece of rotten wood, or putrefying fish. This primitive conception may have subsequently faded, and *khû the glorious one*, one of the *mânes*, may have become one of those flattering names by which it was thought necessary to propitiate the dead (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 12, note 1); it then came to have that significance of *resplendent with light* which is ordinarily attributed to it.

[4] The incantations of which the Leyden Papyrus published by PLEYTE is full (*Études Égyptologiques*, vol. i.) are directed against *dead men or dead women* who entered into one of the living to give him the *migraine*, and violent headaches. Another Leyden Papyrus (LEEMANS, *Monuments Égyptiens du musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leyde*, 2nd part, pls. clxxxiii., clxxxiv.), briefly analyzed by CHABAS (*Notices sommaires des Papyrus égyptiens*, p. 49), and translated by MASPERO (*Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 145–159), contains the complaint, or rather the formal act of requisition of a husband whom the *luminous* of his wife returned to torment in his home, without any just cause for such conduct.

the modern vampire.[1] One effectual means there was, and one only, of escaping or preventing these visitations, and this lay in taking to the tomb all the various provisions of which the double stood in need, and for which it visited their dwellings. Funerary sacrifices and the regular cultus of the dead originated in the need experienced for making provision for the sustenance of the manes after having secured their lasting existence by the mummification of their bodies.[2] Gazelles and oxen were brought and sacrificed at the door of the tomb chapel; the haunches, heart, and breast of each victim being presented and heaped together upon the ground, that there the dead might find them when they began to be hungry. Vessels of beer or wine, great jars of fresh water, purified with natron, or perfumed, were brought to them that they might drink their fill at pleasure, and by such voluntary tribute men bought their good will, as in daily life they bought that of some neighbour too powerful to be opposed.



SACRIFICING TO THE DEAD IN THE TOMB CHAPEL.[3]

[1] MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire*, § 2, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 53, on a text of the *Book of the Dead*.

[2] Several chapters of the *Book of the Dead* consist of directions for giving food to that part of man which survives his death, *e.g.* chap. cv., "*Chapter for providing food for the double*" (NAVILLE'S edition, pl. cxvii.), and chap. cvi., "*Chapter for giving daily abundance unto the deceased, in Memphis*" (NAVILLE'S edition, pl. cxviii.).

[3] Stela of Antûf I., Prince of Thebes, drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a photograph taken by Emil Brugsch-Bey (cf. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 50 *b*). Below, servants and relations are bringing the victims and cutting up the ox at the door of the tomb. In the middle is the dead man, seated under his pavilion and receiving the sacrifice: an attendant offers him drink, another brings him the haunch of an ox, a third a basket and two jars; provisions fill the whole chamber. Behind Antûf stand two servants, the one fanning his master, and the second offering him his staff and sandals. The position of the door, which is in the lowest row of the scenes, indicates that what is represented above it takes place within the tomb.

The gods were spared none of the anguish and none of the perils which death so plentifully bestows upon men. Their bodies suffered change and gradually perished until nothing was left of them. Their souls, like human souls, were only the representatives of their bodies, and gradually became extinct if means of arresting the natural tendency to decay were not found in time. Thus, the same necessity that forced men to seek the kind of sepulture which gave the longest term of existence to their souls, compelled the gods to the same course. At first, they were buried in the hills, and one of their oldest titles describes them as those "who are upon their sand,"[1] safe from putrefaction; afterwards, when the art of embalming had been discovered, the gods received the benefit of the new invention and were mummified. Each nome possessed the mummy and the tomb of its dead god: at Thinis there was the mummy and the tomb of Anhûri, the mummy of Osiris at Mendes, the mummy of Tûmû at Heliopolis.[2] In some of the nomes the gods did not change their names in altering the mode of their existence: the deceased Osiris remained Osiris; Nît and Hâthor when dead were still Nît and Hâthor, at Saïs and at Denderah. But Phtah of Memphis became Sokaris by dying;[3] Ûapûaîtû, the jackal of Siût, was changed into Anubis;[4] and when his disk had disappeared at evening, Anhûri, the sunlit sky of Thinis, was Khontamentît, Lord of the West, until the following day.[5] That bliss which we dream of enjoying in the world to come was not granted to the gods any more than to men. Their bodies were nothing but inert larvæ, "with unmoving heart,"[6] weak and shrivelled limbs, unable to stand

[1] In the *Book of Knowing that which is in Hades*, for the fourth and fifth hours of the night, we have the description of the sandy realm of Sokaris and of the gods *Hirîû Shâitû-senû*, who are on their sand (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 64–73). Elsewhere in the same book we have a cynocephalus *upon its sand* (LEFÉBURE, *Tombeau de Séti Ier*, 4th part, pl. xxxii.), and the gods of the eighth hour are also mysterious gods who are on their sand (*ibid.*, pl. xlvii., et seq.). Wherever these personages are represented in the vignettes, the Egyptian artist has carefully drawn the ellipse painted in yellow and sprinkled with red, which is the conventional rendering of sand, and sandy districts.

[2] The sepulchres of Tûmû, Khopri, Râ, Osiris, and in each of them the heap of sand hiding the body, are represented in the tomb of Seti I. (LEFÉBURE, *Tombeau de Séti Ier*, 4th part, pls. xliv., xlv.), as also the four rams in which the souls of the god are incarnate (cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 112). The tombs of the gods were known even in Roman times. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτου (Ὀσίριδος) οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγέννητοι μηδ' ἄφθαρτοι, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα (*De Iside et Osiride*, chap. xxi., PARTHEY's edition, p. 36).

[3] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 21, 22.

[4] To my mind, at least, this is an obvious conclusion from the monuments of Siût, in which the jackal god is called Ûapûaitû, as the living god, lord of the city, and Anûpû, master of embalming or of the Oasis, lord of Ra-qrirît, inasmuch as he is god of the dead. Ra-qrirît, *the door of the stone*, was the name which the people of Siût gave to their necropolis and to the infernal domain of their god.

[5] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 23, 24.

[6] This is the characteristic epithet for the dead Osiris, *Ûrdû-hît*, he whose heart is unmoving, he whose heart no longer beats, and who has therefore ceased to live.

upright were it not that the bandages in which they were swathed stiffened them into one rigid block. Their hands and heads alone were free, and were of the green or black shades of putrid flesh. Their doubles, like those of men, both dreaded and regretted the light. All sentiment was extinguished by the hunger from which they suffered, and gods who were noted for their compassionate kindness when alive, became pitiless and ferocious tyrants in the tomb. When once men were bidden to the presence of Sokarís, Khontamentît, or even of Osiris,[1] "mortals come terrifying their hearts with fear of the god, and none dareth to look him in the face either among gods or men; for him the great are as the small. He spareth not those who love him; he beareth away the child from its mother, and the old man who walketh on his way; full of fear, all creatures make supplication before him, but he turneth not his face towards them."[2] Only by the unfailing payment of tribute, and by feeding him as though he were a simple human double, could living or dead escape the consequences of his furious temper. The living paid him his dues in pomps and solemn sacrifices, repeated from year to year at regular intervals;[4] but the dead bought more dearly the protection which he deigned to extend to them. He did not allow them to receive directly the prayers, sepulchral meals, or offerings of kindred on feast-days; all that was addressed to them must first pass through his hands. When their friends wished to send them wine, water, bread, meat, vegetables, and fruits, he insisted that these should first be offered and formally presented to himself; then he was humbly prayed to transmit them to such or such a double, whose name and parentage were pointed out to him. He took possession of them, kept part for his own use, and of his

PHTAH AS A MUMMY.[3]

[1] On the baleful character of Osiris, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.

[2] This is a continuation of the text cited above, p. 113.

[3] Drawing by Faucher-Gudin of a bronze statuette of Saïte period, found in the department of Hérault, at the end of a gallery in an ancient mine.

[4] The most solemn of these sacrifices were celebrated during the first days of the year, at the feast *Ûaga*, as is evident from texts in the tomb of Norfirhotpû and others (BÉNÉDITE, *Le Tombeau de Noferhotp*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. v. p. 417, et seq.).

bounty gave the remainder to its destined recipient.[1] Thus death made no change in the relative positions of the feudal god and his worshippers. The worshipper who called himself the *amakhû* of the god during life was the subject and vassal of his mummied god even in the tomb;[2] and the god who, while living, reigned over the living, after his death continued to reign over the dead.

He dwelt in the city near the prince and in the midst of his subjects: Râ living in Heliopolis along with the prince of Heliopolis; Haroêris in Edfû together with the prince of Edfû; Nît in Saïs with the prince of Saïs. Although none of the primitive temples have come down to us, the name given to them in the language of the time, shows what they originally were. A temple was considered as the feudal mansion[3]—*hâît*,—the house—*pirû*, *pi*, —of the god, better cared for, and more respected than the houses of men, but not otherwise differing from them. It was built on a site slightly raised above the level of the plain, so as to be safe from the inundation, and where there was no natural mound, the want was supplied by raising a rectangular platform of earth. A layer of sand spread uniformly on the sub-soil provided against settlements or infiltration, and formed a bed for the foundations of the building.[4] This was first of all a single room, circumscribed, gloomy, covered in by a slightly vaulted roof, and having no opening but the doorway, which was framed by two tall masts, whence floated streamers to attract from afar the notice of worshippers; in front of its façade[5] was a court, fenced in with palisading. Within the temple were pieces of matting, low tables of stone, wood, or metal, a few utensils for cooking the offerings, a few vessels for containing the blood, oil, wine, and

[1] This function of the god of the dead was clearly defined for the first time by MASPERO in 1878 (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 3–6).

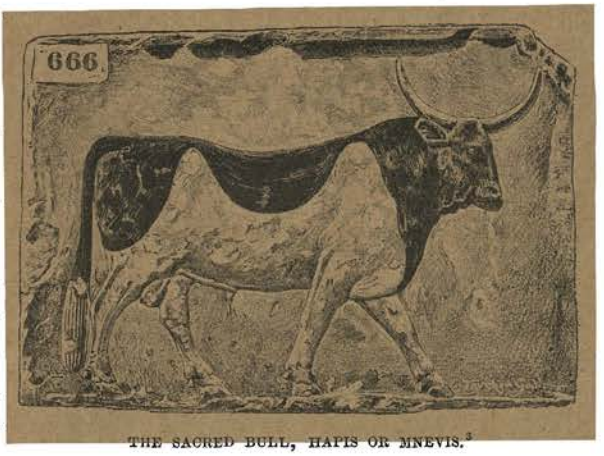
[2] The word *amakhû* is applied to an individual who has freely entered the service of king or baron, and taken him for his lord: *amakhû khîr nibûf* means *vassal of his lord*. In the same way, each chose for himself a god who became his patron, and to whom he owed *fealty*, *i.e.* to whom he was *amakhû*—vassal. To the god he owed the service of a good vassal—tribute, sacrifices, offerings; and to his vassal the god owed in return the service of a suzerain—protection, food, reception into his dominions and access to his person. A man might be absolutely *nib amakhît*, master of fealty, or, relatively to a god, *amakhû khîr Osiri*, the vassal of Osiris, *amakhû khîr Phtah-Sokari*, the vassal of Phtah-Sokaris.

[3] MASPERO, *Sur le sens des mots Nouit et Hâît*, pp. 22, 23; cf. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1889–90, vol. xii. pp. 256, 257. The further development of this idea may be found in M. DE ROCHEMONTEIX'S lecture on *La Grande Salle hypostyle de Karnak*, in his *Œuvres diverses*, p. 49, et seq.

[4] This custom lasted into Græco-Roman times, and was part of the ritual for laying the foundations of a temple. After the king had dug out the soil on the ground where the temple was to stand, he spread over the spot sand mixed with pebbles and precious stones, and upon this he laid the first course of stone (DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, pl. li.; and BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, pp. 1272, 1273).

[5] No Egyptian temples of the first period have come down to our time, but HERR ERMAN (*Ægypten*, p. 379) has very justly remarked that we have pictures of them in several of the signs denoting the word *temple* in texts of the Memphite period.

water with which the god was every day regaled. As provisions for sacrifice increased, the number of chambers increased with them, and rooms for flowers, perfumes, stuffs, precious vessels, and food were grouped around the primitive abode; until that which had once constituted the whole temple became no more than its sanctuary.[1] There the god dwelt, not only in spirit but in body,[2] and the fact that it was incumbent upon him to live in several cities did not prevent his being present in all of them at once. He could divide his double, imparting it to as many separate bodies as he pleased, and these bodies might be human or animal, natural objects or things manufactured—such as statues of stone, metal, or wood.[4] Several of the gods were incarnate in rams: Osiris at Mendes, Harshafitû at Heracleopolis, Khnûmû at Elephantinê. Living rams were kept in their temples, and allowed to gratify any fancy that came into their animal brains. Other gods entered into bulls: Râ at Heliopolis, and, subsequently, Phtah at Memphis, Minû at Thebes, and Montû at Hermonthis. They indicated beforehand by certain marks such beasts as they intended to animate by their doubles, and he who had learnt to recognize these signs was at no loss to find a living god when the time came for seeking one and presenting it to the adoration of worshippers in the temple.[5] And if the statues



THE SACRED BULL, HAPIS OR MNEVIS.[3]

[1] MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 65, 66, 105, 106; English edition, pp. 63, 64, 104, 105; M. DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Œuvres diverses*, p. 10, et seq.

[2] Thus at Denderah (MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. i. pl. liv.), it is said that the soul of Hâthor likes to leave heaven "in the form of a human-headed sparrow-hawk of lapis-lazuli, accompanied by her divine cycle, to come and unite herself to the statue." "Other instances," adds Mariette, "would seem to justify us in thinking that the Egyptians accorded a certain kind of life to the statues and images which they made, and believed (especially in connection with tombs) that the spirit haunted images of itself" (*Dendérah, Texte*, p. 156).

[3] A sculptor's model from Tanis, now in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux monuments*, 1876, p. 222, No. 666), drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey. The sacred marks, as given in the illustration, are copied from those of similar figures on stelæ of the Serapeum.

[4] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 77, et seq.; *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 106, 107; English edition, pp. 105, 106. This notion of actuated statues seemed so strange and so unworthy of the wisdom of the Egyptians that Egyptologists of the rank of M. DE ROUGÉ (*Étude sur une stèle égyptienne de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, p. 109) have taken in an abstract and metaphorical sense expressions referring to the automatic movements of divine images.

[5] The bulls of Râ and of Phtah, the Mnevis and the Hapis, are known to us from classic writers (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 4, 33, etc.: PARTHEY'S edition, pp. 7, 8, 58; HERODOTUS, ii. 153, iii. 28;

had not the same outward appearance of actual life as the animals, they none the less concealed beneath their rigid exteriors an intense energy of life which betrayed itself on occasion by gestures or by words. They thus indicated, in language which their servants could understand, the will of the gods, or their opinion on the events of the day; they answered questions put to them in accordance with prescribed forms, and sometimes they even foretold the future. Each temple held a fairly large number of statues representing so many embodiments of the local divinity and of the members of his triad. These latter shared, albeit in a lesser degree, all the honours and all the prerogatives of the master; they accepted sacrifices, answered prayers, and, if needful, they prophesied. They occupied either the sanctuary itself, or one of the halls built about the principal sanctuary, or one of the isolated chapels which belonged to them, subject to the suzerainty of the feudal god.[2] The god had his divine court to help him in the administration of his dominions, just as a prince is aided by his ministers in the government of his realm.

OPEN-AIR OFFERINGS TO THE SERPENT.

This State religion, so complex both in principle and in its outward manifestations, was nevertheless inadequate to express the exuberant piety of the populace. There were casual divinities in every nome whom the people did not love any the less because of their inofficial character; such as an

DIODORUS, i. 84, 88; ÆLIANUS, xi. 11; AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, xxii. 14, 2). The bull of Minû at Thebes may be seen in the procession of the god as represented on monuments of Ramses II. and Ramses III. (WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lx.). Bâkhû (called Bakis by the Greeks), the bull of Hermonthis, is somewhat rare, and mainly represented upon a few later stelæ in the Gîzeh Museum (GRÉBAUT, *Le Musée Égyptien*, pl. vi., where it is certainly the bull of Hermonthis, although differently named): it is chiefly known from the texts (cf. BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 200; cf. MACROBIUS, *Saturnales*, l. 21). The particular signs distinguishing each of these sacred animals have been determined both on the authority of ancient writers, and from examination of the figured monuments; the arrangement and outlines of some of the black markings of the Hapis are clearly shown in the illustration on p. 119.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken in the tomb of Khopirkerîsonbû (SCHEIL, *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. pl. iv., wall C of the tomb, 2nd row). The inscription behind the uræus states that it represents *Ranûit the August, lady of the double granary.*

[2] They are the θεοὶ σύνναοι of Greek writers. For their accommodation in the temples, cf. M. DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Œuvres diverses*, p. 11, et seq.

exceptionally high palm tree in the midst of the desert,[1] a rock of curious outline, a spring trickling drop by drop from the mountain to which hunters came to slake their thirst in the hottest hours of the day,[2] or a great serpent believed to be immortal, which haunted a field, a grove of trees, a grotto, or a mountain ravine.[3] The peasants of the district brought it bread, cakes, fruits, and thought that they could call down the blessing of heaven upon their fields by gorging the snake with offerings. Everywhere on the confines of cultivated ground, and even at some distance from the valley, are fine single sycamores, flourishing as though by miracle amid the sand. Their fresh greenness is in sharp contrast with the surrounding fawn-coloured landscape, and their thick foliage defies the midday sun even in summer. But, on examining the ground in which they grow, we soon find that they drink from water which has infiltrated from the Nile, and whose existence is in nowise betrayed upon the surface of the soil. They stand as it were with their feet in the river, though no one about them suspects it. Egyptians of all ranks counted them divine and habitually worshipped them,[5] making them offerings of figs, grapes, cucumbers, vegetables, and water in porous jars daily replenished by good and

THE PEASANT'S OFFERING TO THE SYCAMORE.[4]

[1] Such as the palm tree, which grows a hundred cubits high, and belongs to the species *Hyphæna Argun*, MART., now so rare. The author of the prayer in the *Sallier Papyrus I.*, pl. viii. ll. 4, 5, identifies it with Thot, the god of letters and eloquence.

[2] Such as the Bir-el-Aîn, the spring of the Ûady Sabûn, near Akhmîm, where the hermitage of a Mussulman wêli has succeeded the chapel of a Christian saint which had supplanted the rustic shrine of a form of the god Mînû (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Egyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 240, et seq.).

[3] It was a serpent of this kind which gave its name to the hill of Shêikh Harîdî, and the adjacent nome of the Serpent Mountain (DÜMICHEN, *Géographie des Alten-Ægypten*, pp. 178, 179; MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 412); and though the serpent has now turned Mussulman, he still haunts the mountain and preserves his faculty of coming to life again every time that he is killed.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a scene in the tomb of Khopirkerîsonbû (cf. SCHEIL, *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. v. pl. iv., wall C, top row). The sacred sycamore here stands at the end of a field of corn, and would seem to extend its protection to the harvest.

[5] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 224–227. They were represented as animated by spirits concealed within them, but which could manifest themselves on occasion. At such times the head or whole body of the spirit of a tree would emerge from its trunk, and when it returned to its hiding-place the trunk reabsorbed it, or *ate* it again, according to the Egyptian expression (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 104, 105, 108, etc.), which I have already had occasion to quote above; see p. 83, note 4.

charitable people. Passers-by drank of the water, and requited the unexpected benefit with a short prayer. There were several such trees in the Memphite nome, and in the Letopolite nome from Dashûr to Gîzeh, inhabited, as every one knew, by detached doubles of Nûît and Hâthor. These combined districts were known as the "Land of the Sycamore," a name afterwards extended to the city of Memphis; and their sacred trees are worshipped at the present day both by Mussulman and Christian fellahîn.[1] The most famous among them all, the Sycamore of the South—*nûhît rîsit*—was regarded as the living body of Hâthor on earth.[2] Side by side with its human gods and prophetic statues, each nome proudly advanced one or more sacred animals, one or more magic trees. Each family, and almost every individual, also possessed gods and fetishes, which had been pointed out for their worship by some fortuitous meeting with an animal or an object; by a dream, or by sudden intuition. They had a place in some corner of the house, or a niche in its walls; lamps were continually kept burning before them, and small daily offerings were made to them, over and above what fell to their share on solemn feast-days. In return, they became the protectors of the household, its guardians and its counsellors. Appeal was made to them in every exigency of daily life, and their decisions were no less scrupulously carried out by their little circle of worshippers, than was the will of the feudal god by the inhabitants of his principality.

The prince was the great high priest.[3] The whole religion of the nome rested upon him, and originally he himself performed its ceremonies. Of these, the chief was sacrifice,—that is to say, a banquet which it was his duty to prepare and lay before the god with his own hands. He went out into the fields to lasso the half-wild bull; bound it, cut its throat, skinned it, burnt part of the carcase in front of his idol and distributed the rest among his assistants, together with plenty of cakes, fruits, vegetables, and wine.[4] On the occasion, the god was present both in body and double, suffering himself to be clothed and

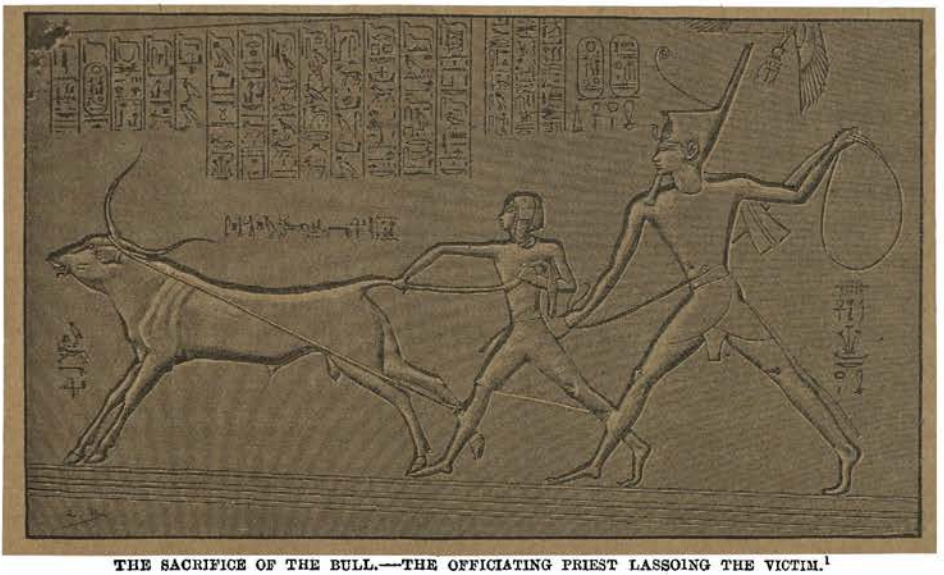
[1] The tree at Matarîeh, commonly called the *Tree of the Virgin*, seems to me to be the successor of a sacred tree of Heliopolis in which a goddess, perhaps Hâthor, was worshipped.

[2] BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 330–332, 1244, etc.; cf. LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, p. 878. The Memphite Hâthor was called the *Lady of the Southern Sycamore*.

[3] See the examples of the princes of Beni-Hasan and Ashmûnêin, under the XIIth dynasty (MASPERO, *La grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 179, 180), and of the princes of Elephantinê under the VIth and VIIth dynasties (BOURIANT, *Les Tombeaux d'Assouan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. pp. 182–193). M. LEPAGE-RENOUF has given a very clear account of current ideas on this subject in his article *On the Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization* (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1889–90, vol. xii. p. 355, et seq.).

[4] This appears from the sacrificial ritual employed in the temples up to the last days of Egyptian paganism; cf., for instance, the illustration on p. 123 (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pl. liii.), where the king is represented as lassoing the bull. That which in historic times was but an image, had originally been a reality (MASPERO, *Lectures historiques*, pp. 71–73).

perfumed, eating and drinking of the best that was set on the table before him, and putting aside some of the provisions for future use. This was the time to prefer requests to him, while he was gladdened and disposed to benevolence by good cheer. He was not without suspicion as to the reason why he was so feasted, but he had laid down his conditions beforehand, and if they were faithfully observed he willingly yielded to the means of seduction brought



THE SACRIFICE OF THE BULL.—THE OFFICIATING PRIEST LASSOING THE VICTIM.[1]

to bear upon him. Moreover, he himself had arranged the ceremonial in a kind of contract formerly made with his worshippers and gradually perfected from age to age by the piety of new generations.[2] . Above all things, he insisted on physical cleanliness. The officiating priest must carefully wash—*ûâbû*—his face, mouth, hands, and body; and so necessary was this preliminary purification considered, that from it the professional priest derived his name of *ûîbû*, the washed, the clean.[3] His costume was the archaic dress, modified

[1] Bas-relief from the temple of Seti I. at Abydos; drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by M. Daniel Héron. Seti I., second king of the XIXth dynasty, is throwing the lasso; his son, Ramses II., who is still the crown prince, holds the bull by the tail to prevent its escaping from the slip-knot.

[2] The most striking example of the divine institution of religious services is furnished by the inscription relating the history of the destruction of men in the reign of Râ (LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Séti Ier*, 4th part, pl. xvi. l. 31, et seq., in vol. ii. of the *Mémoires de la Mission Française du Caire*), where the god, as he is about to make his final ascension into heaven, substitutes animal for human sacrifices.

[3] The idea of physical cleanliness comes out in such variants as *ûîbû totûi*, "clean of both hands," found on stelæ instead of the simple title *ûîbû*. We also know, on the evidence of ancient writers, the scrupulous daily care which Egyptian priests took of their bodies (HERODOTUS, ii. 37; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, p. 166, et seq.). It was only as a secondary matter that the idea of moral purity entered into the conception of a priest. The Purification Ritual for officiating priests is contained in a papyrus of the Berlin Museum, whose analysis and table of chapters has been published by HERR OSCAR VON LEMM, *Das Ritualbuch des Ammonsdienstes*, p. 4, et seq.

according to circumstances. During certain services, or at certain points in the sacrifices, it was incumbent upon him to wear sandals, the panther-skin over his shoulder, and the thick lock of hair falling over his right ear;[1] at other times he must gird himself with the loin-cloth having a jackal's tail, and take the shoes from off his feet before proceeding with his office, or attach a false beard to his chin.[2] The species, hair, and age of the victim, the way in which it was to be brought and bound, the manner and details of its slaughter, the order to be followed in opening its body and cutting it up, were all minutely and unchangeably decreed.[3] And these were but the least of the divine exactions, and those most easily satisfied. The formulas accompanying each act of the sacrificial priest contained a certain number of words whose due sequence and harmonies might not suffer the slightest modification whatever, even from the god himself, under penalty of losing their efficacy. They were always recited with the same rhythm, according to a system of chaunting in which every tone had its virtue, combined with movements which confirmed the sense and worked with irresistible effect: one false note, a single discord between the succession of gestures and the utterance of the sacramental words, any hesitation, any awkwardness in the accomplishment of a rite, and the sacrifice was vain.[4]

Worship as thus conceived became a legal transaction, in the course of which the god gave up his liberty in exchange for certain compensations whose kind and value were fixed by law. By a solemn deed of transfer the worshipper handed over to the legal representatives of the contracting divinity such personal or real property as seemed to him fitting payment for the favour which he asked, or suitable atonement for the wrong which he had done. If man scrupulously observed the innumerable conditions with which the transfer was surrounded, the god could not escape the obligation of fulfilling his petition;[5] but should he omit the least of them, the offering remained with the

[1] Thus it was with the *Samû* and *Anmaûtîf* priests, whatever the nature and signification of these two sacerdotal titles may be (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 18, 19, 21, 22, etc.; MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pls. xxxi., xxxii., xxxiii., xxxiv., etc.).

[2] MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pls. xvii., xxxv., xliii., xliv., etc., where sacerdotal functions are invariably exercised by Seti I., assisted by his son.

[3] See the detailed representation of sacrifice in MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pl. xlviii. For the examination of the victims and the signs by which the priests knew that they were good to sacrifice before the gods, cf. HERODOTUS, ii. 38 (WIEDEMANN, *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, p. 180, et seq.).

[4] The real value of formulas and of the melopœia in Egyptian rites was recognized by MASPERO, *Étude de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 302, 303, 373, et seq.

[5] This obligation is evident from texts where, as in the poem of Pentaûirît, a king who is in danger demands from his favourite god the equivalent in protection of the sacrifices which he has offered to that divinity, and the gifts wherewith he has enriched him. "Have I not made unto thee many offerings?" says Ramses II. to Amon. "I have filled thy temple with my prisoners, I have built thee a mansion for millions of years. . . . Ah, if evil is the lot of them who insult thee, good are thy purposes towards those who honour thee, O Amon!" (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ *Le Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. v. p. 15, et seq.).

temple and went to increase the endowments in mortmain, while the god was pledged to nothing in exchange. Hence the officiating priest assumed a formidable responsibility as regarded his fellows: a slip of memory, the slightest accidental impurity, made him a bad priest, injurious to himself and harmful to those worshippers who had entrusted him with their interests before the gods. Since it was vain to expect ritualistic perfections from a prince constantly troubled with affairs of state, the custom was established of associating professional priests with him, personages who devoted all their lives to the study and practice of the thousand formalities whose sum constituted the local religion. Each temple had its service of priests, independent of those belonging to neighbouring temples, whose members, bound to keep their hands always clean and their voices true, were ranked according to the degrees of a learned hierarchy.[1] At their head was a sovereign pontiff to direct them in the exercise of their functions. In some places he was called the first prophet, or rather the first servant of the god—*hon-nûtir topi;* at Thebes he was the first prophet of Amon, at Thinis he was the first prophet of Anhûri.[2] But generally he bore a title appropriate to the nature of the god whose servant he was.[3] The chief priest of Râ at Heliopolis, and in all the cities which adopted the Heliopolitan form of worship, was called *Oîrû maû*, the master of visions, and he alone besides the sovereign of the nome, or of Egypt, enjoyed the privilege of penetrating into the sanctuary, of "entering into heaven and there beholding the god" face to face.[4] In the same way, the high priest of Anhûri at Sebennytos was entitled the wise and pure warrior —*ahûîti saû uîbu*—because his god went armed with a pike, and a soldier god required for his service a pontiff who should be a soldier like himself.[5]

These great personages did not always strictly seclude themselves within

[1] The first published attempt at reconstructing the Egyptian hierarchy from the monuments was made by M. A. BAILLET, *De l'Élection et de la durée des fonctions du grand prêtre d'Ammon à Thèbes* (extract from the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. vi., 1862). Long afterwards HERR RHEINISCH endeavoured to show that the learned organization of the Egyptian priesthood is not older than the XIIth dynasty, and mainly dates from the second Theban empire (*Ursprung und Entwickelungsgeschichte des Ægyptischen Priestertums und Ausbildung der Lehre von der Einheit Gottes*, Vienna, 1878). The most complete account of our knowledge on this subject, the catalogue of the principal priesthoods, the titles of the high priests and priestesses in each nome, are to be found in BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, vol. ii. pp. 275–291.

[2] This title of *first prophet* belongs to priests of the less important towns, and to secondary divinities. If we find it employed in connection with the Theban worship, it is because Amon was originally a provincial god, and only rose into the first rank with the rise of Thebes and the great conquests of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 53–55).

[3] For a very full list of those titles, see BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 280–282.

[4] The mystic origin of this name *Oîrû maû* is given in chap. cxv. of the *Book of the Dead* (LEPSIUS' edition, pl. xliv.; see also ED. NAVILLE, *Un Ostracon Égyptien*, extract from the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. i. p. 51, et seq.). The high office of the *Oirû maû* is described in the Piankhi stela (E. DE ROUGÉ'S edition in the *Chrestomathie*, vol. iv. pp. 59–61), where we find it discharged by the Ethiopian king on his entry into Heliopolis.

[5] BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1368.

the limits of the religious domain. The gods accepted, and even sometimes solicited, from their worshippers, houses, fields, vineyards, orchards, slaves, and fishponds, the produce of which assured their livelihood and the support of their temples. There was no Egyptian who did not cherish the ambition of leaving some such legacy to the patron god of his city, "for a monument to himself," and as an endowment for the priests to institute prayers and perpetual sacrifices on his behalf.[1] In course of time these accumulated gifts at length formed real sacred fiefs—*hotpû-nûtir*—analogous to the *wakfs* of Mussulman Egypt.[2] They were administered by the high priest, who, if necessary, defended them by force against the greed of princes or kings. Two, three, or even four classes of prophets or *hieroduli* under his orders assisted him in performing the offices of worship, in giving religious instruction, and in the conduct of affairs. Women did not hold equal rank with men in the temples of male deities; they there formed a kind of harem whence the god took his mystic spouses, his concubines, his maidservants, the female musicians and dancing women whose duty it was to divert him and to enliven his feasts.[3] But in temples of goddesses they held the chief rank, and were called *hierodules*, or priestesses, *hierodules* of Nît, *hierodules* of Hâthor, *hierodules* of Pakhît.[4] The lower offices in the households of the gods, as in princely households, were held by a troop of servants and artisans: butchers to cut the throats of the victims, cooks and pastrycooks, confectioners, weavers, shoemakers, florists, cellarers, water-carriers and milk-carriers.[5] In fact, it was a state within a state,

[1] As regards the Saïte period, we are beginning to accumulate many stelæ recording gifts to a god of land or houses, made either by the king or by private individuals (RÉVILLOUT, *Acte de fondation d'une chapelle à Hor-merti dans la ville de Pharbætus, et Acte de fondation d'une chapelle à Bast dans la ville de Bubastis*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. ii. pp. 32–44; MASPERO, *Notes sur plusieurs points de grammaire et d'histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 117, and 1885, p. 10; also *Sur deux stèles récemment découvertes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 84–86).

[2] We know from the *Great Harris Papyrus* to what the fortune of Amon amounted at the end of the reign of Ramses III.; its details may be found in BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 271–274. Cf. in NAVILLE, *Bubastis, Eighth Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund*, p. 61, a calculation as to the quantities of precious metals belonging to one of the least of the temples of Bubastis; its gold and silver were counted by thousands of pounds.

[3] The names of the principal priestesses of Egypt are collected in BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 262, 263; for their offices and functions, cf. ERMAN, *Ægypten*, pp. 399–401, who seems to me to ascribe too modern an origin to the conception by which the priestesses of a god were considered as forming his earthly harem. Under the Old Kingdom we find prophetesses of Thot (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 183) and of Ûapûaîtû (*ibid.*, p. 162).

[4] See MARIETTE, *Dendérah, text*, pp. 86, 87, on the priestess of Hâthor at Denderah. Mariette remarks (*ibid.*, pp. 83–86) that priests play but a subordinate part in the temple of Hâthor. This fact, which surprised him, is adequately explained by remembering that Hâthor being a goddess, women take precedence over men in a temple dedicated to her. At Saïs, the chief priest was a man, the *kharp-kaîtû* (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1368); but the persistence with which women of the highest rank, and even queens themselves, took the title of prophetess of Nît from the times of the Ancient Empire (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 90, 162, 201, 262, 302, 303, 326, 377, etc.) shows that in this city the priestess of the goddess was of equal, if not superior, rank to the priest.

[5] A partial list of these may be found in the *Hood Papyrus* (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 56–64), where half the second page is filled with their titles.

and the prince took care to keep its government in his own hands, either by investing one of his children with the titles and functions of chief pontiff, or by arrogating them to himself.[1] In that case, he provided against mistakes which would have annulled the sacrifice by associating with himself several masters of the ceremonies, who directed him in the orthodox evolutions before the god and about the victim, indicated the due order of gestures and the necessary changes of costume, and prompted him with the words of each invocation from a book or tablet which they held in their hands.[2]

SHÛ UPLIFTING THE SKY.[4]

In addition to its rites and special hierarchy, each of the sacerdotal colleges thus constituted had a theology in accordance with the nature and attributes of its god. Its fundamental dogma affirmed the unity of the nome god, his greatness, his supremacy over all the gods of Egypt and of foreign lands[3]—whose existence was nevertheless admitted, and none dreamed of denying their reality or contesting their power. The latter also boasted of their unity, their greatness, their supremacy; but whatever they were, the god of the nome was master of them all—their prince, their ruler, their king. It was he alone who governed the world, he alone kept it in good order, he alone had created it. Not that he had evoked it out of nothing; there was as yet no concept of nothingness, and even to the most subtle and refined of primitive theologians creation was only a bringing of pre-existent elements into play. The latent germs of things had always existed, but they had slept for ages and ages in the bosom of the Nû, of the dark waters.[5] In fulness of time the god of each nome drew them forth, classified them, marshalled them according to the bent of his particular nature, and made his universe out of them by methods peculiarly his own. Nît of Saïs, who was a weaver,

[1] As in the case of the princes of Beni-Hassan and Bersheh under the XIIth dynasty (MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Béni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 179, 180).

[2] The title of such a personage was *khri-habi*, the man with the roll or tablet, because of the papyrus roll, or wooden tablet containing the ritual, which he held in his hand.

[3] In the inscriptions all local gods bear the titles of *Nûtir ûâ*, only god; *Sûton nûtirû*, *Sûntirû*, Σονθήρ, king of the gods; of *Nûtir âa nîb pît*, the great god, lord of heaven, which show their pretensions to the sovereignty and to the position of creator of the universe.

[4] Drawing by Faucher-Gudin of a green enamelled statuette in my possession. It was from Shû that the Greeks derived their representations, and perhaps their myth of Atlas.

[5] This name is generally read *Nûn* (cf. BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 107). I have elsewhere given my reasons for the reading *Nû* (*Revue critique*, 1872, vol. i. p. 178), which is moreover that of E. DE ROUGÉ (*Études sur le rituel funéraire des anciens Égyptiens*, p. 41). Nû would seem to be nothing more than a personage mentally evolved by theologians and derived from Nûît, the sky-goddess (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 358, 359); he had never any worshippers nor ever possessed a sanctuary to himself.

had made the world of warp and woof, as the mother of a family weaves her children's linen.[1] Khnûmû, the Nile-god of the cataracts, had gathered up the mud of his waters and therewith moulded his creatures upon a potter's table.[2] In the eastern cities of the Delta these procedures were not so simple.[3] There it was admitted that in the beginning earth and sky were two lovers lost in the Nû, fast locked in each other's embrace, the god lying beneath the goddess. On the day of creation a new god, Shû, came forth from the primæval waters, slipped between the two, and seizing Nûît with both hands, lifted her above his head with outstretched arms.[4] Though the starry body of the goddess extended in space—her head being to the west and her loins to the east—her feet and hands hung down to the earth. These were the four pillars of the firmament under another form, and four gods of four adjacent principalities were in charge of them. Osiris, or Horus the sparrow-hawk, presided over the southern, and Sît over the northern pillar; Thot over that of the west, and Sapdi, the author of the zodiacal light, over that of the east.[5] They had divided the world among themselves into four regions, or rather into four "houses," bounded by those mountains which surround it, and by the diameters intersecting between the pillars. Each of these houses belonged to one, and to one only; none of the other three, nor even the sun himself, might enter it, dwell there, or even pass through it without having obtained its master's permission.[6] Sibû had not been satisfied to meet the irruption of Shû by mere passive resistance. He had tried to struggle, and he is drawn in the posture of a man who has just awakened out of sleep, and is half turning on his couch before getting up.[7]

[1] D. MALLET, *Le Culte de Neith à Saïs*, pp. 185, 186.

[2] At Philæ he is called "Khnûmû . . . the father of the gods, who is himself, who moulds (*khnûmû*) men and models (*masû*) the gods" (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 752, No. 11).

[3] Sibû and Nûît, as belonging to the old fundamental conceptions common to Egyptian religions, especially in the Delta, must have been known at Sebennytos as in the neighbouring cities. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to decide whether their separation by Shû was a conception of the local theologians, or an invention of the priests of Heliopolis at the time of the constitution of the Great Ennead (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 356, 357, 370).

[4] This was what the Egyptians called *the upliftings of Shû* (*Book of the Dead*, NAVILLE's edition, pl. xxiii., ch. xvii., parts 26, 27; cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 337–340). The event first took place at Hermopolis, and certain legends added that in order to get high enough the god had been obliged to make use of a staircase or mound situate in this city, and which was famous throughout Egypt (*Book of the Dead*, NAVILLE's edition, pl. xxiii. ch. xvii. ll. 4, 5).

[5] Osiris and Horus are in this connection the feudal gods of Mendes and the Osirian cities in the east of the Delta. Sît is lord of the districts about Tanis; Thot belongs to Bakhlieh, and Sapdi to the Arabian nome, to the Ûady-Tûmilât (cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 364, et seq.).

[6] On the *houses of the world*, and the meaning to be attached to this expression, see MASPERO, *La Pyramide du roi Papi II.*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xii. pp. 78, 79.

[7] In LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pls. clv.–clviii., we have a considerable number of scenes

One of his legs is stretched out, the other is bent and partly drawn up as in the act of rising. The lower part of the body is still unmoved, but he is raising himself with difficulty on his left elbow, while his head droops and his right arm is lifted towards the sky. His effort was suddenly arrested. Rendered powerless by a stroke of the creator, Sibû remained as if petrified in this position, the obvious irregularities of the earth's surface being due to the painful attitude in which he was stricken.[1] His sides have since been

SHÛ FORCIBLY SEPARATING SIBÛ AND NÛÎT.[2]

clothed with verdure, generations of men and animals have succeeded each other upon his back,[3] but without bringing any relief to his pain; he suffers evermore from the violent separation of which he was the victim when Nûît was torn from him, and his complaint continues to rise to heaven night and day.[4]

The aspect of the inundated plains of the Delta, of the river by which they are furrowed and fertilized, and of the desert sands by which they are threatened, had suggested to the theologians of Mendes and Bûto an

in which Sibû and Nûît are represented, often along with Shû separating them and sustaining Nûît. Some place Sibû in exceptional postures, on which it is unnecessary to dwell; generally he is shown in a similar attitude to that which I describe, and as in the illustration.

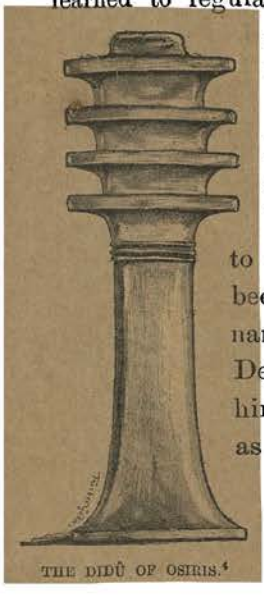
[1] BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, p. 224.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a painting on the mummy-case of Bûtehamon in the Turin Museum (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pl. lxi. 4). "Shû, the great god, lord of heaven," receives the adoration of two ram-headed souls placed upon his right and left.

[3] In several scenes plants are seen growing on his body (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pl. clv. 1). The expression *upon the back of Sibû* is frequent in the texts, especially in those belonging to the Ptolemaic period. Attention was drawn to its importance by DÜMICHEN, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Edfu*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 91-93.

[4] The Greeks knew that Kronos lamented and wept: the sea was made of his tears (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 32, PARTHEY'S edition, p. 56): Δόξει δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ἡ θάλαττα Κρόνου δάκρυόν ἐστιν αἰνίττεσθαι τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν μηδὲ σύμφυλον εἶναι. The Pythagorean belief was probably borrowed from Egypt, and in Egyptian writings there are allusions to the grief of Sibû (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, p. 227).

explanation of the mystery of creation, in which the feudal divinities of these cities and of several others in their neighbourhood, Osiris, Sît, and Isis, played the principal parts.[1] Osiris first represented the wild and fickle Nile of primitive times; afterwards, as those who dwelt upon his banks learned to regulate his course, they emphasized the kindlier side of his character and soon transformed him into a benefactor of humanity, the supremely good being, Ûnnofriû, Onnophris.[2] He was lord of the principality of Didû, which lay along the Sebennytic branch of the river between the coast marshes and the entrance to the Wâdy Tûmilât, but his domain had been divided; and the two nomes thus formed, namely, the ninth and sixteenth nomes of the Delta in the Pharaonic lists, remained faithful to him, and here he reigned without rival, at Busiris as at Mendes.[3] His most famous idol-form was the Didû, whether naked or clothed, the fetish, formed of four superimposed columns, which had given its name to the principality.[6] They ascribed life to this Didû, and represented it with a somewhat grotesque face, big cheeks, thick lips, a necklace round its throat, a long flowing dress which hid the base of the columns beneath its folds, and two arms bent across the breast, the hands grasping one a whip and



THE DIDÛ OF OSIRIS.[4]

THE DIDÛ DRESSED.[5]

[1] MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 359–364) was the first to point out that this cosmogony originated in the Delta, and in connection with the Osirian cities.

[2] It has long been a dogma with Egyptologists that Osiris came from Abydos. MASPERO has shown that from his very titles he is obviously a native of the Delta (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Egyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10), and more especially of Busiris and Mendes.

[3] With reference to these two nomes, see J. DE ROUGÉ, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*,—pp. 57–60 for the Busirite nome, and 108–115 for the Mendesian nome,—where the ideas found in different parts of BRUGSCH'S *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 11, 166, 171, 185, 953, 977, 1144, 1149, etc., are collected and co-ordinated.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a specimen in blue enamelled pottery, now in my possession.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a figure frequently found in Theban mummy-cases of XXIst and XXIInd dynasties (WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. xxv., No. 5).

[6] The Didû has been very variously interpreted. It has been taken for a kind of nilometer (CHAMPOLLION), for a sculptor's or modeller's stand (SALVOLINI, *Analyse grammaticale raisonnée de différents textes anciens égyptiens*, p. 41, No. 171), or a painter's easel (ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery of Antiquities in the British Museum*, p. 31; BUNSEN, *Ægyptens Stelle*, vol. i. p. 688, No. 27) for an altar with four superimposed tables, or a sort of pedestal bearing four door-lintels (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Chrestomathie égyptienne*, vol. i. p. 88, note 1), for a series of four columns placed one behind another, of which the capitals only are visible, one above the other (FLINDERS PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 31), etc. The explanation given in the text is that of REUVENS (*Lettres à M. Letronne*, i. p. 69), who recognized the Didû as a symbolic representation of the four regions of the world; and of MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 359, note 3. According to Egyptian theologians, it represented the spine of Osiris, preserved as a relic in the town bearing the name of *Didû, Didit*.

the other a crook, symbols of sovereign authority. This, perhaps, was the most ancient form of Osiris; but they also represented him as a man, and supposed him to assume the shapes of rams and bulls,[1] or even those of water-birds, such as lapwings, herons, and cranes, which disported themselves about the lakes of that district.[2] The goddess whom we are accustomed to regard as inseparable from him, Isis the cow, or woman with cow's horns, had not always belonged to him. Originally she was an independent deity, dwelling at Bûto in the midst of the ponds of Adhû. She had neither husband nor lover, but had spontaneously conceived and given birth to a son, whom she suckled among the reeds—a lesser Horus who was called Harsiîsît, Horus the son of Isis, to distinguish him from Haroêris.[3] At an early period she was married to her neighbour Osiris, and no marriage could have been better suited to her

OSIRIS-ONNOPHRIS, WHIP AND CROOK IN HAND.[4]

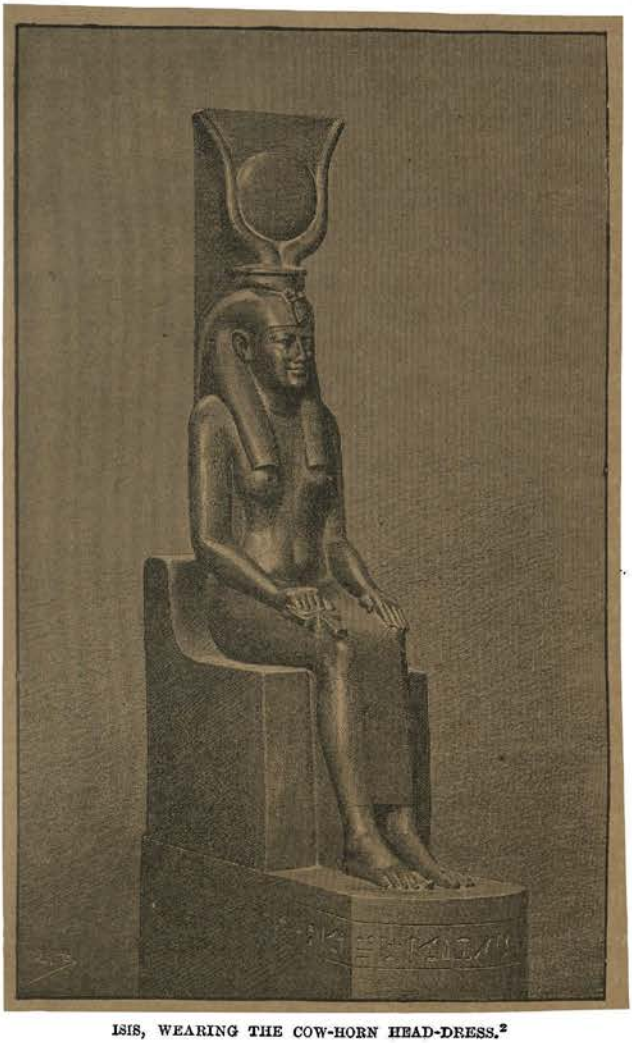
[1] The ram of Mendes is sometimes Osiris, and sometimes the soul of Osiris. The ancients took it for a he-goat, and to them we are indebted for the record of its exploits (HERODOTUS, ii. 46; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 216, et seq.). According to Manetho, the worship of the sacred ram is not older than the time of King Kaiekhos of the second dynasty (UNGER'S edition, p. 84). A Ptolemaic necropolis of sacred rams was discovered by Mariette at Tmai el-Amdid, in the ruins of Thmûis, and some of their sarcophagi are now in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pls. xlii., xlvi., text, pp. 12, 13, 14).

[2] The Bonû, the chief among these birds, is not the phœnix, as has so often been asserted (BRUGSCH, *Nouvelles Recherches sur la division de l'année*, pp. 49, 50; WIEDEMANN, *Die Phönix Sage im alten Ægypten*, 1878, pp. 89–106, and *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 314–316). It is a kind of heron, either the *Ardea cinerea*, which is common in Egypt, or else some similar species.

[3] The origin of Isis, and the peculiarity of her spontaneous maternity, were pointed out by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 254, 255, 359–362.

[4] Drawn by Boudier from a statue in green basalt found at Sakkarah, and now in the Gîzeh Museum (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 345, No. 5245). It was published by MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 96 D, and *Album photographique du musee de Búlaq*, pl. x.

nature. For she personified the earth—not the earth in general, like Sibû, with its unequal distribution of seas and mountains, deserts and cultivated land; but the black and luxuriant plain of the Delta, where races of men, plants, and animals increase and multiply in ever-succeeding generations.[1] To whom did she owe this inexhaustible productive energy if not to her neighbour Osiris, to the Nile? The Nile rises, overflows, lingers upon the soil; every year it is wedded to the earth, and the earth comes forth green and fruitful from its embraces. The marriage of the two elements suggested that of the two divinities; Osiris wedded Isis and adopted the young Horus.



ISIS, WEARING THE COW-HORN HEAD-DRESS.[2]

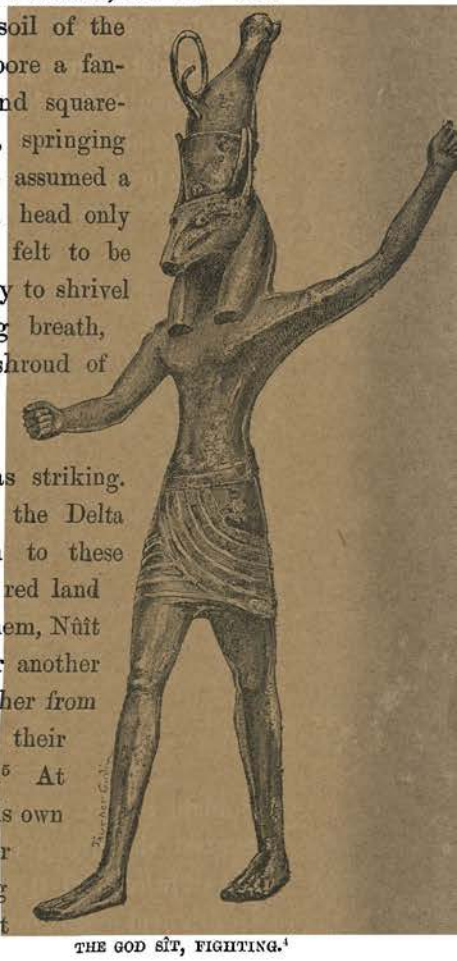
But this prolific and gentle pair were not representative of all the phenomena of nature. The eastern part of the Delta borders upon the solitudes of Arabia, and although it contains several rich and fertile provinces, yet most of these owe their existence to the arduous labour of the inhabitants, their fertility being dependent on the daily care of man, and on his regular distribution of the water. The moment he suspends the struggle or relaxes his watchfulness, the desert reclaims them and overwhelms them with

[1] Cf. p. 99, note 2, for the evidence of *De Iside et Osiride* as to the nature of the goddess.

[2] Drawn by Boudier from a green basalt statue in the Gîzeh Museum (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 346, No. 5246). The statue has been published by MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 96 c, and *Album photographique*, pl. x. It is here reproduced from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey.

sterility. Sît was the spirit of the mountain, stone and sand, the red and arid ground as distinguished from the moist black soil of the valley.[1] On the body of a lion or of a dog he bore a fantastic head with a slender curved snout, upright and square-cut ears; his cloven tail rose stiffly behind him, springing from his loins like a fork.[2] He also assumed a human form, or retained the animal head only upon a man's shoulders. He was felt to be cruel and treacherous, always ready to shrivel up the harvest with his burning breath, and to smother Egypt beneath a shroud of shifting sand. The contrast between this evil being and the beneficent couple, Osiris and Isis, was striking. Nevertheless, the theologians of the Delta soon assigned a common origin to these rival divinities of Nile and desert, red land and black. Sibû had begotten them, Nûît had given birth to them one after another when the demiurge had separated her from her husband; and the days of their birth were the days of creation.[5] At first each of them had kept to his own half of the world. Moreover Sît, who had begun by living alone, had married, in order that

NEPHTHYS, AS A WAILING WOMAN.[3]



THE GOD SÎT, FIGHTING.[4]

[1] *Set-Typhon*, a monograph by ED. MEYER, may be consulted as to Sît; but it pushes mystic interpretation too far. The explanation of Sît as typifying the desert and drought has prevailed from antiquity (cf. *De Iside et Osiride*, § 33, PARTHEY'S edition, p. 57: . . . Τυφῶνα δὲ πᾶν τὸ αὐχμηρὸν καὶ πυρώδες καὶ ξηραντικὸν ὅλως καὶ πολέμιον τῇ ὑγρότητι). His modern transformation into a god who originally represented the slaying and devouring sun, is obtained by a mere verbal artifice (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 702, et seq.).

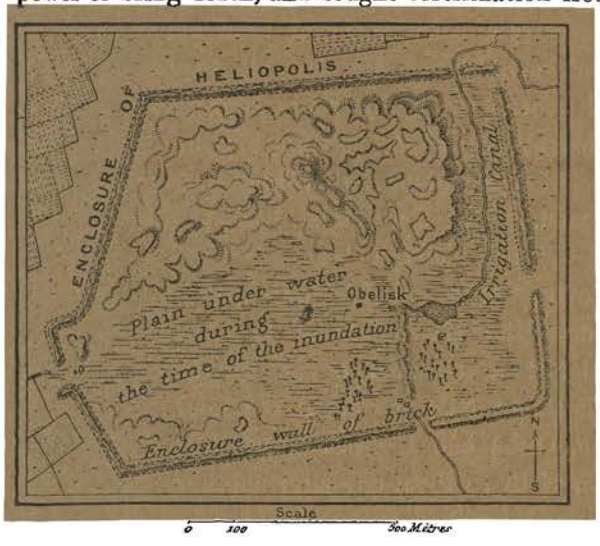
[2] See the illustration of the typhonian animal on p. 83. It is there shown walking, and goes under the name of *Sha*.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a painted wooden statuette in my possession, from a funeral couch found at Akhmîm. On her head the goddess bears the hieroglyph for her name; she is kneeling at the foot of the funeral couch of Osiris and weeps for the dead god.

[4] Bronze statuette of the XXth dynasty, encrusted with gold, from the Hoffmann collection: drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a photograph taken by Legrain in 1891. About the time when the worship of Sît was proscribed, one of the Egyptian owners of this little monument had endeavoured to alter its character, and to transform it into a statuette of the god Khnûmû. He took out the upright ears, replacing them with ram's horns, but made no other change. In the drawing I have had the later addition of the curved horns removed, and restored the upright ears, whose marks may still be seen upon the sides of the head-dress.

[5] According to one legend which is comparatively old in origin, the four children of Nûît, and

he might be inferior to Osiris in nothing. As a matter of fact, his companion, Nephthys, did not manifest any great activity, and was scarcely more than an artificial counterpart of the wife of Osiris, a second Isis who bore no children to her husband;[1] for the sterile desert brought barrenness to her as to all that it touched. Yet she had lost neither the wish nor the power to bring forth, and sought fertilization from another source. Tradition had it that she had made Osiris drunken, drawn him to her arms without his knowledge, and borne him a son; the child of this furtive union was the jackal Anubis.[2] Thus when a higher Nile overflows lands not usually covered by the inundation, and lying unproductive for lack of moisture, the soil eagerly absorbs the water, and the germs which lay concealed in the ground burst forth into life. The gradual invasion of the domain of Sît by Osiris marks the beginning of the strife.[4] Sît rebels against the wrong of which he is the victim, involuntary though it was; he surprises and treacherously slays his brother, drives Isis into temporary banishment among her marshes, and reigns over the kingdom of Osiris as well as over his own. But his triumph is short-lived. Horus, having grown up, takes arms against him, defeats him in many encounters, and banishes him in his turn. The creation of the world had brought the destroying and



PLAN OF THE RUINS OF HELIOPOLIS.[3]

Horus her grandson, were born one after another, each on one of the intercalary days of the year (CHABAS, *Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes de l'année égyptienne*, pp. 105, 106). This legend was still current in the Greek period (*De Iside et Osiride*, § xii., PARTHEY's edition, pp. 19–21).

[1] The impersonal character of Nephthys, her artificial origin, and her derivation from Isis, have been pointed out by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 362–364). The very name of the goddess, which means *the lady* (*nibît*) of the *mansion* (*hât*), confirms this view.

[2] *De Iside et Osiride*, § 14, 38, PARTHEY's edition, pp. 24, 25, 67. Another legend has it that Isis, and not Nephthys, was the mother of Anubis the jackal (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 44, PARTHEY's edition, p. 77; cf. WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p. 157).

[3] Plan drawn by Thuillier, from the *Description de l'Égypte* (Atlas, Ant., vol. v. pl. 26, 1).

[4] *De Iside et Osiride*, § 38, PARTHEY's edition, p. 66: Ὅταν δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ πλεονάσας ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπέκεινα πλησιάσῃ τοῖς ἐσχατεύουσι, τοῦτο μῖξιν Ὀσίριδος πρὸς Νέφθυν καλοῦσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναβλαστανόντων φυτῶν ἐλεγχομένην, ὧν καὶ τὸ μελίλωτόν ἐστιν, οὗ φησι μῦθος ἀποῤῥυέντος καὶ ἀπολειφθέντος αἴσθησιν γενέσθαι Τυφῶνι τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἀδικιάς.

the life-sustaining gods face to face: the history of the world is but the story of their rivalries and warfare.

None of these conceptions alone sufficed to explain the whole mechanism of creation, nor the part which the various gods took in it. The priests of Heliopolis appropriated them all, modified some of their details and eliminated others, added several new personages, and thus finally constructed

HORUS, THE AVENGER OF HIS FATHER, AND ANUBIS ÛAPÛAÎTÛ.[1]

a complete cosmogony, the elements of which were learnedly combined so as to correspond severally with the different operations by which the world had been evoked out of chaos and gradually brought to its present state.[2] Heliopolis was never directly involved in the great revolutions of political history; but no city ever originated so many mystic ideas and consequently exercised so great an influence upon the development of civilization.[3] It was a small town built on the plain not far from the Nile at the apex of the Delta, and surrounded

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Béato of a bas-relief in the temple of Seti I. at Abydos. The two gods are conducting King Ramses II., here identified with Osiris, towards the goddess Hâthor.

[2] MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 236, et seq., 352, et seq.) first elucidated the part played by the priests of Heliopolis in constructing the cosmogony which was adopted by historic Egypt.

[3] By its inhabitants it was accounted older than any other city of Egypt (DIODORUS, v. 56).

by a high wall of mud bricks whose remains could still be seen at the beginning of the century, but which have now almost completely disappeared. One obelisk standing in the midst of the open plain, a few waste mounds of débris, scattered blocks, and two or three lengths of crumbling wall, alone mark the place where once the city stood.[1] Râ was worshipped there, and the Greek name of Heliopolis is but the translation of that which was given to it by the priests—Pi-râ, City of the Sun.[2] Its principal temple, the "Mansion of the Prince,"[3] rose from about the middle of the enclosure, and sheltered, together with the god himself, those animals in which he became incarnate: the bull Mnevis, and sometimes the Phœnix. According to an old legend, this wondrous bird appeared in Egypt only once in five hundred years. It is born and lives in the depths of Arabia, but when its father dies it covers the body with a layer of myrrh, and flies at utmost speed to the temple of Heliopolis, there to bury it.[5] In the beginning, Râ was the sun itself, whose fires appear to be lighted every

THE SUN SPRINGING FROM AN OPENING LOTUS-FLOWER IN THE FORM OF THE CHILD HORUS.[4]

[1] LANCRET and DU BOYS AIMÉ, in the *Description d'Héliopolis*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v. pp. 66, 67. The greater part of the walls and ruins then visible have disappeared, for the family of Ibrahim-Pacha, to whom the land belongs, have handed it over to cultivation.

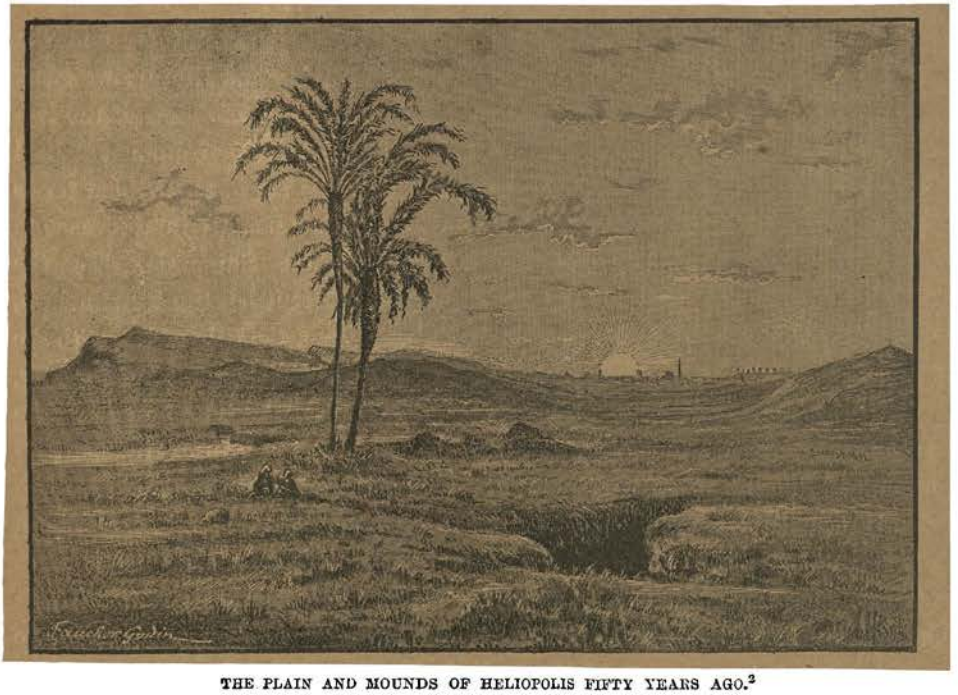
[2] BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. p. 254.

[3] *Hâit Sarû* (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 153, where the author reads *Hât ûra*, and translates *Palace of the Ancient One*, Palace of the Old Man, and LEFÉBURE agrees with him, *Sur le Cham et l'Adam Égyptien*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. ix. pp. 175, 176). It was so called because it was supposed to have been the dwelling-place of Râ while the god abode upon earth as King of Egypt (cf. ch. iii. p. 160, et seq.).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin. The open lotus-flower, with a bud on either side, stands upon the usual sign for any water-basin. Here the sign represents the Nû, that dark watery abyss from which the lotus sprang on the morning of creation, and whereon it is still supposed to bloom.

[5] The Phœnix is not the *Bonû* (cf. p. 131, note 2), but a fabulous bird derived from the golden sparrow-hawk, which was primarily a form of Haroêris, and of the sun-gods in second place only. On the authority of his Heliopolitan guides, Herodotus tells us (ii. 83) that in shape and size the phœnix resembled the eagle, and this statement alone should have sufficed to prevent any attempt at identifying it with the *Bonû*, which is either a heron or a lapwing.

morning in the east and to be extinguished at evening in the west;[1] and to the people such he always remained. Among the theologians there was considerable difference of opinion on the point. Some held the disk of the sun to be the body which the god assumes when presenting himself for the adoration of his worshippers. Others affirmed that it rather represented his active and radiant soul. Finally, there were many who defined it as one of his forms of being—*khopriû*—one of his self-manifestations, without presuming to decide whether



THE PLAIN AND MOUNDS OF HELIOPOLIS FIFTY YEARS AGO.[2]

it was his body or his soul which he deigned to reveal to human eyes; but whether soul or body, all agreed that the sun's disk had existed in the Nû before creation.[3] But how could it have lain beneath the primordial ocean without either drying up the waters or being extinguished by them? At this stage the identification of Râ with Horus and his right eye served the purpose of the theologians admirably: the god needed only to have closed his eyelid in order to prevent his fires from coming in contact with the water.[4] He was also said to have shut up his disk within a lotus-bud, whose folded petals had safely protected it.[5]

[1] E. DE ROUGE, *Études sur le Rituel funéraire des anciens Égyptiens*, p. 76.

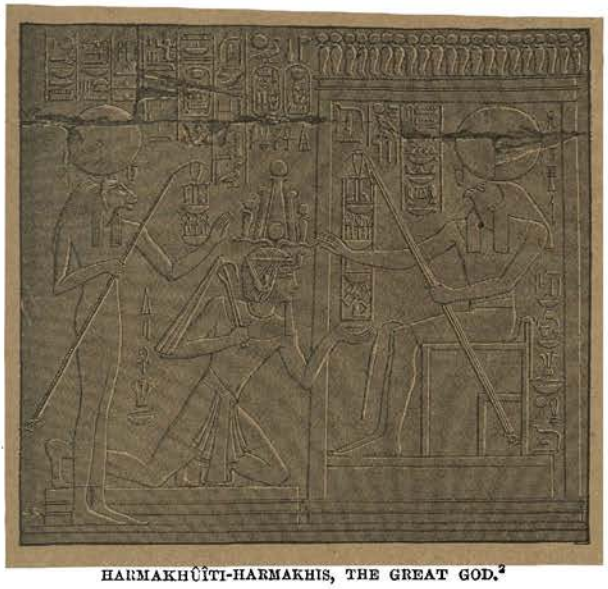
[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a water-colour published by LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, i. 56. The view is taken from the midst of the ruins at the foot of the obelisk of Ûsirtasen. A little stream runs in the foreground, and passes through a muddy pool; to right and left are mounds of ruins, which were then considerable, but have since been partially razed. In the distance Cairo rises against the south-west.

[3] *Book of the Dead*, ch. xvii., NAVILLE'S edition, l. 3, et seq.

[4] This is clearly implied in the expression so often used by the sacred writers of Ancient Egypt in reference to the appearance of the sun and his first act at the time of creation: "*Thou openest the two eyes* and earth is flooded with rays of light."

[5] MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. i. pl. lv. *a*; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 764, No. 56

The flower had opened on the morning of the first day, and from it the god had sprung suddenly as a child wearing the solar disk upon his head. But all theories led the theologians to distinguish two periods, and as it were two beings in the existence of supreme deity: a pre-mundane sun lying inert within the bosom of the dark waters, and our living and life-giving sun.[1]



HARMAKHÛÎTI-HARMAKHIS, THE GREAT GOD.[2]

One division of the Heliopolitan school retained the use of traditional terms and images in reference to these Sun-gods. To the first it left the human form, and the title of Râ, with the abstract sense of creator, deriving the name from the verb *râ*, which means to give.[3] For the second it kept the form of the sparrow-hawk and the name of Harmakhuîti—Horus in the two horizons—which clearly denoted his function;[4] and it summed up the idea of the sun as a whole in the single name of Râ-Harmakhûîti, and in a single image in which the hawk-head of Horus was grafted upon the human body of Râ. The other divisions of the school invented new names for new conceptions. The sun existing before the world they called Creator—*Tûmû*, *Atûmû*[5]—and our earthly sun they called *Khopri*—He who is. Tûmû was a man crowned

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 281, et seq., 356, et seq.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger of an outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. Harmakhis grants years and festivals to the Pharaoh Seti I., who kneels before him, and is presented by the lioness-headed goddess Sokhît, here described as a magician—*Oirît hikaû*.

[3] This manufactured etymology was accepted by at least a section of Egyptian theologians, as is proved by their interminable playing upon the words *Râ*, the name of the sun, and *râ*, the verb *to give, to make*. As regards the weight to be attached to it, see p. 88, note 1.

[4] Harmakhûîti is Horus, the sky of the two horizons; *i.e.* the sky of the daytime, and the night sky. When the celestial Horus was confounded with Râ, and became the sun (cf. p. 100), he naturally also became the sun of the two horizons, the sun by day, and the sun by night.

[5] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Études sur le Rituel funéraire*, p. 76: "His name may be connected with two radicals. *Tem* is a negation; it may be taken to mean *the Inapproachable One, the Unknown* (as in Thebes, where *Amûn* means mystery). Atûm is, in fact, described as 'existing alone in the abyss,' before the appearance of light. It was in this time of darkness that Atûm performed the first act of creation, and this allows of our also connecting his name with the Coptic TAMIO, *creare*. Atûm was also the prototype of man (in Coptic TME, *homo*), and becomes a perfect '*tûm*' after his resurrection." BRUGSCH (*Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 231, 232) would rather explain *Tûmû* as meaning *the Perfect One, the Complete*. E. DE ROUGÉ'S philological derivations are no longer admissible; but his explanation of the name corresponds so well with the part played by the god that I fail to see how that can be challenged

and clothed with the insignia of supreme power, a true king of gods, majestic and impassive as the Pharaohs who succeeded each other upon the throne of Egypt. The conception of Khopri as a disk enclosing a scarabæus, or a man with a scarabæus upon his head, or a scarabæus-headed mummy, was suggested by the accidental alliteration of his name and that of *Khopirrû*, the scarabæus. The difference between the possible forms of the god was so slight as to be eventually lost altogether. His names were grouped by twos and threes in every conceivable way, and the scarabæus of Khopri took its place upon the head of Râ, while the hawk headpiece was transferred from the shoulders of Harmakhûîti to those of Tûmû. The complex beings resulting from these combinations, Râ-Tûmû, Atûmû-Râ, Râ-Tûmû-Khopri, Râ-Harmakhûîti-Tûmû, Tûmû-Harmakhûîti-Khopri, never attained to any pronounced individuality. They were as a rule simple duplicates of the feudal god, names rather than persons, and though hardly taken for one another indiscriminately, the distinctions between them had reference to mere details of their functions and attributes. Hence arose the idea of making these gods into embodiments of the main phases in the life of the sun during the day and throughout the year. Râ symbolized the sun of springtime and before sunrise, Harmakhûîti the summer and the morning sun, Atûmû the sun of autumn and of afternoon, Khopri that of winter and of night.[1] The people of Heliopolis accepted the new names and the new forms presented for their worship, but always subordinated them to their beloved Râ. For them Râ never ceased to be the god of the nome; while Atûmû remained the god of the theologians, and was invoked by them, the people preferred Râ. At Thinis and at Sebennytos Anhûri incurred the same fate as befell Râ at Heliopolis. After he had been identified

KHOPRI, THE SCARABÆUS GOD, IN HIS BARK.

[1] An exhaustive study of these theological combinations has been made by BRUGSCH (*Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 231–280) with great care and sagacity, and with special reference to inscriptions from temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Unfortunately Brugsch has attributed to these temple speculations an importance which they never held in popular estimation.

with the sun, the similar identification of Shû inevitably followed. Of old, Anhûri and Shû were twin gods, incarnations of sky and earth. They were soon but one god in two persons—the god Anhûri-Shû, of which the one half under the title of Anhûri represented, like Atûmû, the primordial being; and Shû, the other half, became, as his name indicates, the creative sun-god who upholds (*shû*) the sky.[1]

Tûmû then, rather than Râ, was placed by the Heliopolitan priests at the head of their cosmogony as supreme creator and governor. Several versions were current as to how he had passed from inertia into action, from the personage of Tûmû into that of Râ. According to the version most widely received, he had suddenly cried across the waters, "Come unto me!"[2] and immediately the mysterious lotus had unfolded its petals, and Râ had appeared at the edge of its open cup as a disk, a newborn child, or a disk-crowned sparrow-hawk;[3] this was probably a refined form of a ruder and earlier tradition, according to which it was upon Râ himself that the office had devolved of separating Sibû from Nûît, for the purpose of constructing the heavens and the earth. But it was doubtless felt that so unseemly an act of intervention was beneath the dignity even of an inferior form of the suzerain god; Shû was therefore borrowed for the purpose from the kindred cult of Anhûri, and at Heliopolis, as at Sebennytos, the office was entrusted to him of seizing the sky-goddess and raising her with outstretched arms. The violence suffered by Nûît at the hands of Shû led to a connexion of the Osirian dogma of Mendes with the solar dogma of Sebennytos, and thus the tradition describing the creation of the world was completed by another, explaining its division into deserts and fertile lands. Sîbû, hitherto concealed beneath the body of his wife, was now exposed to the sun; Osiris and Sît, Isis and Nephthys, were born, and, falling from the sky, their mother, on to the earth, their father, they shared the surface of the latter among themselves. Thus the Heliopolitan doctrine recognized three principal events in the creation of the universe: the dualization of the supreme god and the breaking forth of light, the raising of the sky and the laying bare of the earth, the birth of the Nile and the allotment of the soil of Egypt, all expressed as the manifestations of successive deities.[4] Of these deities, the latter ones already constituted a family of

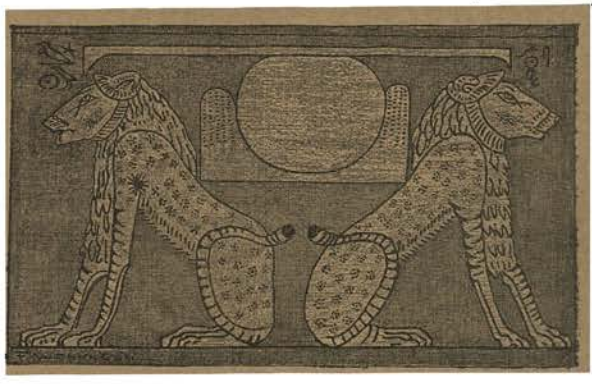
[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 282, 356, 357.

[2] It was on this account that the Egyptians named the first day of the year the *Day of Come-unto-me!* (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Études sur le Rituel funéraire des anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 54, 55). In ch. xvii. of the *Book of the Dead*, Osiris takes the place of Tûmû as the creator-god.

[3] See the illustration on p. 136, which represents the infant sun-god springing from the opening lotus.

[4] On the formation of the Heliopolitan Ennead, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 244, et seq., 352, et seq. BRUGSCH's solution and version of the composition, derivation, and history of this Ennead is entirely different from mine (*Religion und Mythologie der alten Egypter*, p. 183, et seq.).

father, mother, and children, like human families. Learned theologians availed themselves of this example to effect analogous relationships between the rest of the gods, combining them all into one line of descent. As Atûmû-Râ could have no fellow, he stood apart in the first rank, and it was decided that Shû should be his son, whom he had formed out of himself alone, on the first day of creation, by the simple intensity of his own virile energy. Shû, reduced to the position of divine son, had in his turn begotten Sibû and Nûît, the two deities which he separated. Until then he had not been supposed to have any wife, and he also might have himself brought his own progeny into being; but lest a power of spontaneous generation equal to that of the demiurge should be ascribed to him, he was married, and the wife found for him was Tafnûît, his twin sister, born in the same way as he was born. This goddess, invented for the occasion, was never fully alive, and remained, like Nephthys, a theological entity rather than a real person. The texts describe her as the pale reflex of her husband. Together with him she upholds the sky, and every morning receives the newborn sun as it emerges from the mountain of the east; she is a lionness when Shû is a lion, a woman when he is a man, a lioness-headed woman if he is a lion-headed man; she is angry when he is angry, appeased when he is appeased; she has no sanctuary wherein he is not worshipped. In short, the pair made one being in two bodies, or, to use the Egyptian expression, "one soul in its two twin bodies."[2]



THE TWIN LIONS, SHÛ AND TAFNÛÎT.[1]

Hence we see that the Heliopolitans proclaimed the creation to be the work of the sun-god, Atûmû-Râ, and of the four pairs of deities who were descended from him. It was really a learned variant of the old doctrine[3] that the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a vignette in the papyrus of Ani in the British Museum, published by LEPAGE-RENOUF in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xi., 1889–90, pp. 26–28. The inscription above the lion on the right reads *safû*, "yesterday;" the other, *dûaû*, "this morning."

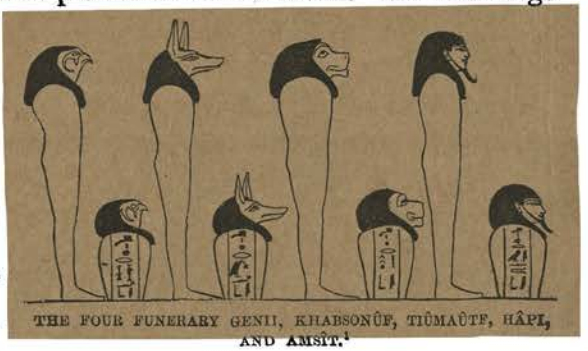
[2] *Book of the Dead*, ch. xvii. l. 154, et seq. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. xxiv.). For the part played by Tafnît or Tafnûît with regard to Shû, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 247, 248, 357; and BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 571–575. In M. LEPAGE-RENOUF, Shû and Tafnûît are the Dawn-god, or, more exactly, two, the god and the goddess of the Dawn (*Egyptian Mythology, particularly with reference to Mist and Cloud*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. viii. p. 206, et seq.).

[3] See pp. 86, 87, 128, 129, for some ancient variants of this doctrine.

universe was composed of a sky-god, Horus, supported by his four children and their four pillars: in fact, the four sons of the Heliopolitan cosmogony, Shû and Sibû, Osiris and Sît, were occasionally substituted for the four older gods of the "houses" of the world. This being premised, attention must be given to the important differences between the two systems. At the outset, instead of appearing contemporaneously upon the scene, like the four children of Horus, the four Heliopolitan gods were deduced one from another, and succeeded each other in the order of their birth. They had not that uniform attribute of supporter, associating them always with one definite function, but each of them felt himself endowed with faculties and armed with special powers required by his condition. Ultimately they took to themselves goddesses, and thus the total number of beings working in different ways at the organization of the universe was brought up to nine. Hence they were called by the collective name of the Ennead, the Nine gods—*paûît nûtîrû*,[1]—and the god at their head was entitled *Paûîti*, the god of the Ennead. When creation was completed, its continued existence was ensured by countless agencies with whose operation the persons of the Ennead were not at leisure to concern themselves, but had ordained auxiliaries to preside over each of the functions essential to the regular and continued working of all things. The theologians of Heliopolis selected eighteen from among the innumerable divinities of the feudal cults of Egypt, and of these they formed two secondary Enneads, who were regarded as the offspring of the Ennead of the creation. The first of the two secondary Enneads, generally known as the Minor Ennead, recognized as chief Harsiesis, the son of Osiris. Harsiesis was originally an earth-god who had avenged the assassination of his father and the banishment of his mother by Sît; that is, he had restored fulness to the Nile and fertility to the Delta. When Harsiesis was incorporated into the solar religions of Heliopolis, his filiation was left undisturbed as being a natural link

[1] The first Egyptologists confounded the sign used in writing *paûît* with the sign *kh*, and the word *khet*, *other* (CHAMPOLLION, *Grammaire Égyptienne*, pp. 292, 320, 331, 404, etc.). E. de Rougé was the first to determine its phonetic value: "it should be read *Paû*, and designates a body of gods." (Letter from E. de Rougé, June, 1852, published by F. LAJARD, *Recherches sur le Cyprès Pyramidal*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xx. 2nd part, p. 176.) Shortly afterwards BRUGSCH proved that "the group of gods invoked by E. de Rougé must have consisted of nine"—of an Ennead (*Ueber die Hieroglyph des Neumondes und ihre verschiedenen Bedeutungen*, in the *Zeitschrift der Morg. G.*, vol. x. p. 668, et seq.). This explanation was not at first admitted either by LEPSIUS (*Ueber die Götter der Vier Elemente bei den Ægypter*) or by MARIETTE, who had proposed a mystic interpretation of the word in his *Mémoire sur la mère d'Apis* (pp. 25-36), or by E. DE ROUGÉ (*Études sur le Rituel funéraire*, p. 43), or by CHABAS (*Une Inscription historique du règne de Séti Ier*, p. 37, and *Un Hymne à Osiris* in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xiv. pp. 198-200). The interpretation a *Nine*, an *Ennead*, was not frankly adopted until later (MASPERO, *Mémoires sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 94, 95), and more especially after the discovery of the Pyramid texts (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 707, et seq.); to-day, it is the only meaning admitted. Of course the Egyptian Ennead has no other connection than that of name with the Enneads of the Neo-Platonists.

between the two Enneads, but his personality was brought into conformity with the new surroundings into which he was transplanted. He was identified with Rà through the intervention of the older Horus, Haroêris-Harmakhis, and the Minor Ennead, like the Great Ennead, began with a sun-god. This assimilation was not pushed so far as to invest the younger Horus with the same powers as his fictitious ancestor: he was the sun of earth, the everyday sun, while Atûmû-Rà was still the sun pre-mundane and eternal. Our knowledge of the eight other deities of the Minor Ennead is very imperfect. We see only that these were the gods who chiefly protected the sun-god against its enemies and helped it to follow its regular course. Thus Harhûditi, the Horus of Edfû, spear in hand, pursues the hippopotami or serpents which haunt the celestial waters and menace the god. The progress of the Sun-bark is controlled by the incantations of Thot, while Uapûaîtû, the dual jackal-god of Siût, guides, and occasionally tows it along the sky from south to north. The third Ennead would seem to have included among its members Anubis the jackal, and the four funerary genii, the children of Horus—Hapi, Amsît, Tiûmaûtf, Kabhsonûf; it further appears as though its office was the care and defence of the dead sun, the sun by night, as the second Ennead had charge of the living sun. Its functions were so obscure and apparently so insignificant as compared with those exercised by the other Enneads, that the theologians did not take the trouble either to represent it or to enumerate its persons. They invoked it as a whole, after the two others, in those formulas in which they called into play all the creative and preservative forces of the universe; but this was rather as a matter of conscience and from love of precision than out of any true deference. At the initial impulse of the lord of Heliopolis, the three combined Enneads started the world and kept it going, and gods whom they had not incorporated were either enemies to be fought with, or mere attendants.[2]

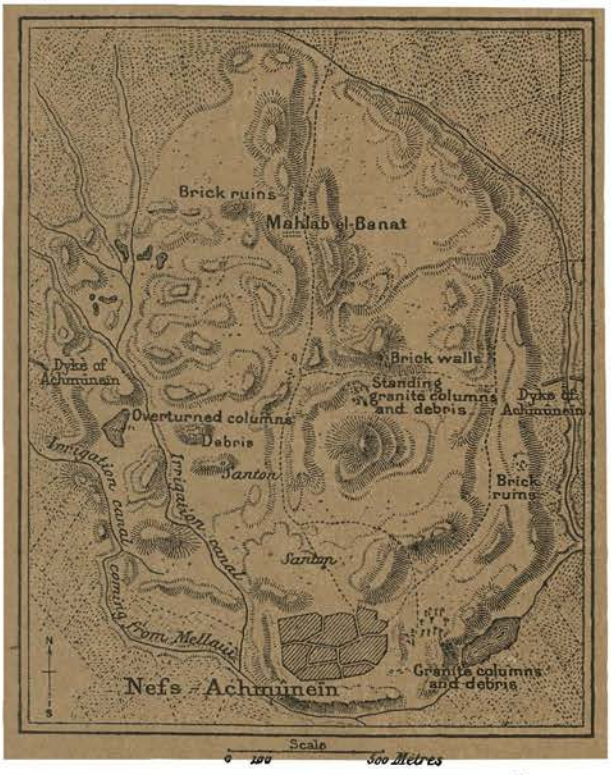


THE FOUR FUNERARY GENII, KHABSONÛF, TIÛMAÛTF, HÂPI, AND AMSÎT.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from WILKINSON'S *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p. 221, pl. xlviii.

[2] The little which we know of the two secondary Enneads of Heliopolis has been put together by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 289, et seq., 353, 354, 371, 372.

The doctrine of the Heliopolitan Ennead acquired an immediate and a lasting popularity. It presented such a clear scheme of creation, and one whose organization was so thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of tradition, that the various sacerdotal colleges adopted it one after another, accommodating it to the exigencies of local patriotism. Each placed its own nome-god at the head of the Ennead as "god of the Nine," "god of the first time," creator of heaven and earth, sovereign ruler of men, and lord of all action. As there was the Ennead of Atûmû at Heliopolis, so there was that of Anhûri at Thinis and at Sebennytos; that of Minû at Coptos and at Panopolis; that of Haroêris at Edfû; that of Sobkhû at Ombos; and, later, that of Phtah at Memphis and of Amon at Thebes.[2] Nomes which worshipped a goddess had no scruples whatever in ascribing to her the part played by Atûmû, and in crediting her with the spontaneous maternity of Shû and Tafnûît. Nît was the source and ruler of the Ennead of Saïs, Isis of that of Bûto, and Hâthor of that of Denderah.[3] Few of the sacerdotal colleges went beyond the substitution of their own feudal gods for Atûmû. Provided that the god of each nome held the rank of supreme lord, the rest mattered little, and the local theologians made no change in the order of the other agents of creation, their vanity being unhurt even by the lower offices assigned by the Heliopolitan tradition to such powers as Osiris, Sibû, and Sît, who were



PLAN OF THE RUINS OF HERMOPOLIS MAGNA.[1]

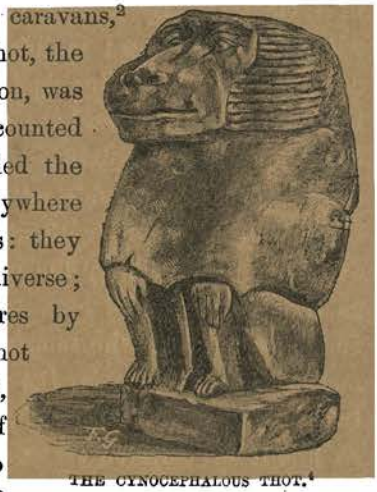
[1] Plan drawn by Thuillier, from the *Description de l'Égypte*, Ant., vol. iv. pl. 50.

[2] The Ennead of Phtah, and that of Amon, who was replaced by Montû in later times, are the two Enneads of which we have as yet the greatest number of examples (LEPSIUS, *Ueber den Ersten Ægyptischen Götterkreis*, pls. i.–iii.; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, pp. 727–730).

[3] On the Ennead of Hâthor at Denderah, see MARIETTE, *Denderah*, p. 80, et seq., of the text. The fact that Nît, Isis, and, generally speaking, all the feudal goddesses, were the chiefs of their local Enneads, is proved by the epithets applied to them, which represent them as having independent creative power by virtue of their own unaided force and energy, like the god at the head of the Heliopolitan Ennead.

known and worshipped throughout the whole country. The theologians of Hermopolis alone declined to borrow the new system just as it stood, and in all its parts. Hermopolis had always been one of the ruling cities of Middle Egypt. Standing alone in the midst of the land lying between the Eastern and Western Niles, it had established upon each of the two great arms of the river a port and a custom-house, where all boats travelling either up or down stream paid toll on passing. Not only the corn and natural products of the valley and of the Delta, but also goods from distant parts of Africa brought to Siût by Soudanese caravans,[2] helped to fill the treasury of Hermopolis. Thot, the god of the city, represented as ibis or baboon, was essentially a moon-god, who measured time, counted the days, numbered the months, and recorded the years.[3] Lunar divinities, as we know, are everywhere supposed to exercise the most varied powers: they command the mysterious forces of the universe; they know the sounds, words, and gestures by which those forces are put in motion, and not content with using them for their own benefit, they also teach to their worshippers the art of employing them. Thot formed no exception to this rule. He was lord of the voice, master of words and of books, possessor or inventor of those magic writings which nothing in heaven, on earth, or in Hades can withstand.[5] He had discovered the incantations which evoke and control the gods; he had transcribed the

THE IBIS THOT.[1]



THE CYNOCEPHALOUS THOT.[4]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from an enamelled pottery figure from Coptos, now in my possession. Neck, feet, and tail are in blue enamel, the rest is in green. The little personage represented as squatting beneath the beak is Mâit, the goddess of truth, and the ally of Thot. The ibis was furnished with a ring for suspending it; this has been broken off, but traces of it may still be seen at the back of the head.

[2] On the custom-houses of Hermopolis and why they were established, see MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 19, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1891-92, vol. xiv. pp. 196-202.

[3] The name of Thot, *Zehûti*, *Tehûti*, seems to mean—he who belongs to the bird *Zehû*, *Tehû*; he who is the ibis, or belongs to the divine ibis (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 440).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a green enamelled pottery figure in my possession (Saïte period).

[5] Cf. in the tale of Satni (MASPERO, *Contes populaires de l'Ancienne Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 175) the description of "the book which Thot has himself written with his own hand," and which makes its possessor the equal of the gods. "The two formulas which are written therein, if thou recitest the first thou shalt charm heaven, earth, Hades, the mountains, the waters; thou shalt know the birds of the sky and the reptiles, how many soever they be; thou shalt see the fish of the deep, for a divine power will cause them to rise to the surface of the water. If thou readest the second formula, even although thou shouldest be in the tomb, thou shalt again take the form which was thine upon

texts and noted the melodies of these incantations; he recited them with that true intonation—*mâ khrôû*—which renders them all-powerful, and every one, whether god or man, to whom he imparted them, and whose voice he made true —*smâ khrôû*—became like himself master of the universe.[1] He had accomplished the creation not by muscular effort to which the rest of the cosmogonical gods primarily owed their birth, but by means of formulas, or even of the voice alone, "the first time" when he awoke in the Nû. In fact, the articulate word and the voice were believed to be the most potent of creative forces, not remaining immaterial on issuing from the lips, but condensing, so to speak, into tangible substances; into bodies which were themselves animated by creative life and energy; into gods and goddesses who lived or who created in their turn. By a very short phrase Tûmû had called forth the gods who order all things; for his "Come unto me!" uttered with a loud voice upon the day of creation, had evoked the sun from within the lotus.[2] Thot had opened his lips, and the voice which proceeded from him had become an entity; sound had solidified into matter, and by a simple emission of voice the four gods who preside over the four houses of the world had come forth alive from his mouth without bodily effort on his part, and without spoken evocation. Creation by the voice is almost as great a refinement of thought as the substitution of creation by the word for creation by muscular effort. In fact, sound bears the same relation to words that the whistle of a quartermaster bears to orders for the navigation of a ship transmitted by a speaking trumpet; it simplifies speech, reducing it as it were to a pure abstraction. At first it was believed that the creator had made the world with a word, then that he had made it by sound; but the further conception of his having made it by thought does not seem to have occurred to the theologians.[3] It was narrated at Hermopolis, and the legend was ultimately universally accepted, even by the Heliopolitans, that the separation of Nûît and Sibû had taken place at a certain spot on the site of the city where Sibû had ascended the mound on which the feudal temple was afterwards built, in order that he might better sustain the goddess and uphold the sky at the proper height.[4]

earth; thou shalt even see the sun rising in heaven, and his cycle of gods, and the moon in the form wherein it appeareth."

[1] For the interpretation of these expressions, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 93–114.

[2] See the account of this mythological episode on p. 140, and also the illustration on p. 137, which represents the Sun-god as a child emerging from the opened lotus.

[3] The theory of creation by voice was first set forth by MASPERO, *Creation by the Voice and the Ennead of Hermopolis* (in the *Oriental Quarterly Review*, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 365, et seq.), and *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 372, et seq.

[4] *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE's edition, pl. xxiii.), ch. xvii. l. 3, et seq. Other texts also state that it was in the Hermopolite nome that "light began when thy father Râ rosè from the lotus;" DÜMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. (iii. of the *Recueil de Monuments*), pl. lv. ll. 2, 3; cf. pl. xcvi. l. 21.

The conception of a Creative Council of five gods had so far prevailed at Hermopolis that from this fact the city had received in remote antiquity the name of the "House of the Five;" its temple was called the "Abode of the Five" down to a late period in Egyptian history, and its prince, who was the hereditary high priest of Thot, reckoned as the first of his official titles that of "Great One of the House of the Five."[1]

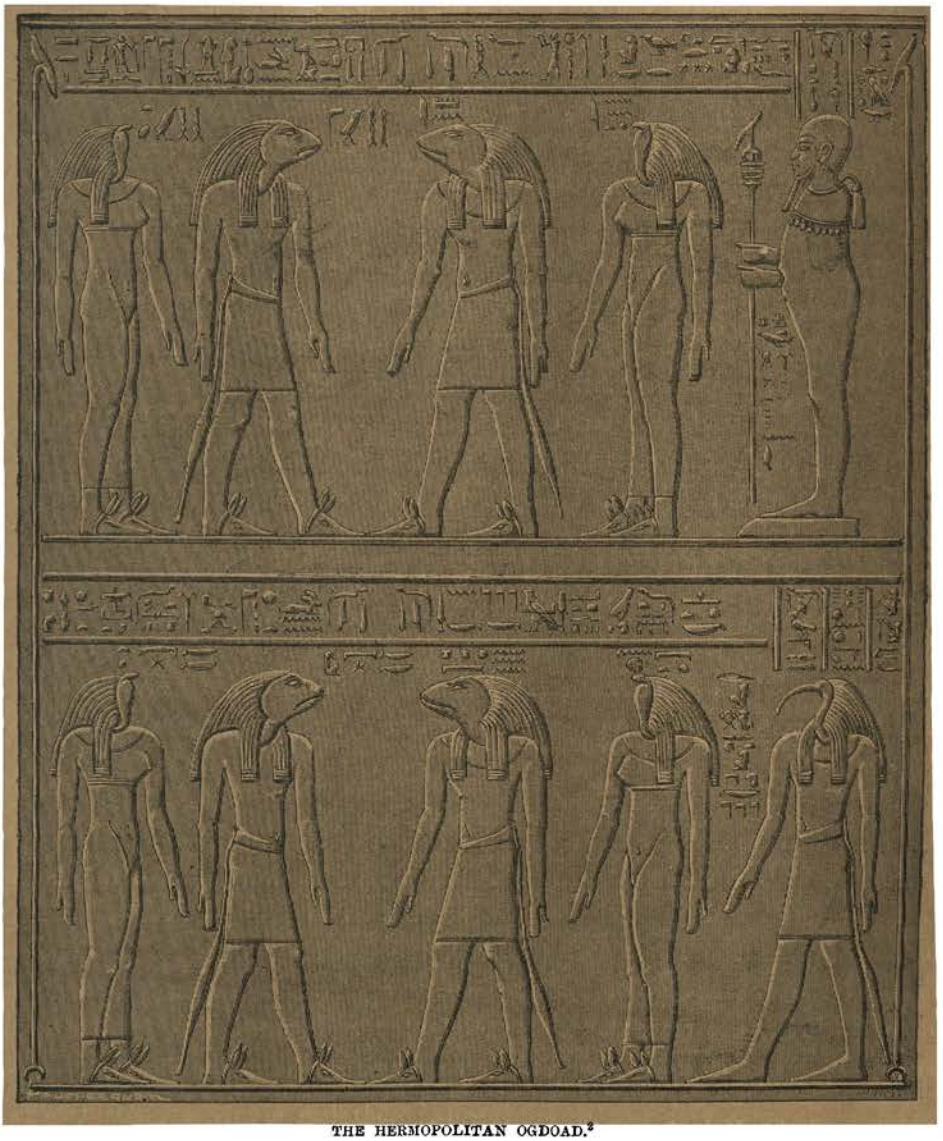
The four couples who had helped Atûmû were identified with the four auxiliary gods of Thot, and changed the council of Five into a Great Hermopolitan Ennead, but at the cost of strange metamorphoses.[2] However artificially they had been grouped about Atûmû, they had all preserved such distinctive characteristics as prevented their being confounded one with another. When the universe which they had helped to build up was finally seen to be the result of various operations demanding a considerable manifestation of physical energy, each god was required to preserve the individuality necessary for the production of such effects as were expected of him. They could not have existed and carried on their work without conforming to the ordinary conditions of humanity; being born one of another, they were bound to have paired with living goddesses as capable of bringing forth their children as they were of begetting them. On the other hand, the four auxiliary gods of Hermopolis exercised but one means of action—the voice. Having themselves come forth from the master's mouth, it was by voice that they created and perpetuated the world. Apparently they could have done without goddesses had marriage not been imposed upon them by their identification with the corresponding gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead; at any rate, their wives had but a show of life, almost destitute of reality. As these four gods worked after the manner of their master, Thot, so they also bore his form and reigned along with him as so many baboons. When associated with the lord of Hermopolis, the eight divinities of Heliopolis assumed the character and the appearance of the four Hermopolitan gods in whom they were merged. They were often represented as eight baboons surrounding the supreme baboon,[3] or as four pairs of gods and goddesses

[1] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, p. 62; BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 962. In the Harris Magic Papyrus (pl. iii. ll. 5, 6, CHABAS' edition, p. 53) they are called "these five gods . . . who are neither in heaven nor upon earth, and who are not lighted by the sun." For the cosmogonical conception, implied by these Hermopolitan titles, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 259-261, 381.

The relation of the Eight to the Ennead and the god One has been pointed out by MASPERO (*Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 94, 95), as also the formation and character of the Hermopolitan Ennead (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 257-261, 381-383).

[3] W. GOLÉNICHEFF, *Die Metternichstele*, pl. i., where apes are adoring the solar disk in his bark. This scene is common on hypocephali found under the heads of Græco-Roman mummies.

without either characteristic attributes or features;[1] or, finally, as four pairs of gods and goddesses, the gods being frog-headed men, and the goddesses



THE HERMOPOLITAN OGDOAD.[2]

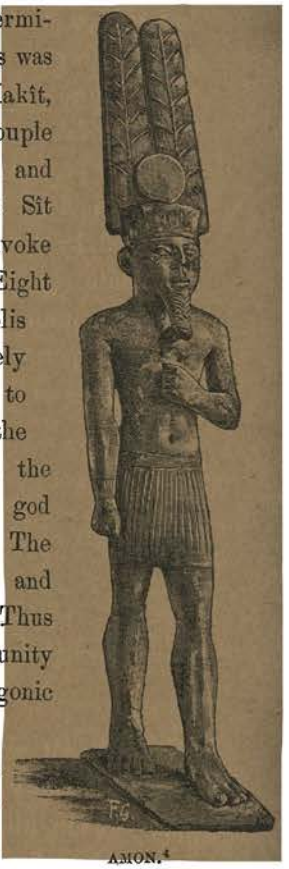
serpent-headed women.[3] Morning and evening do they sing; and the mysterious

[1] LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. xii.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a photograph by Béato. Cf. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv. pl. 66 *c*. In this illustration I have combined the two extremities of a great scene at Philæ, in which the *Eight*, divided into two groups of four, take part in the adoration of the king. According to a custom common towards the Græco-Roman period, the sculptor has made the feet of his gods like jackals' heads; it is a way of realizing the well-known metaphor which compares a rapid runner to the jackal roaming around Egypt.

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv. 66 *c*; MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. iv. pl. 70; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de*

hymns wherewith they salute the rising and the setting sun ensure the continuity of his course. Their names did not survive their metamorphoses; each pair had no longer more than a single name, the termination of each name varying according as a god or a goddess was intended:—Nû and Nûît, Hehû and Hehît, Kakû and Kakît, Ninû and Ninît. As far as we are able to judge, the couple Nû-Nûît answers to Shû-Tafnûît; Hahû-Hehît to Sibû and Nûît; Kakû-Kakît to Osiris and Isis; Ninû-Ninît to Sît and Nephthys. There was seldom any occasion to invoke them separately; they were addressed collectively as the Eight —*Khmûnû*[1]—and it was on their account that Hermopolis was named *Khmûnû*, the City of the Eight.[2] Ultimately they were deprived of the little individual life still left to them, and were fused into a single being to whom the texts refer as Khomninû, the god Eight. By degrees the Ennead of Thot was thus reduced to two terms: the god One and the god Eight, the Monad and the Ogdoad. The latter had scarcely more than a theoretical existence, and was generally absorbed into the person of the former. Thus the theologians of Hermopolis gradually disengaged the unity of their feudal god from the multiplicity of the cosmogonic deities.[3]



AMON.[4]

As the sacerdotal colleges had adopted the Heliopolitan doctrine, so they now generally adopted that of Hermopolis: Amon, for instance, being made to preside indifferently over the eight baboons and over the four independent couples of the primitive Ennead.[5] In both cases the process of adaptation was absolutely identical, and would have been attended by no

l'Égypte, pl. cxxx. Their individual value has been and still is a subject of discussion. LEPSIUS first tried to show in a special memoir (*Ueber die Götter der vier Elemente bei den Ægyptern*, 1856) that they were the gods of the four elements; DÜMICHEN looks upon the four couples as being severally Primitive Matter, Primitive Space, Primitive Time, Primitive Force (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 210, et seq.); BRUGSCH (*Religion und Mythologie*, p. 123, et seq.) prefers to consider them as representing the primordial Waters, Eternity, Darkness, and the primordial Inertia.

[1] The name was long read *Sesûnû*, after Champollion; BRUGSCH discovered its true pronunciation (*Reise nach der Grossen Oase el Khargeh*, p. 34; cf. *Ueber die Aussprache einiger Zahlwörter im Altägyptischen*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, pp. 145–147).

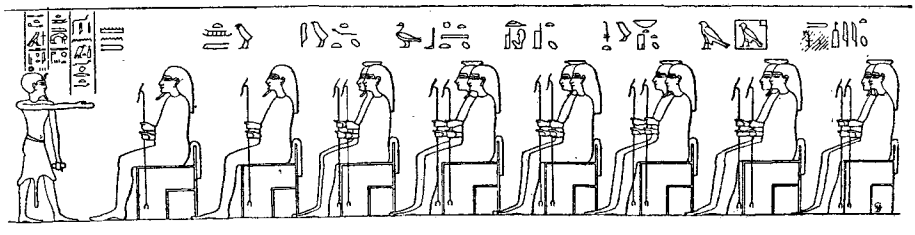
[2] Whence its modern name of El-Ashmûneïn; cf. BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 749–751.

[3] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 383, et seq., where this aspect of the Hermopolitan Ennead was first pointed out.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a bronze statuette found at Thebes, and now in my possession.

[5] In a bas-relief at Philæ, Amon presides over the Hermopolitan Ennead (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv. 66 *c*); it is to him that the eight baboons address their hymns in the Harris Magic Papyrus (pl. iii. l. 6, et seq.; CHABAS' edition, pp. 60, 69), beseeching him to come to the help of the magicians.

difficulty whatever, had the divinities to whom it was applied only been without family; in that case, the one needful change for each city would have been that of a single name in the Heliopolitan list, thus leaving the number of the Ennead unaltered. But since these deities had been turned into triads they could no longer be primarily regarded as simple units, to be combined with the elements of some one or other of the Enneads without preliminary arrangement. The two companions whom each had chosen had to be adopted also, and the single Thot, or single Atûmû, replaced by the three patrons of the nome, thus changing the traditional nine into eleven. Happily, the constitution of the triad lent itself to all these adaptations. We have seen that the father and the son became one and the same personage, whenever it was thought desirable. We also know that one of the two parents always so far predominated as almost to efface the other.



THE THEBAN ENNEAD.[1]

Sometimes it was the goddess who disappeared behind her husband; sometimes it was the god whose existence merely served to account for the offspring of the goddess, and whose only title to his position consisted in the fact that he was her husband.[2] Two personages thus closely connected were not long in blending into one, and were soon defined as being two faces, the masculine and feminine aspects of a single being. On the one hand, the father was one with the son, and on the other he was one with the mother. Hence the mother was one with the son as with the father, and the three gods of the triad were resolved into one god in three persons. Thanks to this subterfuge, to put a triad at the head of an Ennead was nothing more than a roundabout way of placing a single god there: the three persons only counted as one, and the eleven names only amounted to the nine canonical divinities. Thus, the Theban Ennead of Amon-Maut-Khonsû, Shû, Tafnûît, Sibû, Nûît, Osiris, Isis, Sît, and Nephthys, is, in spite of its apparent irregularity, as correct as the typical Ennead itself. In such Enneads Isis is duplicated by goddesses of

[1] This Ennead consists of fourteen members—Montû, duplicating Atûmû; the four usual couples; then Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, together with his associate deities, Hâthor, Tanu, and Anît.

[2] See the explanation of this fact on pp. 104–107.

like nature, such as Hâthor, Selkît, Taninît, and yet remains but one, while Osiris brings in his son Horus, who gathers about himself all such gods as play the part of divine son in other triads. The theologians had various methods of procedure for keeping the number of persons in an Ennead at nine, no matter how many they might choose to embrace in it.[1] Supernumeraries were thrown in like the "shadows" at Roman suppers, whom guests would bring without warning to their host, and whose presence made not the slightest difference either in the provision for the feast, or in the arrangements for those who had been formally invited.

Thus remodelled at all points, the Ennead of Heliopolis was readily adjustable to sacerdotal caprices, and even profited by the facilities which the triad afforded for its natural expansion. In time the Heliopolitan version of the origin of Shû-Tafnûît must have appeared too primitively barbarous. Allowing for the licence of the Egyptians during Pharaonic times, the concept of the spontaneous emission whereby Atûmû had produced his twin children was characterized by a superfluity of coarseness which it was at least unnecessary to employ, since by placing the god in a triad, this double birth could be duly explained in conformity with the ordinary laws of life. The solitary Atûmû of the more ancient dogma gave place to Atûmû the husband and father. He had, indeed, two wives, Iûsâsît and Nebthotpît, but their individualities were so feebly marked that no one took the trouble to choose between them; each passed as the mother of Shû and Tafnûît.[1] This system of combination, so puerile in its ingenuity, was fraught with the gravest consequences to the history of Egyptian religions. Shû having been transformed into the divine son of the Heliopolitan triad, could henceforth be assimilated with the divine sons of all those triads which took the place of Tûmû at the heads of provincial Enneads. Thus we find that Horus the son of Isis at Bûto, Arihosnofir the son of Nît at Saïs, Khnûmû the son of Hâthor at Esneh, were each in turn identified with Shû the son of Atûmû, and lost their individualities in his. Sooner or later this was bound to result in bringing all the triads closer together, and in their absorption into one another. Through constant reiteration of the statement that the divine sons of the triads were identical with Shû, as being in the second rank of the Ennead, the idea arose hat this was also the case in triads unconnected with Enneads; in other terms, hat the third person in any family of gods was everywhere and always Shû

[1] Many examples of these irregular Enneads were first collected by LEPSIUS (*Ueber den ersten Ægyptischen Götterkreis*, pls. i.–iv.), and later by BRUGSCH (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, pp. 724–730), and they were explained as they are here explained by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 245, 246). The best translation which could then be given of *paûît* was *cycle, the cycle of the gods;* but this did not specify the number.

under a different name. It having been finally admitted in the sacerdotal colleges that Tûmû and Shû, father and son, were one, all the divine sons were, therefore, identical with Tûmû, the father of Shû, and as each divine son was one with his parents, it inevitably followed that these parents themselves were identical with Tûmû. Reasoning in this way, the Egyptians naturally tended towards that conception of the divine oneness to which the theory of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad was already leading them. In fact, they reached it, and the monuments show us that in comparatively early times the theologians were busy uniting in a single person the prerogatives which their ancestors had ascribed to many different beings. But this conception of deity towards which their ideas were converging has nothing in common with the conception of the God of our modern religions and philosophies. No god of the Egyptians was ever spoken of simply as God. Tûmû was the "one and only god"—*nûtir ûâû ûâîti*—at Heliopolis; Anhûri-Shû was also the "one and only god" at Sebennytos and at Thinis. The unity of Atûmû did not interfere with that of Anhûri-Shû, but each of these gods, although the "sole" deity in his own domain, ceased to be so in the domain of the other. The feudal spirit, always alert and jealous, prevented the higher dogma which was dimly apprehended in the temples from triumphing over local religions and extending over the whole land. Egypt had as many "sole" deities as she had large cities, or even important temples; she never accepted the idea of the sole God, "beside whom there is none other."

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF EGYPT.

THE DIVINE DYNASTIES: RÂ, SHÛ, OSIRIS, SÎT, HORUS—THOT, AND THE INVENTION OF SCIENCES AND WRITING—MENES, AND THE THREE FIRST HUMAN DYNASTIES.

The Egyptians claim to be the most ancient of peoples: traditions concerning the creation of man and of animals—The Heliopolitan Enneads the framework of the divine dynasties—Râ, the first King of Egypt, and his fabulous history: he allows himself to be duped and robbed by Isis, destroys rebellious men, and ascends into heaven.

The legend of Shû and Sibû—The reign of Osiris Onnophris and of Isis: they civilize Egypt and the world—Osiris, slain by Sît, is entombed by Isis and avenged by Horus—The wars of Typhon and of Horus: peace, and the division of Egypt between the two gods.

The Osirian embalmment: the kingdom of Osiris opened to the followers of Horus—The Book of the Dead—The journeying of the soul in search of the fields of Ialû—The judgment of the soul, the negative confession—The privileges and duties of Osirian souls—Confusion between Osirian and Solar ideas as to the state of the dead: the dead in the bark of the Sun—The going forth by day—The campaigns of Harmakhis against Sît.

Thot, the inventor: he reveals all sciences to men—Astronomy, stellar tables; the year, its subdivisions, its defects, influence of the heavenly bodies and the days upon human destiny—Magic arts: incantations, amulets—Medicine: the vitalizing spirits, diagnosis, treatment—Writing: ideographic, syllabic, alphabetic.

The history of Egypt as handed down by tradition: Manetho, the royal lists, main divisions of Egyptian history—The beginnings of its early history vague and uncertain: Menes, and the legend of Memphis—The first three human dynasties, the two Thinite and the Memphite—Character and origin of the legends concerning them — The famine stela — The earliest monuments: the step pyramid of Saqqârah.

ISIS, HAVING FLED TO THE MARSHES, SUCKLES HORUS UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE GODS.[1]

CHAPTER III.

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF EGYPT.

The divine dynasties: Râ, Shû, Osiris, Sît, Horus—Thot, and the invention of sciences and writing —Menes, and the three first human dynasties.

THE building up and diffusion of the doctrine of the Ennead, like the formation of the land of Egypt, demanded centuries of sustained effort, centuries of which the inhabitants themselves knew neither the number nor the authentic history. When questioned as to the remote past of their race, they proclaimed themselves the most ancient of mankind, in comparison with whom all other races were but a mob of young children; and they looked upon nations which denied their pretensions with such indulgence and pity as we feel for those who doubt a well-known truth. Their forefathers had appeared upon the banks of the Nile even before the creator had completed his work, so eager were the gods to behold their birth. No Egyptian disputed the reality of this right of the

[1] Bas-relief at Philæ; drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Béato (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xix. 2). The vignette, also drawn by Faucher-Gudin, represents an ichneumon, or Pharaoh's rat, sitting up on its haunches, with paws uplifted in adoration. It has been variously interpreted. I take it to be the image of an animal spontaneously generated out of the mud, and giving thanks to Râ at the very moment of its creation. The original is of bronze, and in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Album photographique*, pl. 5).

firstborn, which ennobled the whole race; but if they were asked the name of their divine father, then the harmony was broken, and each advanced the claims of a different personage.[1] Phtâh had modelled man with his own hands;[2] Khnûmû had formed him on a potter's table.[3] Râ at his first rising, seeing the earth desert and bare, had flooded it with his rays as with a flood of tears; all living things, vegetable and animal, and man himself, had sprung pell-mell from his eyes, and were scattered abroad with the light over the surface of the world.[4] Sometimes the facts were presented under a less poetic aspect. The mud of the Nile, heated to excess by the burning sun, fermented and brought forth the various races of men and animals by spontaneous generation,[5] having moulded itself into a thousand living forms. Then its procreative power became weakened to the verge of exhaustion. Yet on the banks of the river, in the height of summer, smaller animals might still be found whose condition showed what had once taken place in the case of the larger kinds. Some appeared as already fully formed, and struggling to free themselves from the oppressive mud; others, as yet imperfect, feebly stirred their heads and fore feet, while their hind quarters were completing their articulation and taking shape within the matrix of earth.[6] It was not Râ

[1] HIPPYS OF RHEGIUM, frag. 1, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii. p. 13; ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, vii. 9, and *Meteorology*, i. 14; DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 10, 22, 50, etc. We know the words which Plato puts into the mouth of an Egyptian priest: "O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children, and there is no old man who is a Greek! You are all young in mind; there is no opinion or tradition of knowledge among you which is white with age" (*Timæus*, 22 *B*; Jowett's translation, vol. iii. pp. 349, 350). Other nations disputed their priority—the Phrygians (HERODOTUS, ii. 11), the Medes, or rather the tribe of the Magi among the Medes (ARISTOTLE in DIOGENES LAERTIUS, pr. 6), the Ethiopians (DIODORUS, iii. 2), the Scythians (JUSTINUS, ii. 1; AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, xxxi. 15, 2). A cycle of legends had gathered about this subject, giving an account of the experiments instituted by Psamtik, or other sovereigns, to find out which were right, Egyptians or foreigners (WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 43–46).

[2] At Philæ (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xxi. 1) and at Denderah, Phtah is represented as piling upon his potter's table the plastic clay from which he is about to make a human body (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pl. cccviii.), and which is somewhat wrongly called the egg of the world. It is really the lump of earth from which man came forth at his creation.

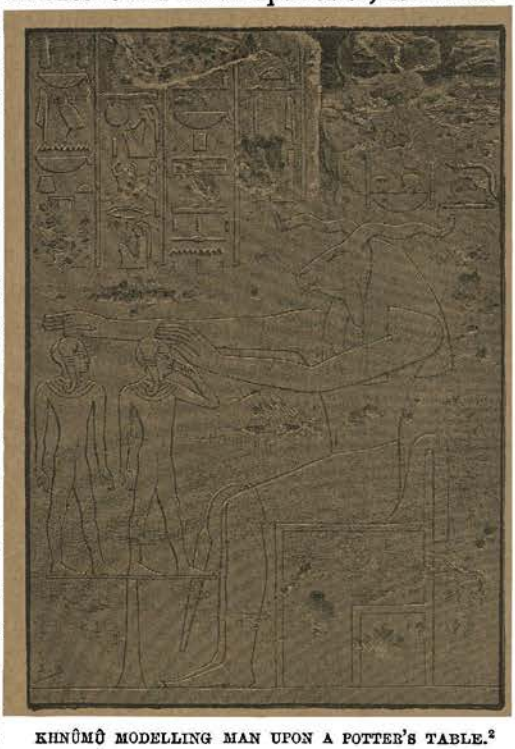
[3] At Philæ, Khnûmû calls himself "the potter who fashions men, the modeller of the gods" (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. lxxiii. 1; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xx. 1; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 752, No. 11). He there moulds the members of Osiris, the husband of the local Isis (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xxii. 1), as at Erment he forms the body of Harsamtaûi (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xlviii. 3), or rather that of Ptolemy Cæsarion, the son of Julius Cæsar and the celebrated Cleopatra, identified with Harsamtaûi.

[4] With reference to the substances which proceeded from the eye of Râ, see the remarks of BIRCH, *Sur un papyrus magique du Musée Britannique* (cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, 1863, vol. vii); and MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 91, 92. By his tears (*romîtû*) Horus, or his eye as identified with the sun, had given birth to all men, Egyptians (*romîtû, rotû*), Libyans, and Asiatics, excepting only the negroes. The latter were born from another part of his body by the same means as those employed by Atûmû in the creation of Shû and Tafnûît (LEFÉBURE, *Les Quatre Races humaines au jugement dernier*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 44, et seq., and *Le Cham et l'Adam égyptien*, in the same publication, vol. iv., 1887, p. 167, et seq.).

[5] DIODORUS SICULUS, book I. i. 10.

[6] POMPONIUS MELA, *De Situ orbis*, i. 9. "Nilus glebis etiam infundit animas, ipsaque humo vitalia effingit: hoc eo manifestum est, quod, ubi sedavit diluvia, ac se sibi reddidit, per humentes

alone whose tears were endowed with vitalizing power. All divinities whether beneficent or malevolent, Sît as well as Osiris or Isis, could give life by weeping;[1] and the work of their eyes, when once it had fallen upon earth, flourished and multiplied as vigorously as that which came from the eyes of Râ. The individual character of the creator was not without bearing upon the nature of his creatures good was the necessary outcome of the good gods, evil of the evil ones; and herein lay the explanation of the mingling of things excellent and things execrable, which is found everywhere throughout the world. Voluntarily or involuntarily, Sît and his partisans were the cause and origin of all that is harmful. Daily their eyes shed upon the world those juices by which plants are made poisonous, as well as malign influences, crime, and madness. Their saliva, the foam which fell from their mouths during their attacks of rage, their sweat, their blood itself, were all no less to be feared. When any drop of it touched the



KHNÛMÛ MODELLING MAN UPON A POTTER'S TABLE.[2]

campos quædam nondum perfecta animalia, sed tum primum accipientia spiritum, et ex parte jam formata, ex parte adhuc terra visuntur." The same story is told, but with reference to rats only, by PLINY (*H. N.*, x. 58), by DIODORUS (I. i. 15), by ÆLIANUS (*H. Anim.*, ii. 56; vi. 40), by MACROBIUS (*Saturn.*, vii. 17, etc.), and by other Greek or Latin writers. Even in later times, and in Europe, this pretended phenomenon met with a certain degree of belief, as may be seen from the curious work of MARCUS FREDERICUS WENDELINUS, *Archi-palatinus, Admiranda Nili*, Francofurti, MDCXXIII., cap. xxi. pp. 157-183. In Egypt all the fellahîn believe in the spontaneous generation of rats as in an article of their creed. They have spoken to me of it at Thebes, at Denderah, and on the plain of Abydos; and Major Brown has lately noted the same thing in the Fayûm (B. H. BROWN, *The Fayûm and Lake Mœris*, p. 26). The variant which he heard from the lips of the notables is curious, for it professes to explain why the rats who infest the fields in countless bands during the dry season, suddenly disappear at the return of the inundation: born of the mud and putrid water of the preceding year, to mud they return, and as it were dissolve at the touch of the new waters.

[1] The tears of Shû and Tafnûît are changed into incense-bearing trees (BIRCH, *Sur un papyrus magique du Musée Britannique*, p. 3). It was more especially on the day of the death of Osiris that the gods had shed their fertilizing tears. On the effects produced by the sweat and blood of the gods, see BIRCH, *ibid.*, pp. 3, 6; and MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, p. 93.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Gayet. The scene is taken from bas-reliefs in the temple of Luxor, where the god Khnûmû is seen completing his modelling of the future King Amenôthes III. and his double, represented as two children wearing the side-lock and large necklace. The first holds his finger to his lips, while the arms of the second swing at his sides.

earth, straightway it germinated, and produced something strange and baleful—a serpent, a scorpion, a plant of deadly nightshade or of henbane. But, on the other hand, the sun was all goodness, and persons or things which it cast forth into life infallibly partook of its benignity. Wine that maketh man glad, the bee who works for him in the flowers secreting wax and honey,[1] the meat and herbs which are his food, the stuffs that clothe him, all useful things which he makes for himself, not only emanated from the Solar Eye of Horus, but were indeed nothing more than the Eye of Horus under different aspects, and in his name they were presented in sacrifice.[2] The devout generally were of opinion that the first Egyptians, the sons and flock of Râ, came into the world happy and perfect;[3] by degrees their descendants had fallen from that native felicity into their present state. Some, on the contrary, affirmed that their ancestors were born as so many brutes, unprovided with the most essential arts of gentle life. They knew nothing of articulate speech, and expressed themselves by cries only, like other animals, until the day when Thot taught them both speech and writing.

These tales sufficed for popular edification; they provided but meagre fare for the intelligence of the learned. The latter did not confine their ambition to the possession of a few incomplete and contradictory details concerning the beginnings of humanity. They wished to know the history of its consecutive development from the very first; what manner of life had been led by their fathers; what chiefs they had obeyed and the names or adventures of those chiefs; why part of the nations had left the blessed banks of the Nile and gone to settle in foreign lands; by what stages and in what length of time those who had not emigrated rose out of native barbarism into that degree of culture to which the most ancient monuments bore testimony. No efforts of imagination were needful for the satisfaction of their curiosity: the old substratum of indigenous traditions was rich enough, did they

[1] BIRCH, *Sur un papyrus magique du Musée Britannique*, p. 3: "When the Sun-god weeps a second time, and lets water fall from his eyes, it is changed into working bees; they work in all kinds of flowers, and there honey and wax are made instead of water." Elsewhere the bees are suppressed, and the honey or wax flows directly from the Eye of Râ (MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 21, 22, 41, 97).

[2] BRUGSCH was, I believe, the first to recognize different kinds of wine and stuffs in expressions into which "the Eye of Horus" enters (*Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, p. 103; cf. *Supplément*, pp. 106-114). The Pyramid texts have since amply confirmed his discovery, and shown it to be of general application.

[3] In the tomb of Seti I., the words *flock of the Sun, flock of Râ*, are those by which the god Horus refers to men (SHARPE-BONOMI, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimenephtah I., King of Egypt*, pl. vii. D, ll. 1, 2, 4). Certain expressions used by Egyptian writers are in themselves sufficient to show that the first generations of men were supposed to have lived in a state of happiness and perfection. To the Egyptians *the times of Râ, the times of the god*—that is to say, the centuries immediately following on the creation—were the ideal age, and no good thing had appeared upon earth since then.

but take the trouble to work it out systematically, and to eliminate its most incongruous elements. The priests of Heliopolis took this work in hand, as they had already taken in hand the same task with regard to the myths referring to the creation; and the Enneads provided them with a ready-made framework. They changed the gods of the Ennead into so many kings, determined with minute accuracy the lengths of their reigns, and compiled their biographies from popular tales.[1] The duality of the feudal god supplied an admirable expedient for connecting the history of the world with that of chaos. Tûmû was identified with Nû, and relegated to the primordial Ocean: Râ was retained, and proclaimed the first king of the world. He had not established his rule without difficulty. The "Children of Defeat," beings hostile to order and light, engaged him in fierce battles; nor did he succeed in organizing his kingdom until he had conquered them in nocturnal combat at Hermopolis, and even at Heliopolis itself.[2] Pierced with wounds, Apôpi the serpent sank into the depths of Ocean at the very moment when the new year began.[3] The secondary members of the Great Ennead, together with the Sun, formed the first dynasty, which began with the dawn of the first day, and ended at the coming of Horus, the son of Isis. The local schools of theology welcomed this method of writing history as readily as they had welcomed the principle of the Ennead itself. Some of them retained the Heliopolitan demiurge, and hastened to associate him with their own; others completely eliminated him in favour of the feudal divinity,—Amon at Thebes, Thot at Hermopolis, Phtah at Memphis,—keeping the rest of the dynasty absolutely unchanged.[4] The gods in no

[1] The identity of the first divine dynasties with the Heliopolitan Enneads has been exhaustively demonstrated by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 279–296.

[2] The *Children of Defeat*, in Egyptian *Mosû batashû*, or *Mosû batashît*, are often confounded with the followers of Sît, the enemies of Osiris. From the first they were distinct, and represented beings and forces hostile to the sun, with the dragon Apôpi at their head. Their defeat at Hermopolis corresponded to the moment when Shû, raising the sky above the sacred mound in that city (cf. p. 146), substituted order and light for chaos and darkness. This defeat is mentioned in chap. xvii. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. xxiii. l. 3, et seq.), in which connexion E. DE ROUGÉ first explained its meaning (*Études sur le Rituel funéraire des Anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 41, 42). In the same chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. xxiv., xxv., ll. 54–58; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Études sur le Rituel funéraire*, pp. 56, 57), reference is also made to the battle by night, in Heliopolis, at the close of which Râ appeared in the form of a cat or lion, and beheaded the great serpent.

[3] See BIRCH, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl. xxix. ll. 8, 9; and *Sur une Stèle hiératique* in CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 2nd series, p. 334.

[4] On Amon-Râ, and on Montû, first king of Egypt according to the Theban tradition, see LEPSIUS, *Ueber den ersten Ægyptischen Götterkreis*, pp. 173, 174, 180–183, 186. Thot is the chief of the Hermopolitan Ennead (see chap. ii. p. 145, et seq.), and the titles ascribed to him by inscriptions maintaining his supremacy (BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 445, et seq.) show that he also was considered to have been the first king. One of the Ptolemies said of himself that he came "as the Majesty of Thot, because he was the equal of Atûmû, hence the equal of Khopri, hence the equal of Râ." Atûmû-Khopri-Râ being the first earthly king, it follows that the *Majesty of Thot*, with whom

way compromised their prestige by becoming incarnate and descending to earth. Since they were men of finer nature, and their qualities, including that of miracle-working, were human qualities raised to the highest pitch of intensity, it was not considered derogatory to them personally to have watched over the infancy and childhood of primeval man. The raillery in which the Egyptians occasionally indulged with regard to them, the good-humoured and even ridiculous *rôles* ascribed to them in certain legends, do not prove that they were despised, or that zeal for them had cooled. The greater the respect of believers for the objects of their worship, the more easily do they tolerate the taking of such liberties, and the condescension of the members of the Ennead, far from lowering them in the eyes of generations who came too late to live with them upon familiar terms, only enhanced the love and reverence in which they were held.

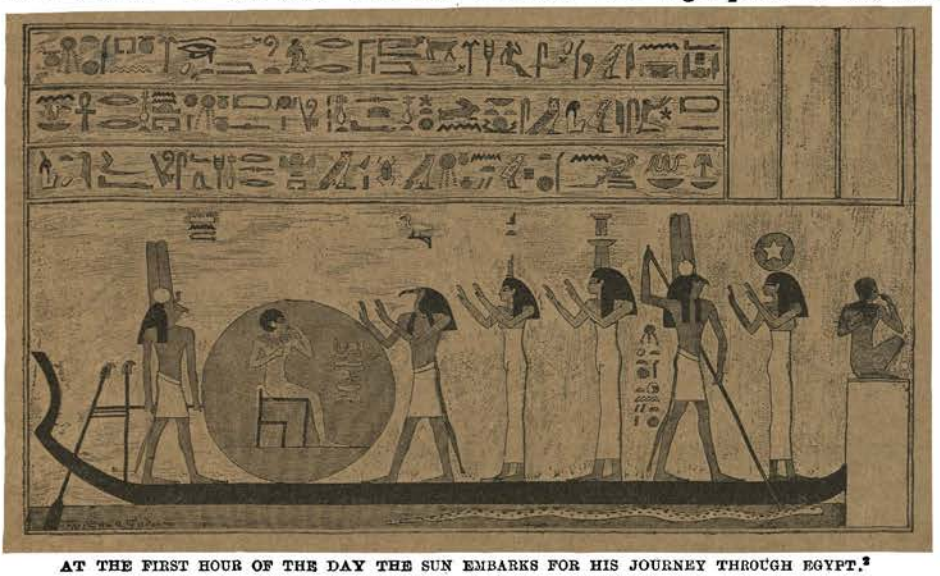
Nothing shows this better than the history of Râ. His world was ours in the rough; for since Shû was yet non-existent, and Nûît still reposed in the arms of Sibû, earth and sky were but one.[1] Nevertheless in this first attempt at a world there was vegetable, animal, and human life. Egypt was there, all complete, with her two chains of mountains, her Nile, her cities, the people of her nomes, and the nomes themselves. Then the soil was more generous; the harvests, without the labourer's toil, were higher and more abundant;[2] and when the Egyptians of Pharaonic times wished to mark their admiration of any person or thing, they said that the like had never been known since the time of Râ. It is an illusion common to all peoples; as their insatiable thirst for happiness is never assuaged by the present, they fall back upon the remotest past in search of an age when that supreme felicity which is only known to them as an ideal was actually enjoyed by their ancestors. Râ dwelt in Heliopolis, and the most

Ptolemy identifies himself, comparing himself to the three forms of the god Râ, is also the first earthly king. Finally, on the placing of Phtah at the head of the Memphite dynasties, see remarks by LEPSIUS, *Ueber den ersten Ægyptischen Götterkreis*, pp. 168–173, 184, 186, 188–190; and by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 283, et seq.

[1] This conception of the primitive Egyptian world is clearly implied in the very terms employed by the author of *The Destruction of Men*. Nûît does not rise to form the sky until such time as Râ thinks of bringing his reign to an end; that is to say, after Egypt had already been in existence for many centuries (LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Séti I.*, part iv. pl. xvi. l. 28, et seq.). In chap. xvii. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE's edition, vol. i. pl. xxiii. ll. 3–5) it is stated that the reign of Râ began *in the times when the upliftings had not yet taken place;* that is to say, before Shû had separated Nûît from Sibû, and forcibly *uplifted* her above the body of her husband (NAVILLE, *Deux lignes du Livre des Morts*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 59; and *La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. p. 3).

[2] This is an ideal in accordance with the picture drawn of the fields of Ialû in chap. cx. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE's edition, vol. i. pls. cxxi.–cxxiii.). As with the Paradise of most races, so the place of the Osirian dead still possessed privileges which the earth had enjoyed during the first years succeeding the creation; that is to say, under the direct rule of Râ.

ancient portion of the temple of the city, that known as the "Mansion of the Prince"—*Hâît Sarû*,—passed for having been his palace.[1] His court was mainly composed of gods and goddesses, and they as well as he were visible to men. It contained also men who filled minor offices about his person, prepared his food, received the offerings of his subjects, attended to his linen and household affairs. It was said that the *oîrû-maû*—the high priest of Râ, the



AT THE FIRST HOUR OF THE DAY THE SUN EMBARKS FOR HIS JOURNEY THROUGH EGYPT.[2]

hankistît—his high priestess, and generally speaking all the servants of the temple of Heliopolis, were either directly descended from members of this first household establishment of the god, or had succeeded to their offices in unbroken succession.[3] In the morning he went forth with his divine train, and, amid the acclamations of the crowd, entered the bark in which he made his accustomed circuit of the world, returning to his home at the end of twelve hours after the accomplishment of his journey.[4] He visited each

[1] See p. 136 on the *Mansion of the Prince*. It was also currently known as *Hâît âît*, the *Great Mansion* (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 475, 476), the name given to the dwellings of kings or princes (MASPERO, *Sur le sens des mots Nûît et Hâît*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1889–90, vol. xii. p. 253, et seq.).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the scenes represented upon the architraves of the pronaos at Edfû (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xxxviii. No. 1).

[3] Among the human servants of the Pharaoh Râ, the story of the *Destruction of Men* mentions a miller, and women to grind grain for making beer (LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Séti Ier*, part iv. pl. xv. ll. 17, 18). In a passage of chap. cxv. of the *Book of the Dead* (LEPSIUS' edition, ll. 5, 6), so obscure as to have escaped the first translators, the mythic origin of the *hankistît*, the priestess with the plaited hair, is referred to the reign of Râ (GOODWIN, *On Chapter CXV. of the Book of the Dead*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, p. 106; LEFÉBURE, *Le Chapitre CXV. du Livre des Morts*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 161, 163, 165).

[4] Cf. PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Les Papyrus de Turin*, pl. cxxxii. ll. 2, 5, where there is an account of the going forth of the god, *according to his daily custom*. The author has simply applied to the Sun as Pharaoh the order of proceedings of the sun as a heavenly body, rising in the morning to make his course round the world and to give light by day.

province in turn, and in each he tarried for an hour, to settle all disputed matters, as the final judge of appeal.[1] He gave audience to both small and great, he decided their quarrels and adjudged their lawsuits, he granted investiture of fiefs from the royal domains to those who had deserved them, and allotted or confirmed to every family the income needful for their maintenance. He pitied the sufferings of his people, and did his utmost to alleviate them; he taught to all comers potent formulas against reptiles and beasts of prey, charms to cast out evil spirits, and the best recipes for preventing illness. His incessant bounties left him at length with only one of his talismans: the name given to him by his father and mother at his birth, which they had revealed to him alone, and which he kept concealed within his bosom lest some sorcerer should get possession of it to use for the furtherance of his evil spells.[2]

But old age came on, and infirmities followed; the body of Râ grew bent, "his mouth trembled, his slaver trickled down to earth and his saliva dropped upon the ground."[3] Isis, who had hitherto been a mere woman-servant in the household of the Pharaoh, conceived the project of stealing his secret from him, "that she might possess the world and make herself a goddess by the name of the august god."[4] Force would have been unavailing; all enfeebled as he was by reason of his years, none was strong enough to contend successfully against him. But Isis "was a woman more knowing in her malice than millions of men, clever among millions of the gods, equal to millions of spirits, to whom as unto Râ nothing was unknown either in heaven or upon earth."[5] She contrived a most ingenious stratagem. When man or god was struck down by illness, the only chance of curing him lay in knowing his real name, and thereby adjuring the evil being that tormented him.[6] Isis determined to cast a terrible malady upon Râ, concealing its cause from him; then to offer her services as his nurse, and by means of his sufferings to extract from him

[1] The dead Sun-god pursued the same course in the world of night, and employed his time in the same way as a Pharaoh (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45). So it was with the Sun-god King of Egypt when "he goeth forth to see that which he has created, and to traverse the two kingdoms which he has made" (PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Les Papyrus de Turin*, pl. cxxxii. l. 12).

[2] The legend of the Sun-god robbed of his heart by Isis was published in three fragments by MM. PLEYTE and ROSSI (*Les Papyrus hiératiques de Turin*, pls. xxxi., lxvii., cxxxi.-cxxxviii.), but they had no suspicion of its importance. Its meaning was first recognized by LEFÉBURE (*Un chapitre de la Chronique solaire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 27–33), who made a complete translation of the text.

[3] PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Turin*, pl. cxxxii. ll. 2, 3.

[4] IBID., *ibid.*, pl. cxxxii. ll. 1, 2. On pp. 110, 111, I have already pointed out how the gods thus grew old.

[5] IBID., *ibid.*, pl. cxxxi. l. 14; pl. cxxxii. l. 1.

[6] For the power of the divine names, and the interest which magicians had in exactly knowing them, cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 298, et seq.

the mysterious word indispensable to the success of the exorcism. She gathered up mud impregnated with the divine saliva, and moulded of it a sacred serpent which she hid in the dust of the road. Suddenly bitten as he was setting out upon his daily round, the god cried out aloud, "his voice ascended into heaven and his Nine called: 'What is it? what is it?' and his gods: 'What is the matter? what is the matter?' but he could make them no answer so much did his lips tremble, his limbs shake, and the venom take hold upon his flesh as the Nile seizeth upon the land which it invadeth."[1] Presently he came to himself, and succeeded in describing his sensations. "Something painful hath stung me; my heart perceiveth it, yet my two eyes see it not; my hand hath not wrought it, nothing that I have made knoweth it what it is, yet have I never tasted suffering like unto it, and there is no pain that may overpass it. . . . Fire it is not, water it is not, yet is my heart in flames, my flesh trembleth, all my members are full of shiverings born of breaths of magic. Behold! let there be brought unto me children of the gods of beneficent words, who know the power of their mouths, and whose science reacheth unto heaven." They came, these children of the gods, all with their books of magic. There came Isis with her sorcery, her mouth full of life-giving breaths, her recipe for the destruction of pain, her words which pour life into breathless throats, and she said: "What is it? what is it, O father of the gods? May it not be that a serpent hath wrought this suffering in thee; that one of thy children hath lifted up his head against thee? Surely he shall be overthrown by beneficent incantations, and I will make him to retreat at the sight of thy rays."[2] On learning the cause of his torment, the Sun-god is terrified, and begins to lament anew: "I, then, as I went along the ways, travelling through my double land of Egypt and over my mountains, that I might look upon that which I have made, I was bitten by a serpent that I saw not. Fire it is not, water it is not, yet am I colder than water, I burn more than fire, all my members stream with sweat, I tremble, mine eye is not steady, no longer can I discern the sky, drops roll from my face as in the season of summer."[3] Isis proposes her remedy, and cautiously asks him his ineffable name. But he divines her trick, and tries to evade it by an enumeration of his titles. He takes the universe to witness that he is called "Khopri in the morning, Râ at noon, Tûmû in the evening." The poison did not recede, but steadily advanced, and the great god was not eased. Then Isis said to Râ: "Thy name was not spoken in that which thou hast said. Tell it to me and the poison will depart; for he liveth upon whom

[1] PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Turin*, pl. cxxxii. ll. 6-8.
[2] IBID., *ibid.*, pl. cxxxii. l. 9; pl. cxxxiii. l. 3.
[3] IBID., *ibid.*, pl. cxxxiii. ll. 3-5.

a charm is pronounced in his own name." The poison glowed like fire, it was strong as the burning of flame, and the Majesty of Râ said, "I grant thee leave that thou shouldest search within me, O mother Isis! and that my name pass from my bosom into thy bosom."[1] In truth, the all-powerful name was hidden within the body of the god, and could only be extracted thence by means of a surgical operation similar to that practised upon a corpse which is about to be mummified. Isis undertook it, carried it through successfully, drove out the poison, and made herself a goddess by virtue of the name. The cunning of a mere woman had deprived Râ of his last talisman.

In course of time men perceived his decrepitude.[2] They took counsel against him: "Lo! his Majesty waxeth old, his bones are of silver, his flesh is of gold, his hair of lapis-lazuli."[3] As soon as his Majesty perceived that which they were saying to each other, his Majesty said to those who were of his train, "Call together for me my Divine Eye, Shû, Tafnûît, Sibû, and Nûît, the father and the mother gods who were with me when I was in the Nû, with the god Nû. Let each bring his cycle along with him; then, when thou shalt have brought them in secret, thou shalt take them to the great mansion that they may lend me their counsel and their consent, coming hither from the Nû into this place where I have manifested myself."[4] So the family council comes together: the ancestors of Râ, and his posterity still awaiting amid the primordial waters the time of their manifestation—his children Shû and Tafnûît, his grandchildren Sibû and Nûît. They place themselves, according to etiquette, on either side his throne, prostrate, with their foreheads to the ground, and thus their conference begins: "O Nû, thou the eldest of the gods, from whom I took my being, and ye the ancestor-gods, behold! men who are the emanation of mine eye have taken counsel

[1] PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Turin*, pl. cxxxii. ll. 10–12.

[2] The history of the legendary events which brought the reign of Râ to a close was inscribed upon two of the royal tombs in Thebes: that of Seti I. and that of Ramses III. It can still be almost completely restored in spite of the many mutilations which deface both copies. It was discovered, translated, and commentated upon by NAVILLE (*La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. pp. 1-19, reproducing Hay's copies made at the beginning of this century; and *l'Inscription de la Destruction des hommes dans le tombeau de Ramsès III.*, in the *Transactions*, vol. viii. pp. 412-420); afterwards published anew by HERR VON BERGMANN (*Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, pls. lxxv.-lxxxii., and pp. 55, 56); completely translated by BRUGSCH (*Die neue Weltordnung nach Vernichtung des sündigen Menschengeschlechts nach einer Altägyptischen Ueberlieferung*, 1881); and partly translated by LAUTH (*Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, pp. 70–81) and by LEFÉBURE (*Un chapitre de la chronique solaire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 32, 33).

[3] NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, vol. iv. pl. i. l. 2; and vol. viii. pl. i. l. 2. This description of the old age of the Sun-god is found word for word in other texts, and in the Fayûm geographical papyrus (MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Boulaq*, vol. i. pl. ii., No. vi., ll. 2, 3; cf. LAUTH, *Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 72). See also pp. 110, 111.

[4] NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, vol. iv. pl. i. ll. 1-6; and vol. viii. pl. i. ll. 1-6.

together against me! Tell me what ye would do, for I have bidden you here before I slay them, that I may hear what ye would say thereto."[1] Nû, as the eldest, has the right to speak first, and demands that the guilty shall be brought to judgment and formally condemned. "My son Râ, god greater than the god who made him, older than the gods who created him, sit thou upon thy throne, and great shall be the terror when thine eye shall rest upon those who plot together against thee!" But Râ not unreasonably fears that when men see the solemn pomp of royal justice, they may suspect the fate that awaits them, and "flee into the desert, their hearts terrified at that which I have to say to them." The desert was even then hostile to the tutelary gods of Egypt, and offered an almost inviolable asylum to their enemies. The conclave admits that the apprehensions of Râ are well founded, and pronounces in favour of summary execution; the Divine Eye is to be the executioner. "Let it go forth that it may smite those who have devised evil against thee, for there is no Eye more to be feared than thine when it attacketh in the form of Hâthor." So the Eye takes the form of Hâthor, suddenly falls upon men, and slays them right and left with great strokes of the knife. After some hours, Râ, who would chasten but not destroy his children, commands her to cease from her carnage; but the goddess has tasted blood, and refuses to obey him. "By thy life," she replies, "when I slaughter men then is my heart right joyful!" That is why she was afterwards called Sokhît the slayer,[3] and represented under the form of a fierce lioness. Nightfall stayed her course in the neighbourhood of Heracleopolis; all the way from Heliopolis she had trampled through blood.[4] As soon as she had fallen asleep, Râ hastily took effectual measures to prevent her from beginning her

SOKHÎT, THE LIONESS-HEADED.[2]

[1] NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes pár les Dieux*, vol. iv. pl. i. ll. 8–10; and vol. viii. pl. i. ll. 9–11.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a bronze statuette of the Saïte period in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 6).

[3] *Sokhît* may be derived from the verb *sokhû*, to strike, to kill with the blow of a stick.

[4] The passage from the Fayûm papyrus which I have already mentioned alludes to this massacre, but to another tradition of it than we are following, and one according to which men had openly resisted the god, and fought him in pitched battle in the neighbourhood of Heracleopolis Magna (MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pl. ii., No. vi., ll. 1–6).

work again on the morrow. "He said: 'Call on my behalf messengers agile and swift, who go like the wind.' When these messengers were straightway brought to him, the Majesty of the god said: 'Let them run to Elephantine and bring me mandragora in plenty.'[1] When they had brought him the mandragora, the Majesty of this great god summoned the miller which is in Heliopolis that he might bray it; and the women-servants having crushed grain for the beer, the mandragora, and also human blood, were mingled with the liquor, and thereof was made in all seven thousand jars of beer." Râ himself examined this delectable drink, and finding it to possess the wished-for properties: "'It is well,' said he; 'therewith shall I save men from the goddess;' then, addressing those of his train: 'Take these jars in your arms, and carry them to the place where she has slaughtered men.' Râ, the king, caused dawn to break at midnight, so that this philtre might be poured down upon the earth; and the fields were flooded with it to the depth of four palms, according as it pleased the souls of his Majesty." In the morning the goddess came, "that she might return to her carnage, but she found that all was flooded, and her countenance softened; when she had drunken, it was her heart that softened; she went away drunk, without further thought of men." There was some fear lest her fury might return when the fumes of drunkenness were past, and to obviate this danger Râ instituted a rite, partly with the object of instructing future generations as to the chastisement which he had inflicted upon the impious, partly to console Sokhît for her discomfiture. He decreed that "on New Year's Day there should be brewed for her as many jars of philtre as there were priestesses of the sun. That was the origin of all those jars of philtre, in number equal to that of the priestesses, which, at the feast of Hâthor, all men make from that day forth."[2]

Peace was re-established, but could it last long? Would not men, as soon as they had recovered from their terror, betake themselves again to plotting against the god? Besides, Râ now felt nothing but disgust for our race. The ingratitude of his children had wounded him deeply; he foresaw ever-renewed rebellions as his feebleness became more marked, and he shrank from having to order new massacres in which mankind would perish altogether. "By my life," says he to the gods who accompanied him, "my heart is too weary for me to remain with mankind, and slay them until

[1] The mandragora of Elephantine was used in the manufacture of an intoxicating and narcotic drink employed either in medicine (EBERS, *Papyrus Ebers*, pl. xxxix. l. 10) or in magic. In a special article, BRUGSCH has collected particulars preserved by the texts as to the uses of this plant (*Die Alraune als altägyptische Zauberpflanze*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxix. pp. 31–33). It was not as yet credited with the human form and the peculiar kind of life ascribed to it by western sorcerers.

[2] NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, vol. iv. pls. i., ii., ll. 1–27; vol. viii. pls. i., ii., ll. 1–34.

they are no more: annihilation is not of the gifts that I love to make." And the gods exclaim in surprise: "Breathe not a word of thy weariness at a time when thou dost triumph at thy pleasure."[1] But Râ does not yield to their representations; he will leave a kingdom wherein they murmur against him, and turning towards Nû he says: "My limbs are decrepit for the first time; I will not go to any place where I can be reached." It was no easy matter to find him an inaccessible retreat owing to the imperfect state in which the universe had been left by the first effort of the demiurge. Nû saw no other way out of the difficulty than that of setting to work to complete the creation. Ancient tradition had imagined the separation of earth and sky as an act of violence exercised by Shû upon Sibû and Nûît.[2] History presented facts after a less brutal fashion, and Shû became a virtuous son who devoted his time and strength to upholding Nûît, that he might thereby do his father a service. Nûît, for her part, showed herself to be a devoted daughter whom there was no need to treat roughly in order to teach her her duty; of herself she consented to leave her husband, and place her beloved ancestor beyond reach. "The Majesty of Nû said: 'Son Shû, do as thy father Râ shall say; and thou, daughter Nûît, place him upon thy back and hold him suspended above the earth!' Nûît said: 'And how then, my father Nû?' Thus spake Nûît, and she did that which Nû commanded her; she changed herself into a cow, and placed the Majesty of Râ upon her back. When those men who had not been slain came to give thanks to Râ, behold! they found him no longer in his palace; but a cow stood there, and they perceived him upon the back of the cow." They found him so resolved to depart that they did not try to turn him from his purpose, but only desired to give him such a proof of their repentance as should assure them of the complete pardon of their crime. "They said unto him: 'Wait until the morning, O Râ! our lord, and we will strike down thine enemies who have taken counsel against thee.' So his Majesty returned to his mansion, descended from the cow, went in along with them, and earth was plunged into darkness. But when there was light upon earth the next morning, the men went forth with their bows and their arrows, and began to shoot at the enemy. Whereupon the Majesty of this god said unto them: 'Your sins are remitted unto you, for sacrifice precludes the execution of the guilty.' And this was the origin upon earth of sacrifices in which blood was shed."[3]

[1] NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, vol. iv. pl. ii. ll. 27–29; viii. pl. ii. ll. 34–37.

[2] See what is said in chap. ii. pp. 128, 129, as to the wresting of Nûît from the arms of Sibû.

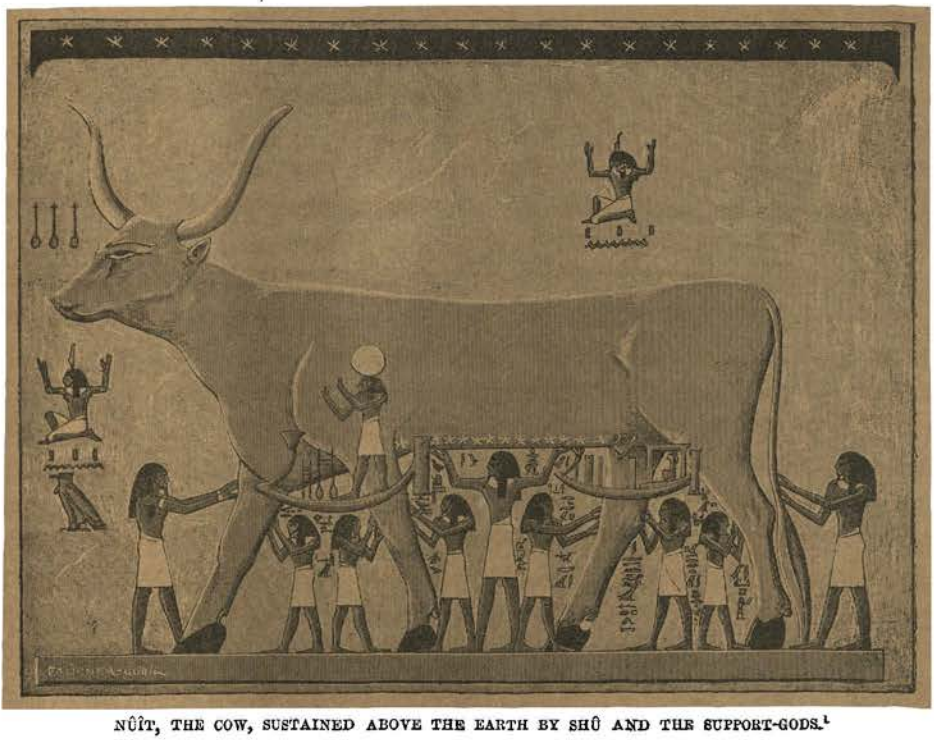
[3] NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, vol. iv. pl. ii. ll. 27–36. Many lacunæ occur in this part of the text and make its reading difficult in both copies. The general sense is certain, apart from some comparatively unimportant shades of meaning.

Thus it was that when on the point of separating for ever, the god and men came to an understanding as to the terms of their future relationship. Men offered to the god the life of those who had offended him. Human sacrifice was in their eyes the obligatory sacrifice, the only one which could completely atone for the wrongs committed against the godhead; man alone was worthy to wash away with his blood the sins of men.[1] For this one time the god accepted the expiation just as it was offered to him; then the repugnance which he felt to killing his children overcame him, he substituted beast for man, and decided that oxen, gazelles, birds, should henceforth furnish the material for sacrifice.[2] This point settled, he again mounted the cow, who rose, supported on her four legs as on so many pillars; and her belly, stretched out above the earth like a ceiling, formed the sky. He busied himself with organizing the new world which he found on her back; he peopled it with many beings, chose two districts in which to establish his abode, the Field of Reeds—*Sokhît Ialû*—and the Field of Rest—*Sokhît Hotpît*—and suspended the stars which were to give light by night. All this is related with many plays upon words, intended, according to Oriental custom, as explanations of the names which the legend assigned to the different regions of heaven. At sight of a plain whose situation pleased him, he cried: "The Field rests in the distance!"—and that was the origin of the Field of Rest. He added: "There will I gather plants!"—and from this the Field of Reeds took its name. While he gave himself up to this philological pastime, Nûît, suddenly transported to unaccustomed heights, grew frightened, and cried for help: "For pity's sake give me supports to sustain me!" This was the origin of the support-gods. They came and stationed themselves by each of her four legs, steadying these with their hands, and keeping constant watch over

[1] This legend, which seeks to explain the discontinuance of human sacrifices among the Egyptians, affords direct proof of their existence in primitive times (NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. pp. 17, 18). This is confirmed by many facts. We shall see that *ûashbîti* laid in graves were in place of the male or female slaves who were originally slaughtered at the tombs of the rich and noble that they might go to serve their masters in the next world (cf. p. 193). Even in Thebes, under the XIXth dynasty, certain rock-cut tombs contain scenes which might lead us to believe that occasionally at least human victims were sent to doubles of distinction (MASPERO, *Le Tombeau de Montûhikhopshouf*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v. p. 452, et seq.). During this same period, moreover, the most distinguished hostile chiefs taken in war were still put to death before the gods. In several towns, as at Eilithyia (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 73, PARTHEY'S edition, pp. 129, 130) and at Heliopolis (PORPHYRIUS, *De Abstinentiâ*, ii. 55, cf. EUSEBIUS, *Præper. Evang.*, iv. 16), or before certain gods, such as Osiris (DIODORUS, i. 88) or Kronos-Sibû (SEXTUS EMPIRICUS, iii. 24, 221), human sacrifice lasted until near Roman times. But generally speaking it was very rare. Almost everywhere cakes of a particular shape, and called πέμματα (SELEUCUS OF ALEXANDRIA, in ATHENÆUS, iv p. 172), or else animals, had been substituted for man.

[2] It was asserted that the partisans of Apôpi and of Sît, who were the enemies of Râ, Osiris, and the other gods, had taken refuge in the bodies of certain animals. Hence, it was really human or divine victims which were offered when beasts were slaughtered in sacrifice before the altars.

them. As this was not enough to reassure the good beast, "Râ said, 'My son Shû, place thyself beneath my daughter Nûît, and keep watch on both sides over the supports, who live in the twilight; hold thou her up above thy head, and be her guardian!'" Shû obeyed; Nûît composed herself, and



NÛÎT, THE COW, SUSTAINED ABOVE THE EARTH BY SHÛ AND THE SUPPORT-GODS.[1]

the world, now furnished with the sky which it had hitherto lacked, assumed its present symmetrical form.[2]

Shû and Sibû succeeded Râ, but did not acquire so lasting a popularity as their great ancestor. Nevertheless they had their annals, fragments of which have come down to us.[3] Their power also extended over the whole universe: "The Majesty of Shû was the excellent king of the sky, of the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin. Cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccxli. 3; LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Séti I.* (in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. ii.), part iv. pl. xvii.

[2] NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. pl. ii. l. 37, et seq.

[3] They have been preserved upon the walls of a naos which was first erected in Aît-Nobsû, a city of the Eastern Delta, and afterwards transported towards the beginning of the Roman period into the suburban district of Rhinocolûra, the El-Arish of to-day. This naos, which was discovered and pointed out by GUÉRIN more than twenty years ago (*Judée*, vol. ii. p. 241), has been copied, published, and translated by GRIFFITH (*The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdiyeh*, in the *Seventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, pls. xxiii.–xxv., and pp. 70–72; cf. MASPERO in the *Revue Critique*, 1891, vol. i. pp. 44–46).

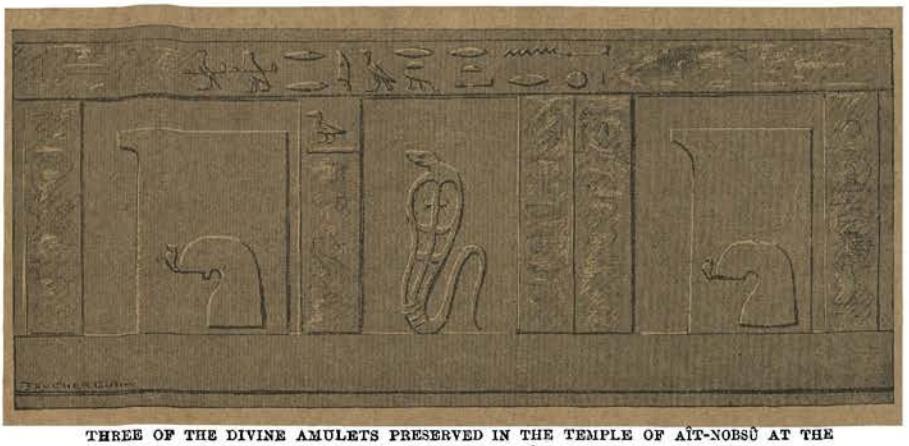
earth, of Hades, of the water, of the winds, of the inundation, of the two chains of mountains, of the sea, governing with a true voice according to the precepts of his father Râ-Harmakhis."[1] Only "the children of the serpent Apôpi, the impious ones who haunt the solitary places and the deserts," disavowed his authority. Like the Bedawîn of later times, they suddenly streamed in by the isthmus routes, went up into Egypt under cover of night, slew and pillaged, and then hastily returned to their fastnesses with the booty which they had carried off.[2] From sea to sea Râ had fortified the eastern frontier against them. He had surrounded the principal cities with walls, embellished them with temples, and placed within them those mysterious talismans more powerful for defence than a garrison of men. Thus Aît-nobsû, near the mouth of the Wady-Tûmilât, possessed one of the rods of the Sun-god, also the living uræus of his crown whose breath consumes all that it touches, and, finally, a lock of his hair, which, being cast into the waters of a lake, was changed into a hawk-headed crocodile to tear the invader in pieces.[3] The employment of these talismans was dangerous to those unaccustomed to use them, even to the gods themselves. Scarcely was Sibû enthroned as the successor of Shû, who, tired of reigning, had reascended into heaven in a nine days' tempest, before he began his inspection of the eastern marches, and caused the box in which was kept the uræus of Râ to be opened. "As soon as the living viper had breathed its breath against the Majesty of Sibû there was a great disaster —great indeed, for those who were in the train of the god perished, and his Majesty himself was burned in that day. When his Majesty had fled to the north of Aît-nobsû, pursued by the fire of this magic uræus, behold! when he came to the fields of henna, the pain of his burn was not yet assuaged, and the gods who were behind him said unto him: 'O Sire! let them take the lock of Râ which is there, when thy Majesty shall go to see it and its mystery, and his Majesty shall be healed as soon as it shall be placed upon thee.' So the Majesty of Sibû caused the magic lock to be brought to Piarît—the lock for which was made that great reliquary of hard stone which is hidden in the secret place of Piarît, in the district of the divine lock of the Lord Râ,—and behold! this fire departed from the members of the Majesty of Sibû. And many

[1] GRIFFITH, *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdîyeh*, in the *Seventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, pl. xxiv. ll. 1, 2.

[2] IBID., *ibid.*, pl. xxiv. l. 24, et seq.

[3] Egyptians of all periods never shrank from such marvels. One of the tales of the Theban empire tells us of a piece of wax which, on being thrown into the water, changed into a living crocodile capable of devouring a man (ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, pls. iii., iv., p. 8; cf. MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 60-63, and PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. pp. 11-18). The talismans which protected Egypt against invasion are mentioned by the Pseudo-Callisthenes (§ 1, MÜLLER'S edition, in the Arrianus of the Didot collection), who attributes their invention to Nectanebo. Arab historians often refer to them (*L'Égypte de Murtadi*, VATTIER'S translation, pp. 26, 57, etc.; MAÇOUDI, *Les Prairies d'Or*, translated by BARBIER DE MEYNARD, vol. ii. pp. 414-417).

years afterwards, when this lock, which had thus belonged to Sibû, was brought back to Piarît in Aît-nobsû, and cast into the great lake of Piarît whose name is *Aît-tostesû*, the dwelling of waves, that it might be purified, behold! this lock became a crocodile: it flew to the water and became Sobkû, the divine crocodile of Aît-nobsû."[1] In this way the gods of the solar dynasty from generation to generation multiplied talismans and enriched the sanctuaries of Egypt with relics.



THREE OF THE DIVINE AMULETS PRESERVED IN THE TEMPLE OF AÎT-NOBSÛ AT THE ROMAN PERIOD.[2]

Were there ever duller legends and a more senile phantasy! They did not spring spontaneously from the lips of the people, but were composed at leisure by priests desirous of enhancing the antiquity of their cult, and augmenting the veneration of its adherents in order to increase its importance. Each city wished it to be understood that its feudal sanctuary was founded upon the very day of creation, that its privileges had been extended or confirmed during the course of the first divine dynasty, and that these pretensions were supported by the presence of objects in its treasury which had belonged to the oldest of the king-gods.[3] Such was the origin of tales in which the personage of the beneficent Pharaoh is often depicted in ridiculous fashion. Did we possess all the sacred archives, we should frequently find them quoting as authentic history more than one document as artificial as the chronicle of Aît-nobsû. When we come to the later members of the Ennead, there is a change in the character and in the form of these tales. Doubtless Osiris

[1] GRIFFITH, *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdiyeh*, in the *Seventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, pl. xxv. ll. 14–21.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by GRIFFITH, *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdiyeh*, pl. xxiii. 3. The three talismans here represented are two crowns, each in a naos, and the burning fiery uræus.

[3] Denderah, for example, had been founded under the divine dynasties, in the time of the *Servants of Horus* (DÜMICHEN, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, pp. 18, 19, and pl. xv. ll. 37, 38).

and Sît did not escape unscathed out of the hands of the theologians; but even if sacerdotal interference spoiled the legend concerning them, it did not altogether disfigure it. Here and there in it is still noticeable a sincerity of feeling and liveliness of imagination such as are never found in those of Shû and of Sibû. This arises from the fact that the functions of these gods left them strangers, or all but strangers, to the current affairs of the world. Shû was the stay, Sibû the material foundation of the world; and so long as the one bore the weight of the firmament without bending, and the other continued to suffer the tread of human generations upon his back, the devout took no more thought of them than they themselves took thought of the devout. The life of Osiris, on the other hand, was intimately mingled with that of the Egyptians, and his most trivial actions immediately reacted upon their fortunes. They followed the movements of his waters; they noted the turning-points in his struggles against drought; they registered his yearly decline, yearly compensated by his aggressive returns and his intermittent victories over Typhon; his proceedings and his character were the subject of their minute study. If his waters almost invariably rose upon the appointed day and extended over the black earth of the valley, this was no mechanical function of a being to whom the consequences of his conduct are indifferent; he acted upon reflection, and in full consciousness of the service that he rendered. He knew that by spreading the inundation he prevented the triumph of the desert; he was life, he was goodness—*Onnofriû*—and Isis, as the partner of his labours, became like him the type of perfect goodness. But while Osiris developed for the better, Sît was transformed for the worse, and increased in wickedness as his brother gained in purity and moral elevation. In proportion as the person of Sît grew more defined, and stood out more clearly, the evil within him contrasted more markedly with the innate goodness of Osiris, and what had been at first an instinctive struggle between two beings somewhat vaguely defined—the desert and the Nile, water and drought—was changed into conscious and deadly enmity. No longer the conflict of two elements, it was war between two gods; one labouring to produce abundance, while the other strove to do away with it; one being all goodness and life, while the other was evil and death incarnate.

A very ancient legend narrates that the birth of Osiris and his brothers took place during the five additional days at the end of the year;[1] a subsequent

[1] These five days were of peculiar importance in Egyptian eyes; they were so many festivals consecrated to the worship of the dead. In a hieratic papyrus of Ramesside date (I. 346 of Leyden), we still have a *Book of the Five Days over and above the Year*, which has been translated and briefly commented upon by CHABAS (*Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes de l'année égyptienne*, pp. 101–107). Osiris was born the first day, Haroêris the second, Sît the third, Isis the fourth, Nephthys the fifth; and the order indicated by the papyrus is confirmed by scattered references on the

legend explained how Nûît and Sibû had contracted marriage against the express wish of Râ, and without his knowledge. When he became aware of it he fell into a violent rage, and cast a spell over the goddess to prevent her giving birth to her children in any month of any year whatever. But Thot took pity upon her, and playing at draughts with the moon won from it in several games one seventy-second part of its fires, out of which he made five whole days; and as these were not included in the ordinary calendar, Nûît could then bring forth her five children, one after another: Osiris, Haroêris, Sît, Isis, and Nephthys.[1] Osiris was beautiful of face, but with a dull and black complexion; his height exceeded five and a half yards.[2] He was born at Thebes,[3] in the first of the additional days, and straightway a mysterious voice announced that the lord of all—*nibû-r-zarû*—had appeared. The good news was hailed with shouts of joy, followed by tears and lamentations when it became known with what evils he was menaced.[4] The echo reached Râ in his far-off dwelling, and his heart rejoiced, notwithstanding the curse which he had laid upon Nûît. He commanded the presence of his great-grandchild in Xoïs, and unhesitatingly acknowledged him as the heir to his throne.[5] Osiris had married his sister Isis, even, so it was said, while both of them were still within their mother's womb;[6] and when he became king he made her queen regnant and

monuments. Thus, an inscription of the high priest Mankhopirrî of the XXIst dynasty records that Isis was born on the fourth of these days, which coincided with the festival of Amon at the beginning of the year (BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. xxii. l. 9; and E. DE ROUGÉ, *Études sur les monuments du massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. i. p. 133). An inscription in the small temple of Apît in Thebes (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv. 29) places the birth of Osiris on the first of the epagomenous days.

[1] All that remains to us of this legend is its Hellenized interpretation as given in *De Iside et Osiride* (LEEMANS' edition, § 12, pp. 18–21). But there can be no doubt that it was taken from a good source, like most of the tales included in this curious treatise.

[2] *De Iside et Osiride* (LEEMANS' edition, § 33, p. 57): Τὸν δὲ Ὄσιριν αὖ πάλιν μελάγχρουν γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦσιν. As a matter of fact, Osiris is often represented with black or green hands and face, as is customary for gods of the dead; it was probably this peculiarity which suggested the popular idea of his black complexion (WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p 81). A magic papyrus of Ramesside times fixes the stature of the god at seven cubits (CHABAS, *Le Papyrus magique Harris*, pp. 116, 117), and a phrase in a Ptolemaic inscription places it at eight cubits, six palms, three fingers (DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xxxv.).

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv. 29 *b*, 53 *a*; BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 865. Originally he was a native of Mendes (see p. 130); the change of his birthplace dates from the Theban supremacy.

[4] One variant of the legend told that a certain Pamylis of Thebes having gone to draw water had heard a voice proceeding from the temple of Zeus, which ordered him to proclaim aloud to the world the birth of the great king, the beneficent Osiris. He had received the child from the hands of Kronos, brought it up to youth, and to him the Egyptians had consecrated the feast of Pamylies, which resembled the Phallophoros festival of the Greeks (*De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 12, pp. 19, 20).

[5] *Papyrus* 3079 *in the Louvre*, p. ii. ll. 18, 20; in PIERRET, *Études Égyptologiques*, pp. 33, 34; cf. BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, pp. 627, 628.

[6] *De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 12, pp. 20, 21. Haroêris, the Apollo of the Greeks, was supposed to be the issue of a marriage consummated before the birth of his parents while they were still within the womb of their mother Rhea-Nûît (*De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 12, pp. 20, 21, and § 54, p. 7). This was a way of connecting the personage of Haroêris with the Osirian myths by confounding him with the homonymous Harsiêsis, the son of Isis, who became the son of Osiris through his mother's marriage with that god.

the partner of all his undertakings. The Egyptians were as yet but half civilized; they were cannibals, and though occasionally they lived upon the fruits of the earth, they did not know how to cultivate them. Osiris taught them the art of making agricultural implements—the plough and the hoe,—field labour, the rotation of crops, the harvesting of wheat and barley,[1] and vine culture.[2] Isis weaned them from cannibalism,[3] healed their diseases by means of medicine or of magic, united women to men in legitimate marriage,[4] and showed them how to grind grain between two flat stones and to prepare bread for the household.[5] She invented the loom with the help of her sister Nephthys, and was the first to weave and bleach linen.[6] There was no worship of the gods before Osiris established it, appointed the offerings, regulated the order of ceremonies, and composed the texts and melodies of the liturgies.[7] He built cities, among them Thebes itself,[8] according to some; though others declared that he was born there. As he had been the model of a just and pacific king, so did he desire to be that of a victorious conqueror of nations; and, placing the regency in the hands of Isis, he went forth to war against Asia, accompanied by Thot the ibis and the jackal Anubis. He made little or no use of force and arms, but he attacked men by gentleness and persuasion, softened them with songs in which voices were accompanied by instruments, and taught them also the arts which he had made known to the Egyptians. No country escaped his beneficent action, and he did not return to the banks of the Nile until he had traversed and civilized the world from one horizon to the other.[9]

Sît-Typhon was red-haired and white-skinned, of violent, gloomy, and jealous temper.[10] Secretly he aspired to the crown, and nothing but the

[1] DIODORUS (book i. § 14) even ascribes to him the discovery of barley and of wheat; this is consequent upon the identification of Isis with Demeter by the Greeks. According to the historian, Leo of Pella (fragments 3, 4, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. p. 331), the goddess twined herself a crown of ripe ears and placed it upon her head one day when she was sacrificing to her parents.

[2] *De Iside et Osiride* (LEEMANS' edition), § 13, p. 21; DIODORUS SICULUS, book i. § 14, 15; *ἐγὼ πυροὺς ἀνθρώποις ἀνέδειξα* (Hymn found in the island of Ios, KAIBEL, *Epigrammata Græca*, p. xxi.). In AVIENUS, *Desc. Orbis*, 354, and in SERVIUS, *Ad Georgicorum*, i. 19. Osiris is the inventor of the plough.

[3] *Ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ὀσίρεως τὰς ἀνθρωποφαγίας ἔπανον* (KAIBEL, *Epigrammata Græca*, p. xxi.).

[4] *Ἐγὼ γυναῖκα καὶ ἄνδρα συνήγαγα* (Hymn of Ios, in KAIBEL, *Epigrammata Græca*, p. xxi.).

[5] DIODORUS SICULUS, book i. § 25; cf. the medical or magic recipes ascribed to her in the *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. xlvii. ll. 5–10, and on the *Metternich Stela*, GOLENISCHEFF'S edition, pl. iv. l. 4, v. l. 100 and pp. 10–12.

[6] This is implied among other passages in those from the *Ritual of Embalmment*, where Isis and Nephthys are represented as the one spinning and the other weaving linen (MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 35, 81).

[7] The first temples were raised by Osiris and Isis (DIODORUS SICULUS, book i. § 15), as also the first images of the gods: *ἐγὼ ἀγάλματα ἱστᾶν ἐδίδαξα, ἐγὼ τεμένη θεῶν εἱδρυσάμην* (Hymn of Ios, in KAIBEL, *Epigrammata Græca*, pp. xxi., xxii.). Osiris invented two of the flutes used by Egyptians at their feasts (JUBA, fragm. 73, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. H. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 481).

[8] BATON, fragm. of the *Persica* in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. H. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 348.

[9] DIODORUS SICULUS, book i. § 17–20; *De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 13, p. 21.

[10] The colour of his hair was compared with that of a red-haired ass, and on that account the ass was sacred to him (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 22, 30, 31, LEEMANS' edition, pp. 37, 51, 52). As to his

vigilance of Isis had kept him from rebellion during the absence of his brother.[1] The rejoicings which celebrated the king's return to Memphis provided Sît with his opportunity for seizing the throne. He invited Osiris to a banquet along with seventy-two officers whose support he had ensured, made a wooden chest of cunning workmanship and ordered that it should be brought in to him, in the midst of the feast. As all admired its beauty, he sportively promised to present it to any one among the guests whom it should exactly fit. All of them tried it, one after another, and all unsuccessfully; but when Osiris lay down within it, immediately the conspirators shut to the lid, nailed it firmly down, soldered it together with melted lead, and then threw it into the Tanitic branch of the Nile, which carried it to the sea.[2] The news of the crime spread terror on all sides. The gods friendly to Osiris feared the fate of their master, and hid themselves within the bodies of animals to escape the malignity of the new king.[4] Isis cut off her hair, rent her garments, and set out in search of the chest. She found it aground near the mouth of the river[5] under the shadow of a gigantic acacia,[6] deposited it in a

THE OSIRIAN TRIAD, HORUS, OSIRIS, ISIS.[3]

violent and jealous disposition, see the opinion of DIODORUS SICULUS, book i. 21, and the picture drawn by SYNESIUS in his pamphlet *Ægyptius*. It was told how he tore his mother's bowels at birth, and made his own way into the world through her side (*De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 12, p. 20).

[1] *De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 13, p. 21.

[2] The episode of the chest in which Sît shut up Osiris is briefly but quite intelligibly mentioned in a formula of the Harris great magic papyrus (CHABAS' edition, pp. 116, 117).

[3] Drawing by Boudier of the gold group in the Louvre Museum (PIERRET, *Catalogue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Égyptienne du Musée du Louvre*, No. 24, pp. 15, 16). The drawing is made from a photograph which belonged to M. de Witte, before the monument was acquired by E. de Rougé in 1871. The little square pillar of lapis-lazuli, upon which Osiris squats, is wrongly set up, and the names and titles of King Osorkon, the dedicator of the triad, are placed upside down.

[4] *De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 72, p. 126.

[5] At this point the legend of the Saïte and Greek period interpolates a whole chapter, telling how the chest was carried out to sea and cast upon the Phœnician coast near to Byblos. The acacia, a kind of heather or broom in this case, grew up enclosing the chest within its trunk (*De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 15–17, pp. 25–29). This addition to the primitive legend must date from the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasties, when Egypt had extensive relations with the peoples of Asia. No trace of it whatever has hitherto been found upon Egyptian monuments strictly so called; not even on the latest.

[6] A bas-relief in the little temple of Taharkû, at Thebes (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. xxx.), represents a tree growing upon a mound, and within it is inscribed the name of Osiris. The story shows us that this is the *Acacia* (*Nilotica*) *of the chest*, beneath which the waters had laid the coffin of the god (DÉVÉRIA, *Sur un bas-relief égyptien relatif à des textes de Plutarque*, in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1858, 3rd series, vol. v. pp. 133–136).

secluded place where no one ever came, and then took refuge in Bûto, her own domain and her native city, whose marshes protected her from the designs of Typhon even as in historic times they protected more than one Pharaoh from the attacks of his enemies. There she gave birth to the young Horus, nursed and reared him in secret among the reeds, far from the machinations of the wicked one.[1] But it happened that Sît, when hunting by moonlight, caught sight of the chest, opened it, and recognizing the corpse, cut it up into fourteen pieces, which he scattered abroad at random. Once more Isis set forth on her woeful pilgrimage. She recovered all the parts of the body excepting one only, which the oxyrhynchus had greedily devoured;[2] and with the help of her sister Nephthys, her son Horus, Anubis, and Thot, she joined together and embalmed them, and made of this collection of his remains an imperishable mummy, capable of sustaining for ever the soul of a god. On his coming of age, Horus called together all that were left of the loyal Egyptians and formed them into an army.[3] His "Followers"—*Shosûû Horû*—defeated the "Accomplices of Sît"—*Samiû Sît*—who were now driven in their turn to transform themselves into gazelles, crocodiles and serpents,—animals which were henceforth regarded as unclean and Typhonian. For three days the two chiefs had fought together under the forms of men and of hippopotami, when Isis, apprehensive as to the issue of the duel, determined to bring it to an end. "Lo! she caused chains to descend upon them, and made them to drop upon Horus. Thereupon Horus prayed aloud, saying: 'I am thy son Horus!' Then Isis spake unto the fetters, saying: 'Break, and unloose yourselves from my son Horus!' She made other fetters to descend, and let them fall upon her brother Sît. Forthwith he lifted up his voice and cried out in pain, and she spake unto the fetters and said unto them: 'Break!' Yea, when Sît prayed unto her many times, saying: 'Wilt thou not have pity upon the brother of thy son's mother?' then her heart was filled with compassion, and she cried to the fetters: 'Break, for he is my eldest brother!' and the fetters unloosed

[1] The opening illustration of this chapter (p. 155) is taken from a monument at Philæ, and depicts Isis among the reeds. The representation of the goddess as squatting upon a mat probably gave rise to the legend of the floating isle of Khemmis, which HECATÆUS OF MILETUS (fragm. 284 in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. i. p. 20) had seen upon the lake of Bûto, but whose existence was denied by HERODOTUS (ii. 156) notwithstanding the testimony of Hecatæus.

[2] This part of the legend was so thoroughly well known, that by the time of the XIXth dynasty it suggested incidents in popular literature. When Bitiû, the hero of *The Tale of the Two Brothers*, mutilated himself to avoid the suspicion of adultery, he cast his bleeding member into the water, and *the Oxyrhynchus devoured it* (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'antique Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 15).

[3] Towards the Grecian period there was here interpolated an account of how Osiris had returned from the world of the dead to arm his son and train him to fight. According to this tale he had asked Horus which of all animals seemed to him most useful in time of war, and Horus chose the horse rather than the lion, because the lion avails for the weak or cowardly in need of help, whereas the horse is used for the pursuit and destruction of the enemy. Judging from this reply that Horus was ready to dare all, Osiris allowed him to enter upon the war (*De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 19, pp. 30–31). The mention of the horse affords sufficient proof that this episode is of comparatively late origin (cf. p. 32, note 2, for the date at which the horse was acclimatized in Egypt).

themselves from him, and the two foes again stood face to face like two men who will not come to terms. "Horus, furious at seeing his mother deprive him of his prey, turned upon her like a panther of the South. She fled before him on that day when battle was waged with Sît the Violent, and he cut off her head. But Thot transformed her by his enchantments and made a cow's head for her," thereby identifying her with her companion, Hâthor.[1] The war went on, with all its fluctuating fortunes, till the gods at length decided to summon both rivals before their tribunal. According to a very ancient tradition, the combatants chose the ruler of a neighbouring city, Thot, lord of Hermopolis Parva,[2] as the arbitrator of their quarrel. Sît was the first to plead, and he maintained that Horus was not the son of Osiris, but a bastard, whom Isis had conceived after the death of her husband. Horus triumphantly vindicated the legitimacy of his birth; and Thot condemned Sît to restore, according to some, the whole of the inheritance which he had wrongly retained,—according to others, part of it only. The gods ratified the sentence, and awarded to the arbitrator the title of *Ûapi-rahûhûi:* he who judges between two parties. A legend of more recent origin, and circulated after the worship of Osiris had spread over all Egypt, affirmed that the case had remained within the jurisdiction of Sibû, who was father to the one, and grandfather to the other party. Sibû, however, had pronounced the same judgment as Thot, and divided the kingdom into halves—*poshûi;* Sît retained the valley from the neighbourhood of Memphis to the first cataract, while Horus entered into possession of the Delta.[4] Egypt henceforth consisted of two distinct kingdoms, of which one, that of the North,

ISIS-HÂTHOR, COW-HEADED.[3]

[1] *Sallier Papyrus IV.*, pl. ii. l. 6, et seq.; CHABAS, *Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes de l'année égyptienne*, pp. 28–30, 128. The same story is told in *De Iside et Osiride* (LEEMANS' edition, § 19, p. 32, cf. § 20).

[2] The Greek form of the tradition represents Thot as having been the advocate and not the arbitrator (*De Iside et Osiride*, LEEMANS' edition, § 19, p. 32). The very title of *Ûapi-rahûhûi* itself implies that Thot was actually the judge of the dispute. *Rahûhû* strictly means *comrade, companion, partner* (E. VON BERGMANN, *Inschriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischen Alterthümer*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. p. 57, note 2; and MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bronze statuette of Saïte period in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Album photographique du musée de Boulaq*, pl. 5, No. 167).

[4] This legend was discovered by GOODWIN (*Upon an Inscription of the reign of Shabaka*, in CHABAS, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 246–285) in a British Museum text published by SHARPE (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, 1st series, pls. xxxvi.–xxxviii.). The only known copy dates no earlier than the reign of Sabaco, but a note by the Egyptian scribe informs us that it was copied from a very ancient monument. Reference is also made to the reconciliation of the two foes in *De Iside et Osiride* (LEEMANS' edition, § 55, p. 98).

recognized Horus, the son of Isis, as its patron deity; and the other, that of the South, placed itself under the protection of Sît Nûbîti, the god of Ombos.[1] The moiety of Horus, added to that of Sît, formed the kingdom which Sibû had inherited; but his children failed to keep it together, though it was afterwards reunited under Pharaohs of human race.[2]

The three gods who preceded Osiris upon the throne had ceased to reign, but not to live. Râ had taken refuge in heaven, disgusted with his own creatures; Shû had disappeared in the midst of a tempest;[3] and Sibû had quietly retired within his palace when the time of his sojourning upon earth had been fulfilled. Not that there was no death, for death, too, together with all other things and beings, had come into existence in the beginning, but while cruelly persecuting both man and beast, had for a while respected the gods. Osiris was the first among them to be struck down, and hence to require funeral rites. He also was the first for whom family piety sought to provide a happy life beyond the tomb. Though he was king of the living and the dead at Mendes by virtue of the rights of all the feudal gods in their own principalities, his sovereignty after death exempted him no more than the meanest of his subjects from that painful torpor into which all mortals fell on breathing their last. But popular imagination could not resign itself to his remaining in that miserable state for ever. What would it have profited him to have Isis the great Sorceress for his wife, the wise Horus for his son, two master-magicians—Thot the Ibis and the jackal Anubis—for his servants, if their skill had not availed to ensure him a less gloomy and less lamentable after-life than that of men. Anubis had long before invented the art of mummifying,[4] and his mysterious science had secured the everlasting existence of the flesh; but at what a price! For the breathing, warm, fresh-coloured body, spontaneous in movement and function, was substituted an immobile, cold and blackish mass, a sufficient basis for the mechanical continuity of the double, but which that double could neither raise nor guide; whose weight paralysed and whose inertness condemned it

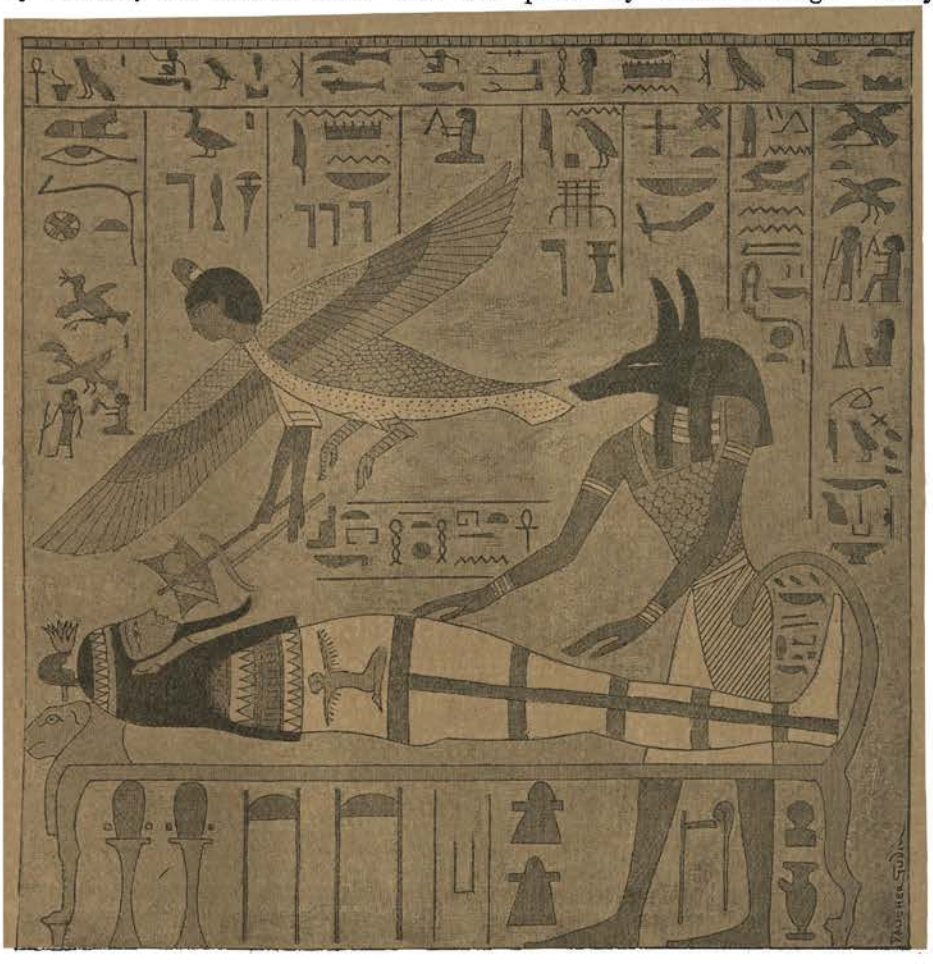
[1] Another form of the legend gives the 27th Athyr as the date of the judgment, assigning Egypt to Horus, and to Sît Nubia, or *Doshirit*, the red land (*Sallier Papyrus IV.*, pl. ix. l. 4, et seq.). It must have arisen towards the age of the XVIIIth dynasty, at a time when their piety no longer allowed the devout to admit that the murderer of Osiris could be the legitimate patron of half the country. So *the half* belonging to Sît was then placed either in Nubia or in the western desert, which had, indeed, been reckoned as his domain from earliest times.

[2] Sît and Horus, as gods of South and North, are sometimes called the two Horuses, and their kingdoms *the two halves of the two Horuses*. Examples of these phrases have been collected by ED. MEYER, in *Set-Typhon*, pp. 31–40, where their meaning is not sufficiently clearly explained.

[3] GRIFFITH, *The Antiquities of Tell-el-Yahûdiyeh*, in the *Seventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, pl. xxv. ll. 6–8. We may here note the most ancient known reference to the tempest whose tumult hid from men the disappearance or apotheosis of kings who had ascended alive into heaven. Cf. *e.g.* the story of Romulus.

[4] See chap. ii. p. 112, et seq., on embalmment by Anubis.

to vegetate in darkness, without pleasure and almost without consciousness of existence. Thot, Isis, and Horus applied themselves in the case of Osiris to ameliorating the discomfort and constraint entailed by the more primitive embalmment. They did not dispense with the manipulations instituted by Anubis, but endued them with new power by means of magic. They



THE OSIRIAN MUMMY PREPARED AND LAID UPON THE FUNERARY COUCH BY THE JACKAL ANUBIS.[1]

inscribed the principal bandages with protective figures and formulas; they decorated the body with various amulets of specific efficacy for its different parts; they drew numerous scenes of earthly existence and of the life beyond the tomb upon the boards of the coffin and upon the walls of the sepulchral

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxxiv. 2. While Anubis is stretching out his hands to lay out the mummy on its couch, the soul is hovering above its breast, and holding to its nostrils the sceptre, and the wind-filled sail which is the emblem of breath and of the new life.

chamber.[1] When the body had been made imperishable, they sought to restore one by one all the faculties of which their previous operations had deprived it. The mummy was set up at the entrance to the vault; the statue representing the living person was placed beside it, and semblance was made of opening the mouth, eyes, and ears, of loosing the arms and legs, of restoring breath to the throat and movement to the heart. The incantations by which these acts were severally accompanied were so powerful that the god spoke and ate, lived and heard, and could use his limbs as freely as though he had never been steeped in the bath of the embalmer.[2] He might

THE RECEPTION OF THE MUMMY BY ANUBIS AT THE DOOR OF THE TOMB, AND THE OPENING OF THE MOUTH.[3]

have returned to his place among men, and various legends prove that he did occasionally appear to his faithful adherents. But, as his ancestors before him, he preferred to leave their towns and withdraw into his own domain. The cemeteries of the inhabitants of Busiris and of Mendes were called *Sokhît Ialû*, the Meadow of Reeds, and *Sokhît Hotpû*, the Meadow of Rest.[4] They were secluded amid the marshes, in small archipelagoes of sandy islets where the dead bodies, piled together, rested in safety from the inundations.[5] This was the first kingdom

[1] The incantations accompanying the various operations were described in the *Ritual of Embalmment*, of which we possess the conclusion only (MARIETTE, *Papyrus égyptiens du musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. pls. vi.–xiv.; DÉVÉRIA, *Catalogue des Manuscrits égyptiens qui sont conservés au Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, pp. 168, 169; MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 14–104).

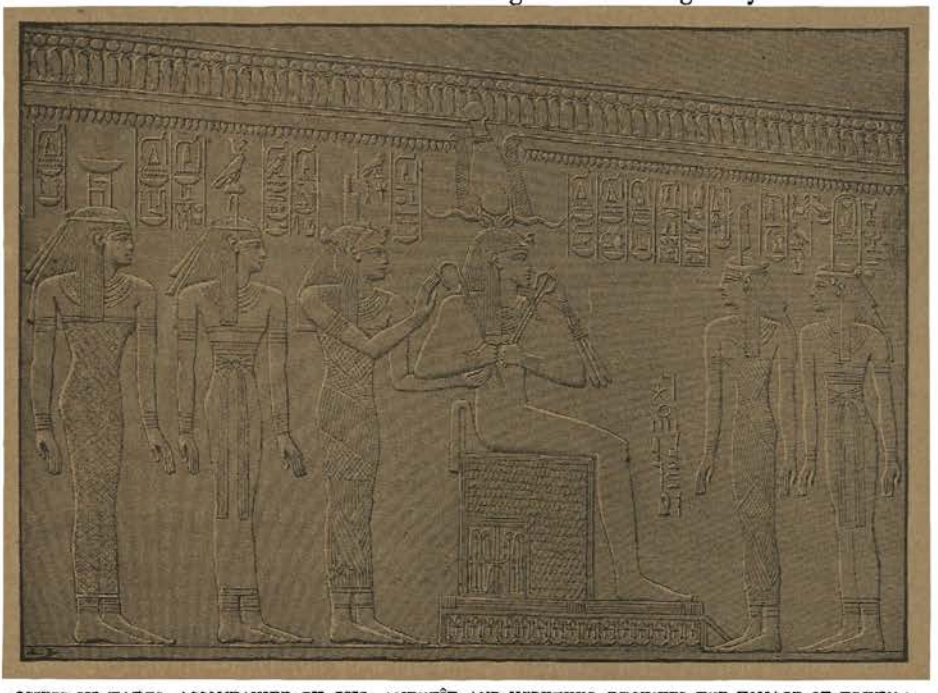
[2] The *Book of the Opening of the Mouth*, which describes these ceremonies, has been published, translated and commented upon by E. SCHIAPARELLI, *Il Libro dei Funerali dei Antichi Egiziani*. There are long extracts from this book in the pyramids of the Vth and VIth dynasties and in many Memphite and Theban tombs, especially in the tomb of Petemenophis, which dates from the XXVIth dynasty (DÜMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der Thebanischen Nekropolis*, i., ii.). A large portion has been studied by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 283, et seq.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a painting in the tomb of a king in the Theban necropolis (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. cxxix. No. 1; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. clxxviii.; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. iii. pl. lxviii.).

[4] LAUTH, *Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 53, et seq., was the first to point out this important fact in the history of Egyptian doctrine. Cf. BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, pp. 61, 62, and *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, pp. 175, 176; MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 12–16.

[5] On the discovery of certain of these island cemeteries by the Arabs, see a passage by E. QUATREMÈRE, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 331, 332.

of the dead Osiris, but it was soon placed elsewhere, as the nature of the surrounding districts and the geography of the adjacent countries became better known; at first perhaps on the Phœnician shore beyond the sea, and then in the sky, in the Milky Way, between the North and the East, but nearer to the North than to the East.[1] This kingdom was not gloomy and mournful



OSIRIS IN HADES, ACCOMPANIED BY ISIS, AMENTÎT, AND NEPHTHYS, RECEIVES THE HOMAGE OF TRUTH.[2]

like that of the other dead gods, Sokaris or Khontamentît, but was lighted by sun and moon;[3] the heat of the day was tempered by the steady breath of the north wind, and its crops grew and throve abundantly.[4] Thick walls served as fortifications against the attacks of Sît and evil genii;[5] a palace

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et de Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 336, et seq.; and vol. ii. pp. 15, 16. It was then that the Milky Way in the sky came to be considered as belonging to Râ, as we have seen on p. 168.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Daniel Héron, taken in 1881 in the temple of Seti I. at Abydos.

[3] The vignettes on pp. 192, 194, taken from the funerary papyrus of Nebhopît in Turin, show us the fields of Ialû lighted by the rayed disc of the sun and by that of the moon (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. v.).

[4] It is described in chap. cx. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. cxxi.-cxxiii.; cf. LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, pl. xli.), where there is also a kind of picture map giving the main groups of the celestial archipelago, together with the names of the islands and of the channels which separate them.

[5] *Book of the Dead*, chap. cix. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. cxx. l. 7; cf. LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, pl. xxxix. chap. 109, l. 4). LAUTH (*Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, pp. 56–61) connects the name of Egyptian fortresses, *Anbû*, Τεῖχος, given to the walls of Ialû, with that of the island of Elbô in the marshes of Bûto, which current tradition of the Saïte period made the refuge of the blind Anysis throughout the whole duration of the Ethiopian dominion, and whose site was afterwards entirely unknown until the day that the Pharaoh Amyrtæus flew thither to escape from the Persian generals (HERODOTUS, ii. 140).

like that of the Pharaohs stood in the midst of delightful gardens;[1] and there, among his own people, Osiris led a tranquil existence, enjoying in succession all the pleasures of earthly life without any of its pains.

The goodness which had gained him the title of Onnophris[2] while he sojourned here below, inspired him with the desire and suggested the means of opening the gates of his paradise to the souls of his former subjects. Souls did not enter into it unexamined, nor without trial. Each of them had first to prove that during its earthly life it had belonged to a friend, or, as the Egyptian texts have it, to a vassal of Osiris—*amakhû khir Osiri*—one of those who had served Horus in his exile and had rallied to his banner from the very beginning of the Typhonian wars. These were those followers of Horus—*Shosûû Horû*—so often referred to in the literature of historic times.[3] Horus, their master, having loaded them with favours during life, decided to extend to them after death the same privileges which he had conferred upon his father. He convoked around the corpse the gods who had worked with him at the embalmment of Osiris: Anubis and Thot, Isis and Nephthys, and his four children—Hâpi, Qabhsonûf, Amsît, and Tiûmaûtf—to whom he had entrusted the charge of the heart and viscera. They all performed their functions exactly as before, repeated the same ceremonies, and recited the same formulas at the same stages of the operations, and so effectively that the dead man became a real Osiris under their hands, having a true voice, and henceforth combining the name of the god with his own. He had been Sakhomka or Menkaûrî; he became the Osiris Sakhomka, or the Osiris Menkaûrî, true of voice.[5] Horus and his companions then celebrated the rites consecrated to the "Opening of the Mouth and the Eyes:" animated the statue of the deceased, and placed the mummy

THE DECEASED CLIMBING THE SLOPE OF THE MOUNTAIN OF THE WEST.[4]

[1] The description of the pylons of Ialû is the subject of a special chapter in the *Book of the Dead*, chap. cxlv. (NAVILLE's edition, vol. i. pls. clvi.–clix.; cf. LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, pls. lxi.–lxv.).

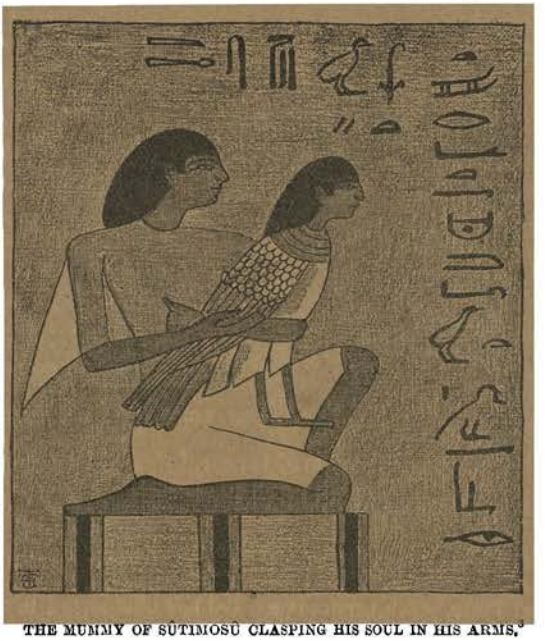
[2] Cf. the explanation given on p. 172 of Onnophris as the cognomen of Osiris.

[3] Cf. p. 176. The *Followers of Horus*, i.e. those who had followed Horus during the Typhonian wars, are mentioned in a Turin fragment of the Canon of the Kings, in which the author summarizes the chronology of the divine period (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. iii. fragm. 1, ll. 9, 10). Like the reign of Râ, the time in which the followers of Horus were supposed to have lived was for the Egyptians of classic times the ultimate point beyond which history did not reach.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from NAVILLE, *Das Ægyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. i. pl. cxxviii. *a*.

[5] See pp. 145, 146 for the *true voice* and the importance which the Egyptians attached to it.

in the tomb, where Anubis received it in his arms. Recalled to life and movement, the double reassumed, one by one, all the functions of being, came and went and took part in the ceremonies of the worship which was rendered to him in his tomb. There he might be seen accepting the homage of his kindred, and clasping to his breast his soul under the form of a great human-headed bird with features the counterpart of his own. After being equipped with the formulas and amulets wherewith his prototype, Osiris,[1] had been furnished, he set forth to seek the "Field of Reeds." The way was long and arduous, strewn with perils to which he must have succumbed at the very first stages had he not been carefully warned beforehand and armed against them.[2] A papyrus placed with the mummy in its coffin contained the needful topographical directions and passwords, in order that he might neither stray nor perish by the way. The wiser Egyptians copied out the principal chapters for themselves, or learned them by heart while yet in life, in order to be prepared for the life beyond. Those who had not taken this precaution studied after death the copy with which they were provided; and since few Egyptians could read, a priest, or relative of the deceased, preferably his son, recited the prayers in the mummy's ear, that he might learn them before he was carried away to the cemetery. If the double obeyed the prescriptions of the "Book of the Dead" to the letter, he reached his goal without fail.[4] On leaving the tomb he turned his back on the valley, and staff in hand climbed the



THE MUMMY OF SÛTIMOSÛ CLASPING HIS SOUL IN HIS ARMS.[3]

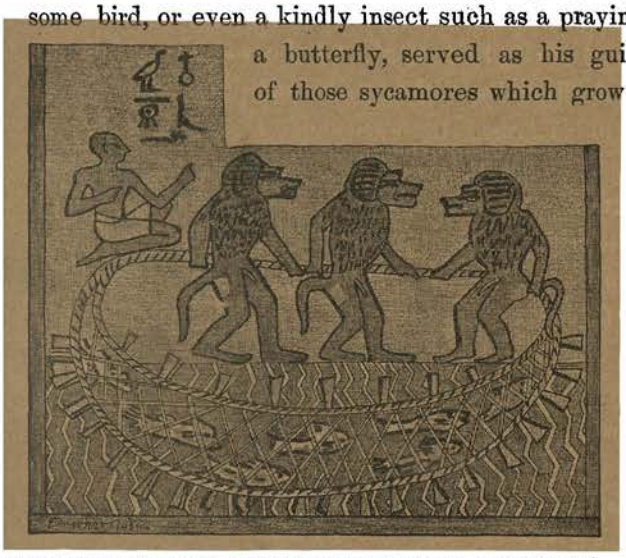
[1] The names of *Khû âpirû*, "the equipped Manes," and *Khû aqirû*, "the instructed Manes," often met with in the inscriptions of funerary stelæ, arose from the care which was taken to equip the dead with amulets, and instruct them in formulas (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 347; and *Rapport sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil*, vol. iii. pp. 105, 106).

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 362, et seq.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from GUIEYSSE-LEFÉBURE *Le Papyrus de Soutimès*, pl. viii. The outlines of the original have unfortunately been restored and enfeebled by the copyist.

[4] Manuscripts of this work represent about nine-tenths of the papyri hitherto discovered. They are not all equally full; complete copies are still relatively scarce, and most of those found with mummies contain nothing but extracts of varying length. The book itself was studied by

hills which bounded it on the west, plunging boldly into the desert,[1] where some bird, or even a kindly insect such as a praying mantis, a grasshopper, or a butterfly, served as his guide.[2] Soon he came to one of those sycamores which grow in the sand far away from the Nile, and are regarded as magic trees by the fellahîn.[3] Out of the foliage a goddess—Nûît, Hâthor, or Nît—half emerged, and offered him a dish of fruit, loaves of bread, and a jar of water. By accepting these gifts he became the guest of the goddess, and could never more retrace his steps[4] without special permission. Beyond the sycamore were lands of terror, infested by serpents and ferocious beasts,[6] furrowed by torrents of boiling water,[7] intersected by ponds and marshes where gigantic



CYNOCEPHALI DRAWING THE NET IN WHICH SOULS ARE CAUGHT.[5]

CHAMPOLLION, who called it the *Funerary Ritual;* Lepsius afterwards gave it the less definite name of *Book of the Dead*, which seems likely to prevail. It has been chiefly known from the hieroglyphic copy at Turin, which LEPSIUS traced and had lithographed in 1841, under the title of *Das Todtenbuch der Ægypter*. In 1865 E. DE ROUGÉ began to publish a hieratic copy in the Louvre, but since 1886 there has been a critical edition of manuscripts of the Theban period most carefully collated by E. NAVILLE, *Das Ægyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie*, Berlin, 1886, 2 vols. of plates in folio, and 1 vol. of Introduction in 4to. On this edition see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 325-387.

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 345.

[2] LEPSIUS, *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 14, ll. 41, 42; MASPERO, *Quatre Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 165, ll. 468, 469; and p. 178, l. 744. "My guide is the syren, *var.* my guides are the syrens." The syren is the little green bird common in the Theban plain, and well known to tourists, which runs along in front of the asses and seems to show travellers the way. On this question of bird or insect as the guide of souls in the other world, see LEPAGE-RENOUF, *A Second Note*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1891-92, vol. xiv. p. 398, et seq.; and LEFÉBURE, *Étude sur Abydos* (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1892-93, vol. xv. p. 135, et seq.).

[3] See the account of magical trees in chap. ii. pp. 121, 122.

[4] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 224-227. It was not in Egypt alone that the fact of accepting food offered by a god of the dead constituted a recognition of suzerainty, and prevented the human soul from returning to the world of the living. Traces of this belief are found everywhere, in modern as in ancient times, and E. B. TYLOR has collected numerous examples of the same in *Primitive Culture*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. pp. 47, 51, 52.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a facsimile by Dévèria (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Études sur le Rituel Funéraire*, pl. iv. No. 4). Ignorant souls fished for by the cynocephali are here represented as fish; but the soul of Nofirûbnû, instructed in the protective formulas, preserves its human form.

[6] Chaps xxxi. and xxxii. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. xliv., xlv.) protect the deceased against crocodiles; chaps. xxxv.-xl. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. xlvi.-liv.) enable him to repel all manner of reptiles, both small and great.

[7] The vignette of chap. lxiii. B (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. lxxiv.) shows us the deceased calmly crossing a river of boiling water which rises above his ankle. In chap. lxiii. A

monkeys cast their nets.[1] Ignorant souls, or those ill prepared for the struggle, had no easy work before them when they imprudently entered upon it. Those who were not overcome by hunger and thirst at the outset were bitten by a

THE DECEASED AND HIS WIFE SEATED IN FRONT OF THE SYCAMORE OF NÛÎT AND RECEIVING THE BREAD AND WATER OF THE NEXT WORLD.[2]

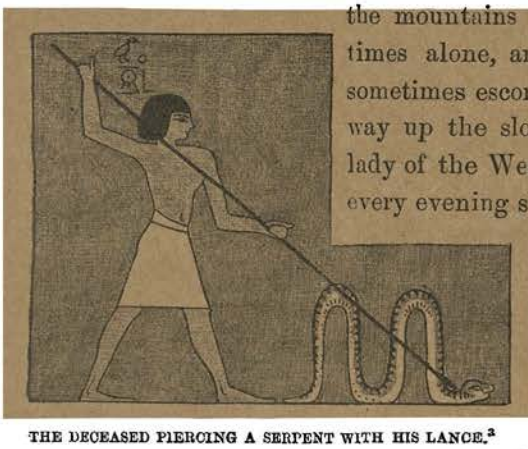
uræus, or horned viper, hidden with evil intent below the sand, and perished in convulsions from the poison; or crocodiles seized as many of them as they could lay hold of at the fords of rivers; or cynocephali netted and devoured them indiscriminately along with the fish into which the partisans of Typhon were transformed. They came safe and sound out of one peril only to fall into another, and infallibly succumbed before they were half through their journey. But, on the other hand, the double who was equipped and instructed, and armed with the true voice, confronted each foe with the phylactery and the incantation by which his enemy was held in check. As soon as he caught sight of

(NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. lxxiii.) he is drinking the hot water, without scalding either hand or mouth.

[1] Chap. clxiii. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. clxxvi.–clxxviii.; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Études sur le Rituel Funéraire des Anciens Égyptiens*, p. 35, pls. iv., v.). The cynocephali thus employed are probably those who hailed the setting sun near Abydos, when he entered upon the first hour of the night. Cf. pp. 82, 83, 103.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a coloured plate in ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. cxxxiv. 3.

one of them he recited the appropriate chapter from his book, he loudly proclaimed himself Râ, Tûmû, Horus, or Khopri—that god whose name and attributes were best fitted to repel the immediate danger—and flames withdrew at his voice, monsters fled or sank paralysed, the most cruel of genii drew in their claws and lowered their arms before him. He compelled crocodiles to turn away their heads; he transfixed serpents with his lance; he supplied himself at pleasure with all the provisions that he needed, and gradually ascended the mountains which surround the world, sometimes alone, and fighting his way step by step, sometimes escorted by beneficent divinities. Halfway up the slope was the good cow Hâthor, the lady of the West, in meadows of tall plants where every evening she received the sun at his setting.[1] If the dead man knew how to ask it according to the prescribed rite, she would take him upon her shoulders[2] and carry him across the accursed countries at full speed. Having reached the North, he paused at the edge of an immense lake, the lake of Kha, and saw in the far distance the outline of the Islands of the Blest. One tradition, so old as to have been almost forgotten in Ramesside times, told how Thot the ibis there awaited him, and bore him away on his wings;[4] another, no less ancient but of more lasting popularity, declared that a ferry-boat plied regularly between the solid earth and the shores of paradise.[5] The god who directed it questioned the dead, and the bark itself proceeded to examine them before they were admitted on board; for it was a magic bark. "Tell me my name," cried the mast; and the travellers replied: "He who guides



THE DECEASED PIERCING A SERPENT WITH HIS LANCE.[3]

[1] See the different vignettes of chap. clxxxvi. of the *Book of the Dead*, as collected by NAVILLE in his edition (*Das Ægyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. i. pl. cexii.). Sometimes the whole cow is drawn; sometimes it is shown only as half emerging from the arid slopes of the Libyan range.

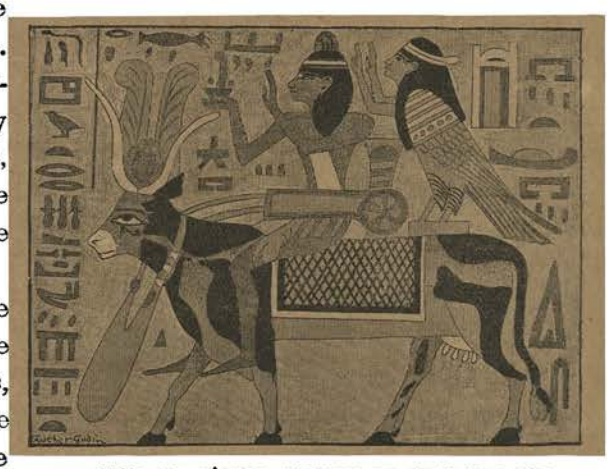
[2] Coffins of the XXth and XXIst dynasties, with a yellow ground, often display this scene, of which there is a good example in LANZONE'S *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pl. cccxxii. 2, taken from a coffin in Leyden (cf. p. 187). Generally the scene is found beneath the feet of the dead, at the lower end of the cartonage, and the cow is represented as carrying off at a gallop the mummy who is lying on her back.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by NAVILLE (*Das Ægyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. i. pl. iii. P *b*). The commonest enemies of the dead were various kinds of serpents.

[4] It is often mentioned in the Pyramid texts, and inspired one of the most obscure chapters among them (*Teti*, ll. 185–200; cf. *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. v. pp. 22, 23). It seems that the ibis had to fight with Sît for right of passage.

[5] This tradition, like the former, is often found in the Pyramids, *e.g.* in three formulas, where the god who guides the boat is invoked, and informed why it is incumbent upon him to give a good reception to the deceased (*Papi I.*, ll. 396–411; cf. *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vii. pp. 161–163).

the great goddess on her way is thy name." "Tell me my name," repeated the braces. "The Spine of the Jackal Ûapûaîtû is thy name." "Tell me my name," proceeded the mast-head. "The Neck of Amsît is thy name." "Tell me my name," asked the sail. "Nûît is thy name." Each part of the hull and of the rigging spoke in turn and questioned the applicant regarding its name, this being generally a mystic phrase by which it was identified either with some divinity as a whole, or else with some part of his body. When the double had established his right of passage by the correctness of his answers, the bark consented to receive him and to carry him to the further shore.[1]



THE GOOD COW HÂTHOR CARRYING THE DEAD MAN AND HIS SOUL.[2]

There he was met by the gods and goddesses of the court of Osiris: by Anubis, by Hâthor the lady of the cemetery, by Nît, by the two Mâîts who preside over justice and truth, and by the four children of Horus stiff-sheathed in their mummy wrappings.[3] They formed as it were a guard of honour to introduce him and his winged guide[4] into an immense hall, the ceiling of which rested on light graceful columns of painted wood. At the further end of the hall Osiris was seated in mysterious twilight within a shrine through whose open doors he might be seen wearing a red necklace over his close-fitting case of white bandaging, his green face surmounted by the tall white diadem flanked by two plumes, his slender hands

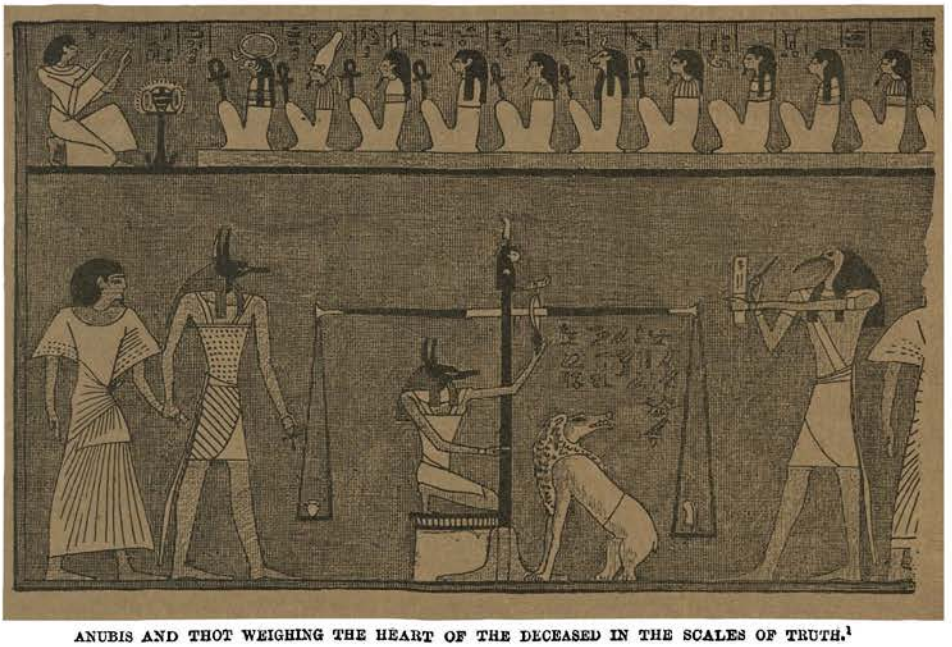
[1] Chap. xcix. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. cx.–cxii.) is entirely devoted to the *bringing of the bark* and the long interrogatories which it involves. Cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 374–376.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a coloured facsimile published by LEEMANS, *Monuments Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leyden*, part iii. pl. xii.

[3] All the scenes preceding and accompanying the judgment of the dead are frequently depicted on the outside of the yellow-varnished mummy cases of the XXth to the XXVIth dynasties. Museums abound in these monuments, which have hitherto been neither published nor studied as they deserve. The one from which I have taken my description of the scenes and the legends partly translated in the text, is in the Clot-Bey collection, and belongs to the Marseilles Museum. It is noticed in MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, pp. 36–39.

[4] *Book of the Dead*, chap. lxxvi. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. lxxxviii. ll. 1, 2; cf. LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, chap. lxxvi. l. 1): "I enter into the Palace of the Prince, for the Bird is my guide." See also chap. civ. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. cxvi. ll. 4, 5. Cf. LEPAGE-RENOUF, *A Second Note* (in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiv. pp. 399, 400), and LEFÉBURE, *Étude sur Abydos* (*id.*, vol. xv. pp. 143, 144).

grasping flail and crook, the emblems of his power. Behind him stood Isis and Nephthys watching over him with uplifted hands, bare bosoms, and bodies straitly cased in linen. Forty-two jurors who had died and been restored to life like their lord, and who had been chosen, one from each of those cities of Egypt which recognized his authority, squatted right and left, and motionless, clothed in the wrappings of the dead, silently waited until they were addressed. The soul first advanced to the foot of the throne, carrying on its



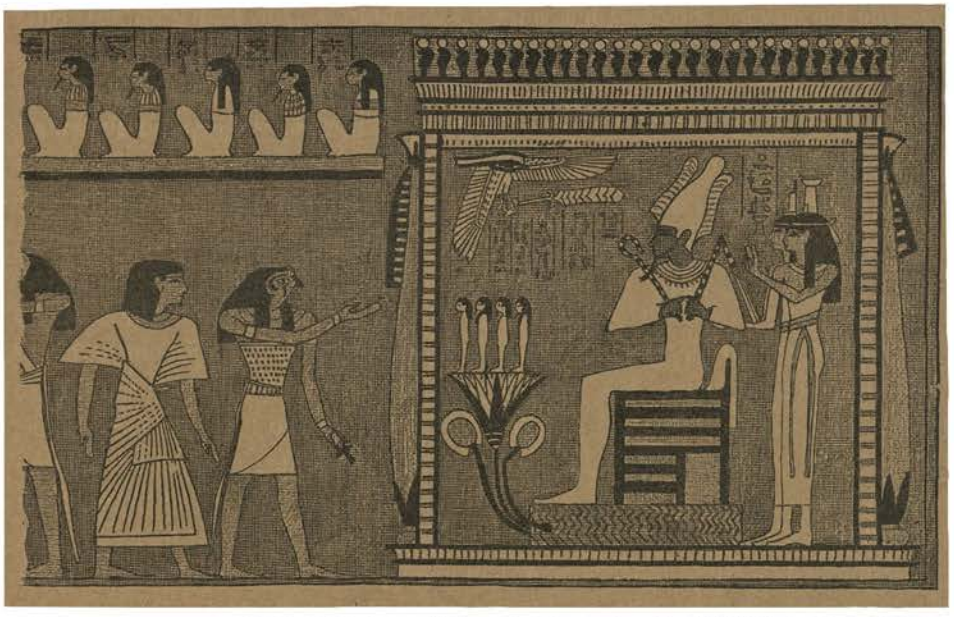
ANUBIS AND THOT WEIGHING THE HEART OF THE DECEASED IN THE SCALES OF TRUTH.[1]

outstretched hands the image of its heart or of its eyes, agents and accomplices of its sins and virtues. It humbly "smelt the earth," then arose, and with uplifted hands recited its profession of faith.[2] "Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth and Justice! I have come before thee, my master; I have been brought to see thy beauties. For I know thee, I know thy name, I know the names of thy forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Two Truths, living on the remains of sinners, gorging themselves with their blood, in that day when account is rendered before Onnophris, the true of

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from pl. cxxxvi. Ag of NAVILLE'S *Das Thebanische Todtenbuch*.

[2] This forms chap. cxxv. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. cxxxiii.–cxxxix.), a chapter which CHAMPOLLION pointed out to the notice of scholars, and interpreted (*Explication de la principale scène peinte des Papyrus Funéraires Égyptiens*, in the *Bulletin Universel des Sciences et de l'Industrie*, sect. viii. vol. iv. pp. 347–356). A special edition of this chapter, accompanied by a translation and philological commentary, was published by W. PLEYTE, *Étude sur le chapitre 125 du Rituel Funéraire*, Leyden, 1866.

voice. Thy name which is thine is 'the god whose two twins are the ladies of the two Truths;' and I, I know you, ye lords of the two Truths, I bring unto you Truth, I have destroyed sins for you. I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! I have not made defalcations in the necropolis! I have not laid labour upon any free man beyond that which he wrought for himself! I have not transgressed, I have not been weak, I have not defaulted, I have not committed that which is an abomination to



THE DECEASED IS BROUGHT BEFORE THE SHRINE OF OSIRIS THE JUDGE BY HORUS, THE SON OF ISIS.

the gods. I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! I have not starved any man, I have not made any to weep, I have not assassinated any man, I have not caused any man to be treacherously assassinated, and I have not committed treason against any! I have not in aught diminished the supplies of temples! I have not spoiled the shewbread of the gods! I have not taken away the loaves and the wrappings of the dead! I have done no carnal act within the sacred enclosure of the temple! I have not blasphemed! I have in nought curtailed the sacred revenues! I have not pulled down the scale of the balance! I have not falsified the beam of the balance! I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings! I have not lassoed cattle on their pastures! I have not taken with nets the birds of the gods! I have not fished in their ponds! I have not turned back the water in its season! I have not cut off a water-channel in its course! I

have not put out the fire in its time! I have not defrauded the Nine Gods of the choice part of victims! I have not ejected the oxen of the gods! I have not turned back the god at his coming forth! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! Pure as this Great Bonû of Heracleopolis is pure! . . . There is no crime against me in this land of the Double Truth! Since I know the names of the gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Double Truth, save thou me from them!" He then turned towards the jury and pleaded his cause before them. They had been severally appointed for the cognizance of particular sins, and the dead man took each of them by name to witness that he was innocent of the sin which that one recorded. His plea ended, he returned to the supreme judge, and repeated, under what is sometimes a highly mystic form, the ideas which he had already advanced in the first part of his address. "Hail unto you, ye gods who are in the Great Hall of the Double Truth, who have no falsehood in your bosoms, but who live on Truth in Aûnû, and feed your hearts upon it before the Lord God who dwelleth in his solar disc! Deliver me from the Typhon who feedeth on entrails, O chiefs! in this hour of supreme judgment;—grant that the deceased may come unto you, he who hath not sinned, who hath neither lied, nor done evil, nor committed any crime, who hath not borne false witness, who hath done nought against himself, but who liveth on truth, who feedeth on truth. He hath spread joy on all sides; men speak of that which he hath done, and the gods rejoice in it. He hath reconciled the god to him by his love; he hath given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked; he hath given a boat to the shipwrecked; he hath offered sacrifices to the gods, sepulchral meals unto the manes. Deliver him from himself, speak not against him before the Lord of the Dead, for his mouth is pure, and his two hands are pure!" In the middle of the Hall, however, his acts were being weighed by the assessors. Like all objects belonging to the gods, the balance is magic, and the genius which animates it sometimes shows its fine and delicate little human head on the top of the upright stand which forms its body.[1] Everything about the balance recalls its superhuman origin: a cynocephalus, emblematic of Thot, sits perched on the upright and watches the beam; the cords which suspend the scales are made of alternate *cruces ansatæ* and *tats*.[2]

[1] The souls of objects thus animated are not unfrequently mentioned and depicted in the *Book of knowing that which is in Hades*. Their heads emerge from the material bodies to which they belong while the Sun-god is passing by, to draw in when he has disappeared, and their bodies reabsorb, or *eat* them (cf. p. 83, note 4), according to the energetic expression of the Egyptian text (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 104, 105, 106, 124, etc.).

[2] See the amulet called *Tat* or *Didû*, as represented on p. 130 (cf. p. 84, note 3).

Truth squats upon one of the scales; Thot, ibis-headed, places the heart on the other, and always merciful, bears upon the side of Truth that judgment may be favourably inclined. He affirms that the heart is light of offence, inscribes the result of the proceeding upon a wooden tablet, and pronounces the verdict aloud. "Thus saith Thot, lord of divine discourse, scribe of the Great Ennead, to his father Osiris, lord of eternity, 'Behold the deceased in this Hall of the Double Truth, his heart hath been weighed in the balance in the presence of the great genii, the lords of Hades, and been found true. No trace of earthly impurity hath been found in his heart. Now that he leaveth the tribunal true of voice, his heart is restored to him, as well as his eyes and the material cover of his heart, to be put back in their places each in its own time, his soul in heaven, his heart in the other world, as is the custom of the 'Followers of Horus.' Henceforth let his body lie in the hands of Anubis, who presideth over the tombs; let him receive offerings at the cemetery in the presence of Onnophris; let him be as one of those favourites who follow thee; let his soul abide where it will in the necropolis of his city, he whose voice is true before the Great Ennead.'"[1]

In this "Negative Confession," which the worshippers of Osiris taught to their dead, all is not equally admirable. The material interests of the temple were too prominent, and the crime of killing a sacred goose or stealing a loaf from the bread offerings was considered as abominable as calumny or murder. But although it contains traces of priestly cupidity, yet how many of its precepts are untarnished in their purity by any selfish ulterior motive! In it is all our morality in germ, and with refinements of delicacy often lacking among peoples of later and more advanced civilizations. The god does not confine his favour to the prosperous and the powerful of this world; he bestows it also upon the poor. His will is that they be fed and clothed, and exempted from tasks beyond their strength; that they be not oppressed, and that unnecessary tears be spared them. If this does not amount to the love of our neighbour as our religions preach it, at least it represents the careful solicitude due from a good lord to his vassals. His pity extends to slaves; not only does he command that no one should ill-treat them himself, but he forbids that their masters should be led to ill-treat them. This profession of faith, one of the noblest bequeathed us by the old world, is of very ancient origin. It may be read in scattered fragments upon the monuments of the first dynasties, and the way in which its ideas are treated by the compilers of these inscriptions proves that it was not then regarded as new, but as a text so old and

[1] MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, p. 38

so well known that its formulas were current in all mouths, and had their prescribed places in epitaphs.[1] Was it composed in Mendes, the god's own home, or in Heliopolis, when the theologians of that city appropriated the god of Mendes and incorporated him in their Ennead? In conception it certainly belongs to the Osirian priesthood, but it can only have been diffused over the whole of Egypt after the general adoption of the Heliopolitan Ennead throughout the cities.

THE MANES TILLING THE GROUND AND REAPING IN THE FIELDS OF IALÛ.[2]

As soon as he was judged, the dead man entered into the possession of his rights as a pure soul. On high he received from the Universal Lord all that kings and princes here below bestowed upon their followers—rations of food,[3] and a house, gardens, and fields to be held subject to the usual conditions of tenure in Egypt, *i.e.* taxation, military service, and the *corvée*.[4] If the island was attacked by the partisans of Sît, the Osirian doubles hastened in a body to repulse them, and fought bravely in its defence. Of the revenues sent to him by his kindred on certain days and by means of sacrifices, each gave tithes to the heavenly storehouses. Yet this was but the least part of the burdens laid upon him by the laws of the country, which did not suffer him to become enervated by idleness, but obliged him to labour as in the days when he still dwelt in Egypt.[5] He looked after the maintenance of canals

[1] For instance, one of the formulas found in Memphite tombs states that the deceased had been the friend of his father, the beloved of his mother, sweet to those who lived with him, gracious to his brethren, loved of his servants, and that he had never sought wrongful quarrel with any man; briefly, that he spoke and did that which is right here below (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 43 *c*, *d*; cf. PLEYTE, *Étude sur le chapitre 125 du Rituel funéraire*, pp. 11, 12; MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § 21, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. ii. pp. 215, 216).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a vignette in the funerary papyrus of Nebhopît in Turin (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. v.).

[3] The formula of the pyramid times is: "Thy thousand of oxen, thy thousand of geese, of roast and boiled joints from the larder of the gods, of bread, and plenty of the good things presented in the hall of Osiris" (*Papi II.*, l. 1348, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. p. 150).

[4] On the assimilation of the condition of the dead enrolled in the service of a god and of the vassals of a Pharaoh, cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 44–46.

[5] *Book of the Dead*, chap. cx. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. cxxi.–cxxiii.). The vignette to this chapter shows us the dead attending to their various occupations in the archipelago of Ialû. There are numerous variants of the same, of which the most curious are perhaps those of the funerary papyrus of Nebhopît in Turin, published by LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pl. v., and partly reproduced on this page and on p. 194.

and dykes, he tilled the ground, he sowed, he reaped, he garnered the grain for his lord and for himself. Yet to those upon whom they were incumbent, these posthumous obligations, the sequel and continuation of feudal service, at length seemed too heavy, and theologians exercised their ingenuity to find means of lightening the burden. They authorized the manes to look to their servants for the discharge of all manual labour which they ought to have performed themselves. Rarely did a dead man, no matter how poor, arrive unaccompanied at the eternal cities; he brought with him a following proportionate to his rank and fortune upon earth. At first they were real doubles, those of slaves or vassals killed at the tomb, and who had departed along with the double of the master to serve him beyond the grave as they had served him here.[1] A number of statues and images, magically endued with activity and intelligence, was afterwards substituted for this retinue of victims. Originally of so large a size that only the rich or noble could afford them,[2] they were reduced little by little to the height of a few inches. Some were carved out of alabaster, granite, diorite, fine limestone, or moulded out of fine clay and delicately modelled; others had scarcely any human resemblance.[4] They were endowed with life by means of a formula recited over them at the time of their manufacture, and afterwards traced upon their legs. All were possessed of the same faculties. When the god who called the Osirians to the *corvée* pronounced the name of the dead man to whom the figures belonged, they arose and answered for him; hence their designation of "Respondents"—*Ûashbîti*.[5] Equipped for agricultural labour, each grasping a hoe and carrying a seed-bag on his shoulder, they set out to

ÛASHBÎTI.[3]

[1] On the occasional persistence of human sacrifice, real or simulated, even into the times of the second Theban Empire, see MASPERO, *Le Tombeau de Montouhikhopshouf*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française du Caire*, vol. v. p. 452, et seq. Cf. p. 168, note 1. Against this opinion cf. RENOUF, *Book of the Dead*, c. 112, note 7.

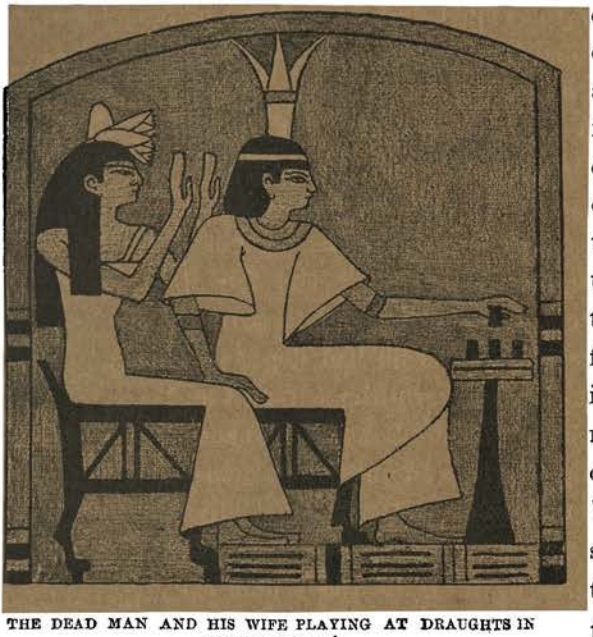
[2] Such are the women grinding corn, the bread-kneaders and the cellarers sometimes found in the more elaborate tombs of the Ancient Empire (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au musée de Boulaq*, pp. 215, 218, 219, 220). Perhaps even the *statues of the double* (*Ka-statues*) should be included in this category.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a painted limestone statuette from the tomb of *Sonnozmû* at Thebes, dating from the end of the XXth dynasty.

[4] The origin and signification of the *Ûashbîti*, or *Respondents*, have been several times pointed out by MASPERO (*Guide du Visiteur au musée Boulaq*, pp. 131–133, and *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 355, 356).

[5] The magical formula which was to endow the *Respondents* with life, and order their task in the next world, forms the sixth chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pl. viii.). It has been studied by CHABAS, *Observations sur le Chapitre VI du Rituel funéraire égyptien, à propos d'une statuette funéraire du musée de Langres* (an extract from the *Mémoires de la Société historique et*

work in their appointed places, contributing the required number of days of forced labour. Up to a certain point they thus compensated for those inequalities of condition which death itself did not efface among the vassals of Osiris; for the figures were sold so cheaply that even the poorest could always afford some for themselves, or bestow a few upon their relations; and in the Islands of the Blest, fellah, artisan, and slave were indebted to the *Ûashbîti* for release from their old routine of labour and unending toil. While the little peasants of stone or glazed ware dutifully toiled and tilled and sowed, their masters were enjoying all the delights of the Egyptian paradise in perfect idleness. They sat at ease by the water-side, inhaling the fresh north breeze, under the shadow of trees which were always green. They fished with lines among the lotus-plants; they embarked



THE DEAD MAN AND HIS WIFE PLAYING AT DRAUGHTS IN THE PAVILION.[1]

THE DEAD MAN SAILING IN HIS BARK ALONG THE CANALS OF THE FIELDS OF IALÛ.[2]

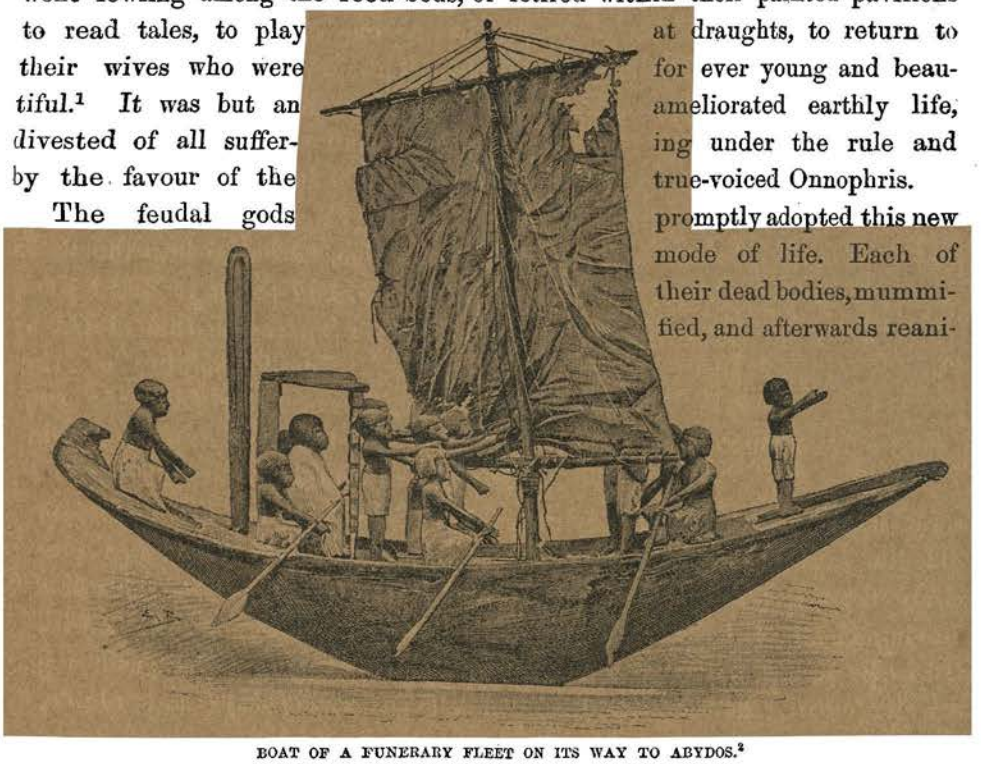
archéologique de Langres, 1863), and more especially by V. LORET, *Les Statuettes funéraires du musée de Boulaq*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iv. pp. 89–117, vol. v. pp. 70–76.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a vignette in No. 4 Papyrus, Dublin (NAVILLE, *Das Ægyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. i. pl. xxvii. *Da*). The name of *draughts* is not altogether accurate; a description of the game may be found in FALKNER, *Games Ancient and Oriental and how to play them*, pp. 9–101.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the Papyrus of Nebhopît, in Turin (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. v.). This drawing is from part of the same scene as the illustration on p. 192

in their boats, and were towed along by their servants, or they would sometimes deign to paddle themselves slowly about the canals. They went fowling among the reed-beds, or retired within their painted pavilions to read tales, to play at draughts, to return to their wives who were for ever young and beautiful.[1] It was but an ameliorated earthly life, divested of all suffering under the rule and by the favour of the true-voiced Onnophris.

The feudal gods promptly adopted this new mode of life. Each of their dead bodies, mummified, and afterwards reanimated in accordance with the Osirian myth, became an Osiris as did that of any ordinary person. Some carried the assimilation so far as to absorb the god of Mendes, or to be absorbed in him. At Memphis Phtah-Sokaris became Phtah-Sokar-Osiris, and at Thinis Khontamentît became Osiris Khontamentît.[3] The sun-god lent himself to this process with comparative ease because his life is more like a man's life, and hence also more like that of Osiris, which is the counterpart of a man's life. Born in the



BOAT OF A FUNERARY FLEET ON ITS WAY TO ABYDOS.[2]

[1] Gymnastic exercises, hunting, fishing, sailing, are all pictured in Theban tombs. The game of draughts is mentioned in the title of chap. xvii. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE's edition, vol. i. pl. xxiii. l. 2), and the women's pavilion is represented in the tomb of Rakhmirî (VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v. pl. xxv.). That the dead were supposed to read tales is proved from the fact that broken ostraca bearing long fragments of literary works are found in tombs; they were broken to kill them and to send on their doubles to the dead man in the next world (MASPERO, *Les Premières Lignes des Mémoires de Sinûhît*, pp. 1, 2).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey. The original was found in the course of M. de Morgan's excavations at Mêîr, and is now at Gîzeh. The dead man is sitting in the cabin, wrapped in his cloak. As far as I know, this is the only boat which has preserved its original rigging. It dates from the XIth or XIIth dynasty.

[3] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 21–24.

morning, he ages as the day declines, and gently passes away at evening. From the time of his entering the sky to that of his leaving it, he reigns above as he reigned here below in the beginning; but when he has left the sky and sinks into Hades, he becomes as one of the dead, and is, as they are, subjected to Osirian embalmment. The same dangers that menace their human souls threaten his soul also; and when he has vanquished them, not in his own strength, but by the power of amulets and magical formulas, he enters into the fields of Ialû, and ought to dwell there for ever under the rule of Onnophris. He did nothing of the kind, however, for daily the sun was to be seen reappearing in the east twelve hours after it had sunk into the darkness of the west. Was it a new orb each time, or did the same sun shine every day? In either case the result was precisely the same; the god came forth from death and re-entered into life. Having identified the course of the sun-god with that of man, and Râ with Osiris for a first day and a first night, it was hard not to push the matter further, and identify them for all succeeding days and nights, affirming that man and Osiris might, if they so wished, be born again in the morning, as Râ was, and together with him.[2] If the Egyptians had found the prospect of quitting the darkness of the tomb for the bright meadows of Ialû a sensible alleviation of their lot, with what joy must they have been filled by the conception which allowed them to substitute the whole realm of the sun for a little archipelago in an out-of-the-way corner of the universe. Their first consideration was to obtain entrance into the divine bark, and this was the object of all the various practices and prayers, whose text, together with that which already contained the Osirian formulas, ensured the unfailing protection of Râ to their possessor.[3] The soul desirous of making use of them went straight from his tomb to the very spot where the god left earth to descend into Hades. This was somewhere in the

THE SOLAR BARK INTO WHICH THE DEAD MAN IS ABOUT TO ENTER.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a vignette in the Papyrus of Nebqadû, in Paris.

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 24–27.

[3] The formulas enabling the soul to enter the solar bark form the chief part of chaps. c.–cii. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. cxiii., cxiv.), cxxxiv.–cxxxvi. (NAVILLE'S edition, vol. i. pls. cxlv.–cxlix.) of the *Book of the Dead*. But in this work the mingling of solar and Osirian conceptions is already complete, and several chapters intended for other purposes contain many allusions to the embarkation of souls in the boat of Râ.

immediate neighbourhood of Abydos, and was reached through a narrow gorge or "cleft" in the Libyan range, whose "mouth" opened in front of the temple of Osiris Khontamentît, a little to the north-west of the city.[1] The soul was supposed to be carried thither by a small flotilla of boats, manned by figures representing friends or priests, and laden with food, furniture, and statues. This flotilla was placed within the vault on the day of the funeral,[2] and was set in motion by means of incantations recited over it during one of the first nights of the year, at the annual feast of the dead.[4] The bird or insect which had previously served as guide to the soul upon its journey now took the helm to show the fleet the right way,[5] and under this command the boats left Abydos and mysteriously passed through the "cleft" into that western sea which is inaccessible to the living,[6] there to await the daily coming of the dying sun-god. As soon as his bark appeared at the last bend of the

THE SOLAR BARK PASSING INTO THE MOUNTAIN OF THE WEST.[3]

[1] As to the *Mouth of the Cleft*, and the way in which souls arrived there, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 14, etc.; and *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 121, et seq.

[2] There are many of these boats in museums, and several in the Louvre (*Salle Civile*, Case K). Of the flotillas whose origin is known there are only that in the Berlin Museum, which is from Thebes (PASSALACQUA, *Catalogue*, pp. 126–129, reproduced in PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*), and those in the Gîzeh Museum, of which one was found at Saqqarah (MASPERO, *Quatre Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 209, with plate), and the other at Meîr, north of Siût. They belong to the XIth and XIIth dynasties.

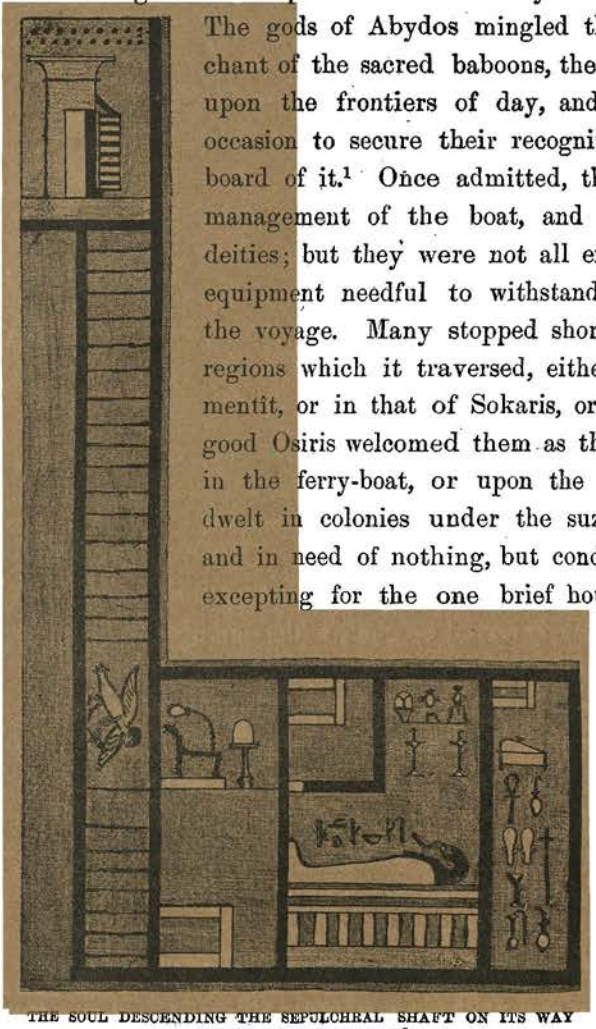
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a very small photograph published in the Catalogue of the Minutoli Sale (*Catalog der Sammlungen von Musterwerken der Industrie und Kunst zusammengebracht durch Hn. Freiherrn, Dr. Alexander von Minutoli*, Cologne, 1875).

[4] These formulas are traced upon the walls of an XVIIIth-dynasty tomb, that of Nofirhotpû at Thebes; they have been published by DÜMICHEN, *Kalendarische Inschriften*, pl. xxxv. ll. 31–60 (cf. *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pl. xxxi. pp. 31–60) and by BÉNÉDITE, *Le Tombeau de Néferhotpou*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v. p. 516, et seq., with plate.

[5] "Thou risest again like the grasshopper of Abydos, for whom room is made in the bark of Osiris, and who accompanieth the god as far as the region of the cleft" (SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 1st series, pl. 105, ll. 23, 24; E. A. W. BUDGE, *Notes on Egyptian Stelæ, principally of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. viii. p. 327; LEFÉBURE, *Étude sur Abydos*, also in the *Proceedings* of the same Society, vol. xv. pp. 136, 137). The pilot of the sacred barks is generally a hawk-headed man, a Horus, perhaps a reminiscence of this bird pilot.

[6] MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 123–130.

celestial Nile, the cynocephali, who guarded the entrance into night, began to dance and gesticulate upon the banks as they intoned their accustomed hymn. The gods of Abydos mingled their shouts of joy with the chant of the sacred baboons, the bark lingered for a moment upon the frontiers of day, and initiated souls seized the occasion to secure their recognition and their reception on board of it.[1] Once admitted, they took their share in the management of the boat, and in the battles with hostile deities; but they were not all endowed with the courage or equipment needful to withstand the perils and terrors of the voyage. Many stopped short by the way in one of the regions which it traversed, either in the realm of Khontamentît, or in that of Sokaris, or in those islands where the good Osiris welcomed them as though they had duly arrived in the ferry-boat, or upon the wing of Thot. There they dwelt in colonies under the suzerainty of local gods, rich, and in need of nothing, but condemned to live in darkness, excepting for the one brief hour in which the solar bark passed through their midst, irradiating them with beams of light.[2] The few persevered, feeling that they had courage to accompany the sun throughout, and these were indemnified for their sufferings by the most brilliant fate ever dreamed of by Egyptian souls. Born anew with the sun-god and appearing with him at the gates of the east, they were assimilated to him, and shared his privilege of growing old and dying, only to be ceaselessly rejuvenated and to live again with



THE SOUL DESCENDING THE SEPULCHRAL SHAFT ON ITS WAY TO REJOIN THE MUMMY.[3]

[1] This description of the embarkation and voyage of the soul is composed from indications given in one of the vignettes of chap. xvi. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE's edition, vol. i. pl. xxii.), combined with the text of a formula which became common from the times of the XIth and XIIth dynasties (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 14–18, and *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 122, 123.)

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Egyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from DÉVÉRIA, *Le Papyrus de Neb-Qed*, pl. i. (cf. CHABAS, *Notice sur le Pire-em-hrou*, in the *Mémoires du Congrès des Orientalistes de Paris*, vol. ii. pp. 14–50, pl. lviii., and NAVILLE, *Das Ægyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. i. pl. iv. *Pe*). The scene of the soul contemplating the face of the mummy is often represented in Theban copies of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE's edition,

ever-renewed splendour. They disembarked where they pleased, and returned at will into the world.[1] If now and then they felt a wish to revisit all that was left of their earthly bodies, the human-headed sparrow-hawk descended the shaft in full flight, alighted upon the funeral couch, and, with hands softly laid upon the spot where the heart had been wont to beat, gazed upwards at the impassive mask of the mummy. This was but for a moment, since

THE SOUL ON THE EDGE OF THE FUNERAL COUCH, WITH ITS HANDS ON THE HEART OF THE MUMMY.[2]

nothing compelled these perfect souls to be imprisoned within the tomb like the doubles of earlier times, because they feared the light. They "went forth by day,"[3] and dwelt in those places where they had lived; they walked in their gardens by their ponds of running water; they perched like so many birds on the branches of the trees which they had planted, or enjoyed the fresh air under the shade of their sycamores; they ate and drank at pleasure; they travelled by hill and dale; they embarked in the boat of Râ, and disembarked, without weariness, and without distaste for the same perpetual round.[4] This

vol. i. pl. cl. chap. lxxxix.); it is better shown in the little monument of the scribe Râ, reproduced in the illustration on this page (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 130, 131, No. 1621).

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 24-27.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey, reproducing the miniature sarcophagus of the scribe Râ (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 130, 131, No. 1621).

[3] This is the title, *Pirû-m-hrû*, of the first section of the *Book of the Dead*, and of several chapters in other sections (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 352-355). It has been translated *going out from day, being manifest to day, going forth like the day.* The true translation, *going forth by day*, was suggested by REINISCH (*Die Ægyptischen Denkmäler in Miramar* p. 44) and demonstrated by LEFÉBURE (*Le Per-m-hrû, Étude sur la vie future chez les Égyptiens*, in CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 218-241; cf. E. VON BERGMANN, *Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit*, pp. 8, 31).

[4] This picture of the life of the soul *going forth by day* is borrowed from the frequent formula upon stelæ of the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasties, of which the best known example is C 55 in the Louvre (PIERRET, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites*, vol. ii. pp. 90-93; cf. E. A. W. BUDGE, *Notes on*

conception, which was developed somewhat late, brought the Egyptians back to the point from which they had started when first they began to speculate on the life to come. The soul, after having left the place of its incarnation to which in the beginning it clung, after having ascended into heaven and there sought congenial asylum in vain, forsook all havens which it had found above, and unhesitatingly fell back upon earth, there to lead a peaceful, free, and happy life in the full light of day, and with the whole valley of Egypt for a paradise.

The connection, always increasingly intimate between Osiris and Râ, gradually brought about a blending of the previously separate myths and beliefs concerning each. The friends and enemies of the one became the friends and enemies of the other, and from a mixture of the original conceptions of the two deities, arose new personalities, in which contradictory elements were blent together, often without true fusion. The celestial Horuses one by one were identified with Horus, son of Isis, and their attributes were given to him, as his in the same way became theirs. Apopi and the monsters—the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the wild boar—who lay in wait for Râ as he sailed the heavenly ocean, became one with Sît and his accomplices. Sît still possessed his half of Egypt, and his primitive brotherly relation to the celestial Horus remained unbroken, either on account of their sharing one temple, as at Nûbît, or because they were worshipped as one in two neighbouring nomes, as, for example, at Oxyrrhynchos and at Heracleopolis Magna. The repulsion with which the slayer of Osiris was regarded did not everywhere dissociate these two cults: certain small districts persisted in this double worship down to the latest times of paganism. It was, after all, a mark of fidelity to the oldest traditions of the race, but the bulk of the Egyptians, who had forgotten these, invented reasons taken from the history of the divine dynasties to explain the fact. The judgment of Thot or of Sibû had not put an end to the machinations of Sît: as soon as Horus had left the earth, Sît resumed them, and pursued them, with varying fortune, under the divine kings of the second Ennead.[1] Now, in the year 363 of Harmakhis, the Typhonians reopened the campaign. Beaten at first near Edfû, they retreated precipitately northwards, stopping to give battle wherever

Egyptian Stelæ, principally of the XVIIIth Dynasty, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. viii. pp. 306–312).

[1] The war of Harmakhis and Sît is chronicled and depicted at length on the inner walls of the sanctuary in the temple of Edfû. The inscriptions and pictures relating to it were copied, translated, and published for the first time by E. NAVILLE, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus recueillis dans le temple d'Edfû*, pls. xii.–xxxi., and pp. 16–25; Brugsch, soon after, brought out in his memoir on *Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe nach altägyptischen Quellen* (*Aus den XIV Bande der Abhandlungen der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1870), a German translation of them with a commentary, several points of which he has corrected in various articles of his *Dictionnaire Géographique*. The interpretation of the text here adopted was proposed by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 321, et seq.).

their partisans predominated,—at Zatmît in the Theban nome,[1] at Khaît-nûtrît to the north-east of Denderah,[2] and at Hibonû in the principality of the Gazelle.[3] Several bloody combats, which took place between Oxyrrhynchos and Heracleopolis Magna, were the means of driving them finally out of the Nile Valley; they rallied for the last time in the eastern provinces of the Delta, were beaten at Zalû,[4] and giving up all hope of success on land, they embarked at the head of the Gulf of Suez, in order to return to the Nubian Desert, their habitual refuge in times of distress. The sea was the special element of Typhon, and upon it they believed themselves secure. Horus, however, followed them, overtook them near Shas-hirît,[6] routed them, and on his return to Edfû, celebrated his victory by a solemn festival. By degrees, as he made himself master of those localities which owed allegiance to Sît, he took energetic measures to establish in them the authority of Osiris and of the solar cycle. In all of them he built, side by side with the sanctuary of the Typhonian divinities, a temple to himself, in which he was enthroned under the particular form he was obliged to assume in order to vanquish his enemies. Metamorphosed into a hawk at the battle of

THE SOUL GOING FORTH INTO ITS GARDEN BY DAY.[5]

[1] Zatmît (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géographique*, p. 1006) appears to have been situate at some distance from Bayadîyéh, on the spot where the map published by the Egyptian Commission marks the ruins of a modern village. There was a necropolis of considerable extent there, which furnishes the Luxor dealers with antiquities, many of which belong to the first Theban empire.

[2] Khaît, or Khaîti-nûtrît (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géographique*, pp. 269-273), appears to me to be now represented by Nutah, one of the divisions of the township of Denderah. The name Khaît may have been dropped, or confused with the administrative term *nakhiét*, which is still applied to a part of the village, Nakhiét-Nutah (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 326).

[3] Hibonû (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géographique*, pp. 490, 491, 1252) is now Minieh (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 14, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. xiii. pp. 506, 507).

[4] Zalû, Zarû (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géographique*, pp. 992-997) is the *Selle* of classical geographers; of the map of the nomes of the Delta on p. 75 of this work.

[5] Copied by Faucher-Gudin from the survey-drawings of the tomb of Anni by Boussac, member of the *Mission française* in Egypt (1891). The inscription over the arbour gives the list of the various trees in the garden of Anni during his lifetime.

[6] Shas-hirît is the Egyptian name of one of the towns of Berenice which the Ptolemies built on the Red Sea (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géographique*, pp. 792-794, 1335, 1336; and *Zeitschrift*, 1884, p. 96).

Hibonû, we next see him springing on to the back of Sît under the guise of a hippopotamus; in his shrine at Hibonû he is represented as a hawk perching on the back of a gazelle, emblem of the nome where the struggle took place.[1] Near to Zalû he became incarnate as a human-headed lion, crowned with the triple diadem, and having feet armed with claws which cut like a knife; it was under the form, too, of a lion that he was worshipped in the temple at Zalû.[2] The correlation of Sît and the celestial Horus was not, therefore, for these Egyptians of more recent times a primitive religious fact; it was the consequence, and so to speak the sanction, of the old hostility between the two gods. Horus had treated his enemy in the same fashion that a victorious Pharaoh treated the barbarians conquered by his arms: he had constructed a fortress to keep his foe in check, and his priests formed a sort of garrison as a precaution against the revolt of the rival priesthood and the followers of the rival deity.[3] In this manner the battles of the gods were changed into human struggles, in which, more than once, Egypt was deluged with blood. The hatred of the followers of Osiris to those of Typhon was perpetuated with such implacability, that the nomes which had persisted in adhering to the worship of Sît, became odious to the rest of the population: the image of their master on the monuments was mutilated,[4] their names were effaced from the geographical lists, they were assailed with insulting epithets, and to pursue and slay their sacred animals was reckoned a pious act. Thus originated those skirmishes which developed into actual civil wars, and were continued down to Roman times.[5] The adherents of Typhon only became

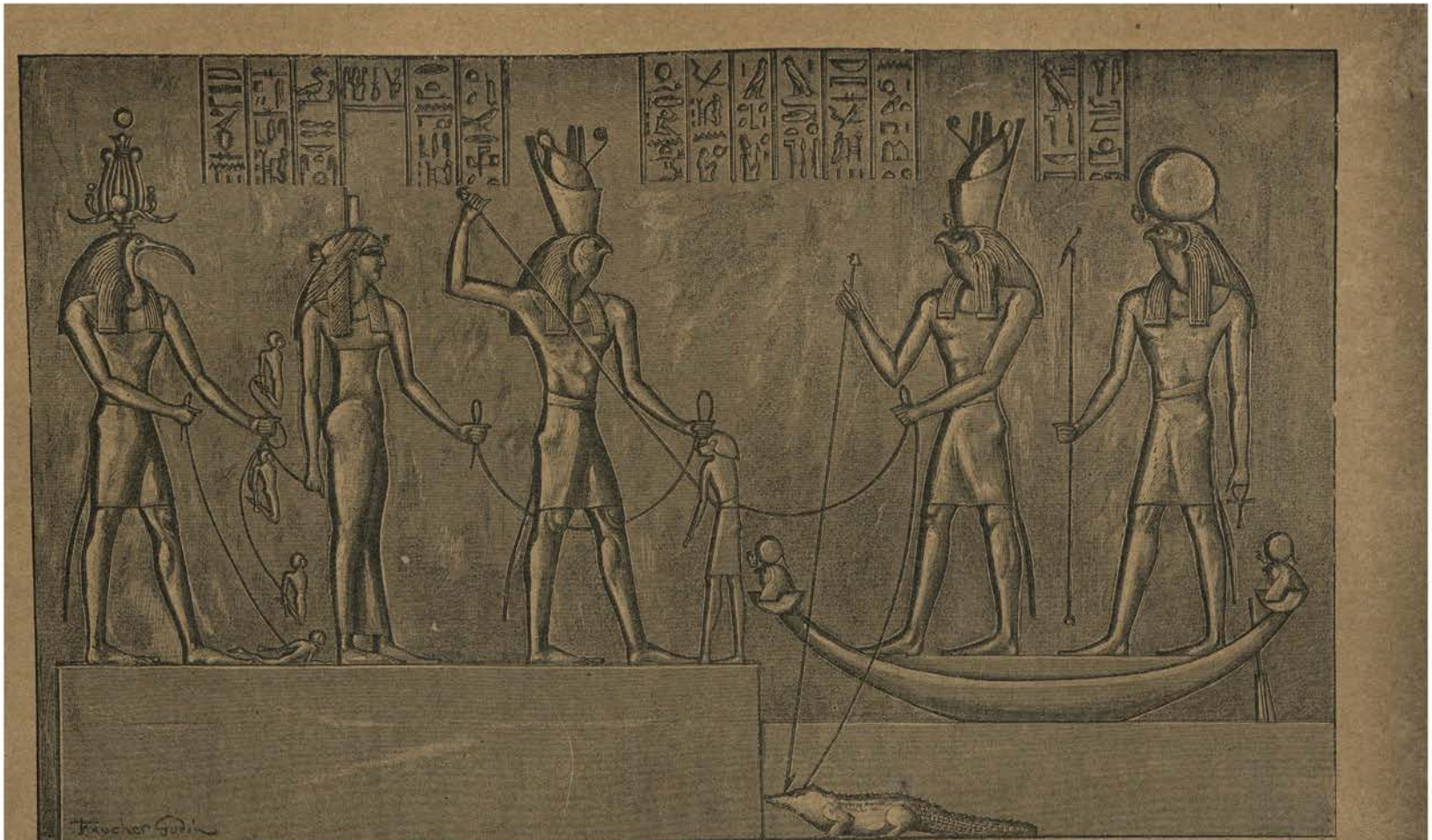
[1] NAVILLE, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus recueillis dans le temple d'Edfû*, pl. xiv. ll. 11–13; cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe*, pp. 17, 18.

[2] NAVILLE, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus recueillis dans le temple d'Edfû*, pl. xviii. ll. 1–3; BRUGSCH, *Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe*, pp. 34–36.

[3] These foundations, the "Marches of Horus" into Typhonian territory, are what the texts of Edfû (NAVILLE, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, pl. xvii. l. 10, et seq.) call "Masnît." The warrior-priests of Horus, according to an ancient tradition, called themselves "Masnâtiû"—blacksmiths (MASPERO, *Études de Religion et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 313, et seq.). "Masnît" at first meant the place where the blacksmiths worked, the forge; it then became the sanctuary of their master at Edfû, and by extension, the sanctuary of the celestial Horus in all those towns of Egypt where that god received a worship analogous to that of Edfû. Brugsch has shown that these "Masnît," or "divine forges," were four in number in Egypt (*Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 298–306, 371–378, 1211, 1212).

[4] Seti I., in his tomb, everywhere replaced the hieroglyph of the god Sît, which forms his name, by that of Osiris ; it was in order, as Champollion remarked, not to offend the god of the dead by the sight of his enemy, and more particularly perhaps to avoid the contradiction of a king named Sît being styled Osiris, and of calling him "the Osiris Seti." The mutilation of the name of Sît upon the monuments does not appear to me to be anterior to the Persian period; at that time the masters of the country being strangers and of a different religion, the feudal divinities ceased to aspire to the political supremacy, and the only common religion that Egypt possessed was that of Osiris, the god of the dead.

[5] Cf. the battle that Juvenal describes in his fifteenth satire, between the people of Denderah and those of the town of Ombi, which latter is not the Ombos situated between Assûan and Gebel Silsileh, but Pâ-nûbît, the Pampanis of Roman geographers, the present Negadeh (DÜMICHEN, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 125, 126).



AN INCIDENT IN THE WARS OF HARMAKHIS AND SÎT.

more confirmed in their veneration for the accursed god; Christianity alone overcame their obstinate fidelity to him.[1]

The history of the world for Egypt was therefore only the history of the struggle between the adherents of Osiris and the followers of Sît; an interminable warfare in which sometimes one and sometimes the other of the rival parties obtained a passing advantage, without ever gaining a decisive victory till the end of time. The divine kings of the second and third Ennead devoted most of the years of their earthly reign to this end; they were portrayed under the form of the great warrior Pharaohs, who, from the eighteenth to the twelfth century before our era, extended their rule from the plains of the Euphrates to the marshes of Ethiopia. A few peaceful sovereigns are met with here and there in this line of conquerors—a few sages or legislators, of whom the most famous was styled Thot, the doubly great, ruler of Hermopolis and of the Hermopolitan Ennead. A legend of recent origin made him the prime minister of Horus, son of Isis;[2] a still more ancient tradition would identify him with the second king of the second dynasty, the immediate successor of the divine Horuses, and attributes to him a reign of 3226 years.[3] He brought to the throne that inventive spirit and that creative power which had characterized him from the time when he was only a feudal deity. Astronomy, divination, magic, medicine, writing, drawing—in fine, all the arts and sciences emanated from him as from their first source.[4] He had taught mankind the methodical observation of the heavens and of the changes that took place in them, the slow revolutions of the sun, the rapid phases of the moon, the intersecting movements of the five planets, and the shapes and limits of the constellations which each night were lit up in the sky. Most

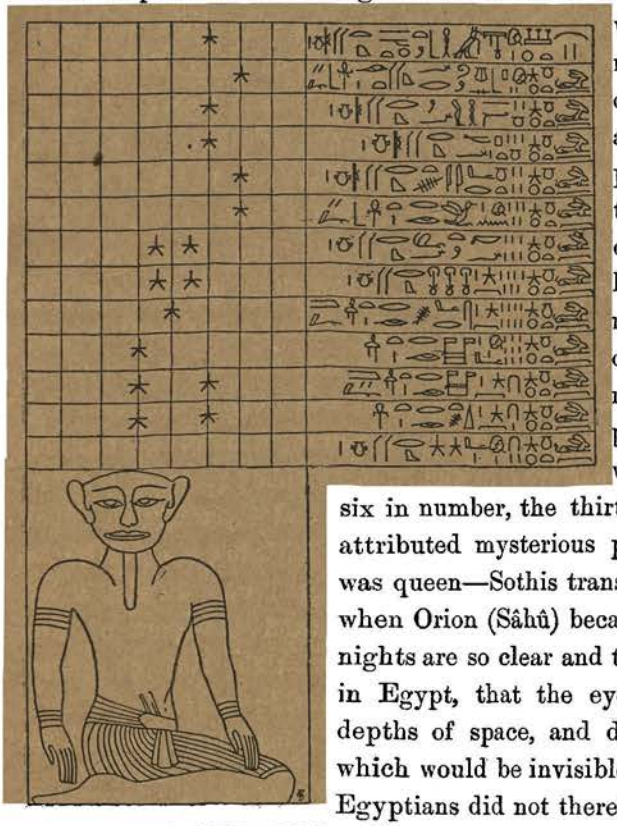
[1] This incident in the wars of Horus and Sît is drawn by Faucher-Gudin from a bas-relief of the temple of Edfû (NAVILLE, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, pl. xv.). On the right, Har-Hûdîti, standing up in the solar bark, pierces with his lance the head of a crocodile, a partisan of Sît, lying in the water below; Harmâkhis, standing behind him, is present at the execution. Facing this divine pair, is the young Horus, who kills a man, another partisan of Sît, while Isis and Har-Hûdîti hold his chains; behind Horus, Isis and Thot are leading four other captives bound and ready to be sacrificed before Harmâkhis.

[2] This is the part he plays in the texts of Edfû published by Naville, and which is confirmed by several passages, where he is called Zaîti, the "count" of Horus (cf. BERGMANN, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, pl. lxxxi. ll. 73, 74); according to another tradition, known to the Greeks, he is the minister, or "count" of Osiris (cf. p. 174, and DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xxv.), or, according to Plato, of Thamûs (*Phædrus*, DIDOT'S edition, vol. i. p. 733), according to Ælian (*Varia Historia*, xii. 4; xiv. 34) of Sesostris.

[3] *Royal Papyrus of Turin*, in LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. iii. col. ii. 11, l. 5. Thot, the king, mentioned on the coffer of a queen of the XIth dynasty, now preserved in the Berlin Museum (No. 1175), is not, according to M. Erman (*Historische Nachlese*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. pp. 46, 47), the god Thot, king of the divine dynasties, but a prince of the Theban or Heracleopolitan dynasties (cf. PIETSCHMANN, *Hermes Trismegistos*, p. 26, ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 65).

[4] The testimony of Greek and Roman writers on this subject is found in JABLONSKI, *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*, vol. iii. p. 159, et seq., and in PIETSCHMANN, *Hermes Trismegistos nach Ægyptischen, Griechischen und Orientalischen Ueberlieferungen*, p. 28, et seq. Thot is the Hermes Trismegistos of the Greeks.

of the latter either remained, or appeared to remain immovable, and seemed never to pass out of the regions accessible to the human eye. Those which were situate on the extreme margin of the firmament accomplished movements there analogous to those of the planets. Every year at fixed times they were seen to sink one after another below the horizon, to disappear, and rising again after an eclipse of greater or less duration, to regain insensibly their original positions. The constellations were reckoned to be thirty-six in number, the thirty-six *decani** to whom were attributed mysterious powers, and of whom Sothis was queen—Sothis transformed into the star of Isis, when Orion (Sâhû) became the star of Osiris.[1] The nights are so clear and the atmosphere so transparent in Egypt, that the eye can readily penetrate the depths of space, and distinctly see points of light which would be invisible in our foggy climate. The Egyptians did not therefore need special instruments to ascertain the existence of a considerable number of stars which we could not see without the help of our telescopes; they could perceive with the naked eye stars of the fifth magnitude, and note them upon their catalogues.[3] It entailed, it is true, a long training and uninterrupted practice to bring their sight up to its maximum keenness; but from very early times it was a function of the priestly colleges



ONE OF THE ASTRONOMICAL TABLES OF THE TOMB OF RAMSES IV.[2]

[* The "Decani" were single stars, or groups of stars, and related to the thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh decades of which the Egyptian year was composed (MASPERO, *Hist. Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, p. 71).—TRS.]

[1] For Orion and Sothis, see pp. 96–98 of this History. Champollion first drew attention to the *Decani*, who were afterwards described by LEPSIUS (*Einleitung zur Chronologie der Alten Ægypter*, pp. 68, 69), but with mistakes which Goodwin (*Sur un horoscope grec contenant les noms de plusieurs Décans*, in CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, second series, pp. 294–306) and Brugsch (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 131, et seq.; cf. *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 339, et seq.) have corrected by means of fresh documents.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a copy by LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 227, 3.

[3] Biot, however (*Sur un calendrier astronomique et astrologique trouvé à Thèbes en Égypte*, p. 15), states that stars of the third and fourth magnitude "are the smallest which can be seen with the naked eye." I believe I am right in affirming that several of the fellahîn and Bedawîn attached to the "service des Antiquités" can see stars which are usually classed with those of the fifth magnitude

to found and maintain schools of astronomy. The first observatories established on the banks of the Nile seem to have belonged to the temples of the sun; the high priests of Râ—who, to judge from their title, were alone worthy to behold the sun face to face—were actively employed from the earliest times in studying the configuration and preparing maps of the heavens.[1] The priests of other gods were quick to follow their example: at the opening of the historic period, there was not a single temple, from one end of the valley to the other, that did not possess its official astronomers, or, as they were called, "watchers of the night."[2] In the evening they went up on to the high terraces above the shrine, or on to the narrow platforms which terminated the pylons, and fixing their eyes continuously on the celestial vault above them, followed the movements of the constellations and carefully noted down the slightest phenomena which they observed. A portion of the chart of the heavens, as known to Theban Egypt between the eighteenth and twelfth centuries before our era, has survived to the present time; parts of it were carved by the decorators on the ceilings of temples, and especially on royal tombs.[3] The deceased Pharaohs were identified with Osiris in a more intimate fashion than their subjects. They represented the god even in the most trivial details; on earth—where, after having played the part of the beneficent Onnophris of primitive ages, they underwent the most complete and elaborate embalming, like Osiris of the lower world; in Hades—where they embarked side by side with the Sun-Osiris to cross the night and to

[1] I would recall the fact that the high priests of Râ styled themselves *Oîrû-maûû*, "the great of sight," the chief of those who see the Sun, those alone who behold him face to face. One of them describes himself on his statue (MASPERO, *Rapport sur une mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iii. p. 126, § xi.; cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 320): "the reader who *knows the face of the heavens*, the *great of sight* in the *mansion of the Prince* of Hermonthis" (cf. pp. 136, 160 of this History). Hermonthis, the Aûnû of the south, was the exact counterpart of Heliopolis, the Aûnû (On) of the north; it therefore possessed its *mansion of the prince* where Montû, the meridional sun, had of old resided during his sojourn upon earth.

[2] *Urshû:* this word is also used for the soldiers on watch during the day upon the walls of a fortress (MASPERO, *Le Papyrus de Berlin*, No. 1, ll. 18, 19, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. iii. p. 72). Birch believed he had discovered in the British Museum (*Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Characters*, pl. xix., No. 5635, and p. 8) a catalogue of observations made at Thebes by several astronomers upon a constellation which answered to the Hyades or the Pleiades (BIRCH, *Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, pp. 11, 12); it was merely a question in this text of the quantity of water supplied regularly to the astronomers of a Theban temple for their domestic purposes.

[3] The principal representations of the map of the heavens which are at present known to us, are those of the Rameseum on the left bank of the Nile at Thebes, which have been studied by Biot (*Sur l'année vague des Égyptiens*, 1831, 118, et seq.), by G. Tomlinson (*On the Astronomical Ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes*, in the *Transactions of the R. Soc. of Literature*, vol. iii. pl. ii. pp. 484–499), by Lepsius (*Einleitung zur Chronologie*, pp. 20, 21), and lastly by Brugsch (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 87, et seq.); those of Denderah, which have been reproduced in the *Description de l'Égypte* (*Ant.*, vol. iv. pls. 20, 21), and have had further light thrown on them by Brugsch (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 1, et seq.); those of the tomb of Seti I., which have been edited by Belzoni (*A Narrative of the Operations*, Suppl., iii.), by Rosellini (*Monumenti del Culto*, pl. 69), by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, iii. 137), by Lefébure (*Le Tombeau de Séti Ier*, part iv. pl. xxxvi., in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française du Caire*, vol. ii.), and finally studied by Brugsch in his *Thesaurus* (p. 64, et seq.).

be born again at daybreak; in heaven—where they shone with Orion-Sâhu under the guardianship of Sothis, and, year by year, led the procession of the stars. The maps of the firmament recalled to them, or if necessary taught them, this part of their duties: they there saw the planets and the *decani* sail past in their boats, and the constellations follow one another in continuous succession. The lists annexed to the charts indicated the positions occupied each month by the principal heavenly bodies—their risings, their culminations, and their settings.[1] Unfortunately, the workmen employed to execute these pictures either did not understand much about the subject in hand, or did not trouble themselves to copy the originals exactly: they omitted many passages, transposed others, and made endless mistakes, which make it impossible for us to transfer accurately to a modern map the information possessed by the ancients.

In directing their eyes to the celestial sphere, Thot had at the same time revealed to men the art of measuring time, and the knowledge of the future. As he was the moon-god *par excellence*, he watched with jealous care over the divine eye which had been entrusted to him by Horus, and the thirty days during which he was engaged in conducting[2] it through all the phases of its nocturnal life, were reckoned as a month. Twelve of these months formed the year, a year of three hundred and sixty days, during which the earth witnessed the gradual beginning and ending of the circle of the seasons. The Nile rose, spread over the fields, sank again into its channel; to the vicissitudes of the inundation succeeded the work of cultivation; the harvest followed the seedtime: these formed three distinct divisions of the year, each of nearly equal duration. Thot made of them the three seasons,—that of the waters, Shaît; that of vegetation, Pirûît; that of the harvest, Shômû—each comprising four months, numbered one to four; the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th months of Shaît; the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th months of Pirûît; the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th months of Shômû. The twelve months completed, a new year began, whose birth was heralded by the rising of Sothis in the early days of August.[3] The

[1] These tables, preserved in the tombs of Ramses IV. and Ramses IX., had attention first drawn to them by Champollion (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 239–241) and were published by him (*Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cclxxii. *bis*-cclxxii., Text, vol. ii. pp. 547–568), and subsequently by Lepsius (*Denkm.*, iii. 227, 228 *bis*). They have been studied by E. de Rougé and Biot (*Recherches de quelques dates absolues qui peuvent se conclure des dates vagues inscrites sur des monuments Égyptiens*, pp. 35–83, and *Sur un calendrier astronomique et astrologique trouvé à Thèbes en Égypte dans les tombeaux de Rhamsès VI et de Rhamsès IX*); by Lepsius (*Einleitung zur Chronologie*, p. 110, et seq.); by Gensler (*Die Thebanischen Tafeln stündlicher Sternaufgänge*); by Lepage-Renouf (*Calendar of Astronomical Observations in Royal Tombs of the Twentieth Dynasty*, in the *Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. iii. pp. 400–421); by Brugsch (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, pp. 185–194); by Bilfinger (*Die Sterntafeln in den Ägyptischen Königsgräbern von Bibân el-Molûk*); and lastly by Schack (*Ægyptische Studien*, Pt. II. 1894).

[2] One of the most common titles of the moon-god Thot is *An-ûzaît*, "He who carries, who brings the painted Eye of the Sun" (E. DE BERGMANN, *Historische Inschriften*, pl. lii.).

[3] The order and the nature of the seasons, imperfectly described by Champollion in his *Mémoire*

first month of the Egyptian year thus coincided with the eighth of ours. Thot became its patron, and gave it his name, relegating each of the others to a special protecting divinity; in this manner the third month of Shaît fell to Hathor, and was called after her; the fourth of Pirûît belonged to Ranûît or Ramûît, the lady of harvests, and derived from her its appellation of Pharmûti.[1] Official documents always designated the months by the ordinal number attached to them in each season, but the people gave them by preference the names of their tutelary deities, and these names, transcribed into Greek, and then into Arabic, are still used by the Christian inhabitants of Egypt, side by side with the Mussulman appellations. One patron for each month was, however, not deemed sufficient: each month was subdivided into three decades, over which presided as many *decani*, and the days themselves were assigned to genii appointed to protect them. A number of festivals were set apart at irregular intervals during the course of the year: festivals for the new year, festivals for the beginning of the seasons, months and decades, festivals for the dead, for the supreme gods, and for local divinities. Every act of civil life was so closely allied to the religious life, that it could not be performed without a sacrifice or a festival. A festival celebrated the cutting of the dykes, another the opening of the canals, a third the reaping of the first sheaf, or the carrying of the grain; a crop gathered or stored without a festival to implore the blessing of the gods, would have been an act of sacrilege and fraught with disaster. The first year of three hundred and sixty days, regulated by the revolutions of the moon, did not long meet the needs of the Egyptian people; it did not correspond with the length of the solar year, for it fell short of it by five and a quarter days, and this deficit, accumulating from twelvemonth to twelvemonth, caused such a serious difference between the calendar reckoning and the natural seasons, that it soon had to be corrected. They intercalated, therefore, after the twelfth month of each year and before the first day of the ensuing year, five epagomenal days, which they termed the "five days over and above the year."[2] The legend of Osiris relates that Thot created them in order to permit Nûît to give

sur les signes employés par les anciens Égyptiens à la notation du temps, have been correctly explained by Brugsch (*Nouvelles Recherches sur la division de l'année chez les anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 1–15, 61, 62).

[1] For the popular names of the months and their Coptic and Arabic transcriptions, see Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 472, et seq., and *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 359–361; the Egyptian festivals are enumerated and described in this latter work, p. 362, et seq.

[2] There appears to be a tendency among Egyptologists now to doubt the existence, under the Ancient Empire, of the five epagomenal days, and as a fact they are nowhere to be found expressly mentioned; but we know that the five gods of the Osirian cycle were born during the epagomenal days (cf. p. 172 of this History), and the allusions to the Osirian legend which are met with in the Pyramid texts, prove that the days were added long before the time when those inscriptions were cut. As the wording of the texts often comes down from prehistoric times, it is most likely that the invention of the epagomenal days is anterior to the first Thinite and Memphite dynasties.

birth to all her children. These days constituted, at the end of the "great year," a "little month,"[1] which considerably lessened the difference between the solar and lunar computation, but did not entirely do away with it, and the six hours and a few minutes of which the Egyptians had not taken count gradually became the source of fresh perplexities. They at length amounted to a whole day, which needed to be added every four years to the regular three hundred and sixty days, a fact which was unfortunately overlooked. The difficulty, at first only slight, which this caused in public life, increased with time, and ended by disturbing the harmony between the order of the calendar and that of natural phenomena: at the end of a hundred and twenty years, the legal year had gained a whole month on the actual year, and the 1st of Thot anticipated the heliacal rising of Sothis by thirty days, instead of coinciding with it as it ought. The astronomers of the Græco-Roman period, after a retrospective examination of all the past history of their country, discovered a very ingenious theory for obviating this unfortunate discrepancy.[2] If the omission of six hours annually entailed the loss of one day every four years, the time would come, after three hundred and sixty-five times four years, when the deficit would amount to an entire year, and when, in consequence, fourteen hundred and sixty whole years would exactly equal fourteen hundred and sixty-one incomplete years. The agreement of the two years, which had been disturbed by the force of circumstances, was re-established of itself after rather more than fourteen and a half centuries: the opening of the civil year became identical with the beginning of the astronomical year, and this again coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius, and therefore with the official date of the inundation. To the Egyptians of Pharaonic times, this simple and eminently practical method was unknown: by means of it hundreds of generations, who suffered endless troubles from the recurring difference between an uncertain and a fixed year, might have consoled themselves with the satisfaction of knowing that a day would come when one of their descendants would, for once in his life, see both years coincide with mathematical accuracy, and the seasons appear at their normal times. The Egyptian year might be compared to a watch which loses a definite number of minutes daily. The owner does not take the trouble to calculate a cycle in which the total of minutes lost will bring the watch round to the correct time: he bears with the irregularity as long as his affairs

[1] This is the name still given by the Copts to the five epagomenal days (STERN, *Koptische Grammatik*, p. 137; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 479, et seq.).

[2] Krall has shown that the Sothic cycle was devised and adapted to the ancient history of Egypt under the Antonines (KRALL, *Studien zur Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, i. p. 76. et seq.).

do not suffer by it; but when it causes him inconvenience, he alters the hands to the right hour, and repeats this operation each time he finds it necessary, without being guided by a fixed rule. In like manner the Egyptian year fell into hopeless confusion with regard to the seasons, the discrepancy continually increasing, until the difference became so great, that the king or the priests had to adjust the two by a process similar to that employed in the case of the watch.[1]

The days, moreover, had each their special virtues, which it was necessary for man to know if he wished to profit by the advantages, or to escape the perils which they possessed for him. There was not one among them that did not recall some incident of the divine wars, and had not witnessed a battle between the partisans of Sît and those of Osiris or Râ; the victories or the disasters which they had chronicled had as it were stamped them with good or bad luck, and for that reason they remained for ever either auspicious or the reverse. It was on the 17th of Athyr that Typhon had enticed his brother to come to him, and had murdered him in the middle of a banquet.[2] Every year, on this day, the tragedy that had taken place in the earthly abode of the god seemed to be repeated afresh in the heights of heaven. Just as at the moment of the death of Osiris, the powers of good were at their weakest, and the sovereignty of evil everywhere prevailed, so the whole of Nature, abandoned to the powers of darkness, became inimical to man. Whatever he undertook on that day issued in failure.[3] If he went out to walk by the river-side, a crocodile would attack him, as the crocodile sent by Sît had attacked Osiris.[4] If he set out on a journey, it was a last farewell which he bade to his family and friends: death would meet him by the way.[5] To escape this fatality, he must shut himself up at home,[6] and

[1] The questions relating to the divisions and defects of the Egyptian year have given rise to a considerable number of works, in which much science and ingenuity have been expended, often to no purpose. I have limited myself, in my remarks on the subject, to what seemed to me most probable and in conformity with what we know of Egyptian belief. The *Anastasi Papyrus IV.* (pl. x. ll. 1–5) has preserved the complaint of an Egyptian of the time of Mînephtah or of Seti II., with regard to the troubles suffered by the people owing to the defects of the year (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 4, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. xiii. pp. 303–410).

[2] The date of the 17th of Athyr, given by the Greeks (*De Isidê et Osiride*, § 13, edit. PARTHEY, pp. 21–23), is confirmed by several Pharaonic texts, such as the *Sallier Papyrus IV.*, pl. viii. ll. 4–6.

[3] The 12th of Paophi, the day on which one of the followers of Osiris joined himself to Sît, "whatsoever thou mayest do on this day, misfortune will come this day" (*Sallier Pap. IV.*, pl. v. l. 1).

[4] The 22nd of Paophi, "do not bathe in any water on this day: whosoever sails on the river this day, will be torn in pieces by the tongue of the divine crocodile" (*Sallier Pap. IV.*, pl. vi. ll. 5, 6).

[5] The 20th of Mechir, "think not to set forth in a boat" (*Sallier Pap. IV.*, pl. xvii. l. 8). The 24th, "set not out on this day to descend the river; whosoever approaches the river on this day loses his life" (*id.*, pl. xviii. ll. 1, 2).

[6] The 4th of Paophi, "go not forth from thy house in any direction on this day" (*Sallier Pap. IV.*, pl. iv. l. 3), neither on the 5th (*id.*, pl. iv. ll. 3, 4); the 5th of Pakhons, "whosoever goes forth from his house on this day will be attacked and die from fevers" (*id.*, pl. xxiii. ll. 8, 9).

wait in inaction until the hours of danger had passed and the sun of the ensuing day had put the evil one to flight.[1] It was to his interest to know these adverse influences; and who would have known them all, had not Thot pointed them out and marked them in his calendars? One of these, long fragments of which have come down to us, indicated briefly the character of each day, the gods who presided over it, the perils which accompanied their patronage, or the good fortune which might be expected of them.[2] The details of it are not always intelligible to us, as we are still ignorant of many of the episodes in the life of Osiris. The Egyptians were acquainted with the matter from childhood, and were guided with sufficient exactitude by these indications. The hours of the night were all inauspicious;[3] those of the day were divided into three "seasons" of four hours each, of which some were lucky, while others were invariably of ill omen.[4] "THE 4TH OF TYBI: *good, good, good.* Whatsoever thou seest on this day will be fortunate. Whosoever is born on this day, will die more advanced in years than any of his family; he will attain to a greater age than his father. THE 5TH OF TYBI: *inimical, inimical, inimical.* This is the day on which the goddess Sokhît, mistress of the double white Palace, b[illegible] the chiefs when they raised an insurrection, came forth, and manifest[illegible] themselves.[5] Offerings of bread to Shû, Phtah, Thot: burn incense to [illegible] and to the gods who are his followers, to Phtah, Thot, Hû-Sû, on this [illegible] Whatsoever thou seest on this day will be fortunate. THE 6TH OF T[illegible] *d, good, good.* Whatsoever thou seest on this day will be fortunate. [illegible]TH *inimical, inimical, inimical.* Do not join thyself to a

[1] On the 20th of Thot no work was to be done, no oxen killed, no[illegible] *rus IV.*, pl. i. ll. 2, 3). On the 22nd no fish might be eaten, no oil [illegible] ll. 8, 9). On the 23rd "put no incense on the fire, nor kill big cat[illegible] goose, nor of that which has lived" (*id.*, pl. i. l. 9; pl. ii. l. 1). on this day" (*id.*, pl. ii. ll. 6, 7), and the same advice is found o[illegible] on the 18th (*id.*, pl. v. l. 8), on the 26th (*id.*, pl. vi. l. 9), on the[illegible] thirty times in the remainder of the Sallier Calendar. On the[illegible] aloud to any one (*id.*, pl. xviii. ll. 7, 8).

[2] The *Sallier Papyrus IV.* in the British Museum, publ[illegible] clxviii. Its value was recognized by Champollion (SALVOLI[illegible] note 1), and an analysis was made of it by E. de Rougé [illegible] pp. 35–39; cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. ix.); it[illegible] *Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes de l'année égyptienn[illegible]*

[3] Some nights were more inauspicious than others [illegible] On the 9th of Thot "go not out at night" (*Sallier Pa[illegible]* (*id.*, pl. xi. l. 5) and the 27th (*id.*, pl. xii. l. 6); on [illegible] night only was dangerous (*id.*, pl. xix. l. 2).

[4] For this division of the day into three season[illegible] p. 30, note 2. Sunrise and sunset especially had [illegible] to be on one's guard (*Sallier Pap. IV.*, pl. ii. l. [illegible] ll. 2, 3; pl. xviii. ll. 6, 7; pl. xix. l. 4; pl. xxiii. [illegible]

[5] This is an allusion to the revolt of men ago[illegible] by means of the goddess Sokhît; cf. the accou[illegible]

of the Eye of Horus. Beware of letting the fire go out which is in thy house. THE 8TH OF TYBI: *good, good, good.* Whatsoever thou seest with thine eye this day, the Ennead of the gods will grant to thee: the sick will recover. THE 9TH OF TYBI: *good, good, good.* The gods cry out for joy at noon this day. Bring offerings of festal cakes and of fresh bread, which rejoice the heart of the gods and of the manes. THE 10TH OF TYBI: *inimical, inimical, inimical.* Do not set fire to weeds on this day: it is the day on which the god Sap-hôû set fire to the land of Bûto.[1] THE 11TH OF TYBI: *inimical, inimical, inimical.* Do not draw nigh to any flame on this day, for Râ entered the flames to strike all his enemies, and whosoever draws nigh to them on this day, it shall not be well with him during his whole life. THE 12TH OF TYBI: *inimical, inimical, inimical.* See that thou beholdest not a rat on this day, nor approachest any rat within thy house: it is the day wherein Sokhît gave forth the decrees."[2] In these cases a little watchfulness or exercise of memory sufficed to put a man on his guard against evil omens; but in many circumstances all the vigilance in the world would not protect him, and the fatality of the day would overtake him, without his being able to do ought to avert it. No man can at will change the day of his birth at a favourable time; he must accept it as it occurs, and yet it exercises a decisive influence on the manner of his death. According as he enters the world on the 4th, 5th, or 6th of Paophi, he either dies of marsh fever, of love, or of drunkenness.[3] The child of the 23rd perishes in the jaws of a crocodile:[4] that of the 27th is bitten and dies. On the other hand, the fortunate man whose birthday falls on the 29th lives to an extreme old age, and passes away peacefully,

out the evil to men, gave to them at the same agical arts of which he was the repository, made other gods.[7] He knew their mystic names, their f peril they most feared, the ceremonies which prayers which they could not refuse to grant leath. His wisdom, transmitted to his wor- me authority which he exercised upon those

h this passage alludes is as yet unknown.
l. 3; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 30–35; *ies*, pp. 65–69. The decrees of Sokhît were those put â for the destruction of men.

the fates announced to the "Predestined Prince."

e" which he prescribes, and his books of incan-

in heaven, on earth, or in the nether world. The magicians instructed in his school had, like the god, control of the words and sounds which, emitted at the favourable moment with the "correct voice," would evoke the most formidable deities from beyond the confines of the universe: they could bind and loose at will Osiris, Sît, Anubis, even Thot himself; they could send them forth, and recall them, or constrain them to work and fight for them. The extent of their power exposed the magicians to terrible temptations; they were often led to use it to the detriment of others, to satisfy their spite, or to gratify their grosser appetites. Many, moreover, made a gain of their knowledge, putting it at the service of the ignorant who would pay for it. When they

THE GODS FIGHTING FOR THE MAGICIAN WHO HAS INVOKED THEM.[1]

were asked to plague or get rid of an enemy, they had a hundred different ways of suddenly surrounding him without his suspecting it: they tormented him with deceptive or terrifying dreams;[2] they harassed him with apparitions and mysterious voices; they gave him as a prey to sicknesses, to wandering spectres, who entered into him and slowly consumed him.[3] They constrained, even at a distance, the wills of men; they caused women to be the victims of infatuations, to forsake those they had loved, and to love those they had previously detested.[4] In order to compose an irresistible charm, they merely required a little blood from a person, a few nail-parings, some hair, or a scrap of linen which he had worn, and which, from contact with his skin, had become impregnated with his personality. Portions of these were incorporated with the wax of a doll which they modelled, and clothed to resemble their victim; thenceforward all the inflictions to which the image was subjected were experienced by the original; he was consumed

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the tracing by GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Die Metternich-Stele*, pl. iii. 14.

[2] Most of the magical books contain formularies for "the sending of dreams;" e.g. *Papyrus 3229* in the Louvre (MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, pls. i.–viii., and pp. 113–123), the *Gnostic Papyrus of Leyden* and the incantations in Greek which accompany it (LEEMANS, *Monuments Égyptiens*, vol. i. pls. 1–14, and *Papyri Græci*, vol. ii. p. 16, et seq.).

[3] Thus in the hieroglyphic text (SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 1st series, pl. xii. ll. 15, 16), quoted for the first time by Chabas (*De quelques textes hiéroglyphiques relatifs aux esprits possesseurs*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athénæum Français*, 1856, p. 44): "That no dead man nor woman enter into him, that the shade of no manes haunt him."

[4] *Gnostic Papyrus of Leyden*, p. xiv. l. 1, et seq. (in LEEMANS, *Monuments Égyptiens du Musée de Leyde*, pl. vii.); cf. RÉVILLOUT, *Les Arts Égyptiens* in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. i. pp. 169–172.

with fever when his effigy was exposed to the fire, he was wounded when the figure was pierced by a knife. The Pharaohs themselves had no immunity from these spells.[1] These machinations were wont to be met by others of the same kind, and magic, if invoked at the right moment, was often able to annul the ills which magic had begun. It was not indeed all-powerful against fate: the man born on the 27th of Paophi would die of a snake-bite, whatever charm he might use to protect himself. But if the day of his death were foreordained, at all events the year in which it would occur was uncertain, and it was easy for the magician to arrange that it should not take place prematurely. A formula recited opportunely, a sentence of prayer traced on a papyrus, a little statuette worn about the person, the smallest amulet blessed and consecrated, put to flight the serpents who were the instruments of fate. Those curious stelæ on which we see Horus half naked, standing on two crocodiles and brandishing in his fists creatures which had reputed powers of fascination, were so many protecting talismans; set up at the entrance to a room or a house, they kept off the animals represented and brought the evil fate to nought. Sooner or later destiny would doubtless prevail, and the moment would come when the fated serpent, eluding all precautions, would succeed in carrying out the sentence of death. At all events the man would have lived, perhaps to the verge of old age, perhaps to the years of a hundred and ten, to which the wisest of the Egyptians hoped to attain, and which period no man born of mortal mother might exceed.[2] If the arts of magic could thus suspend the law of destiny, how much more efficacious were they when combating the influences of secondary deities, the evil eye, and the spells of man? Thot, who was the patron of sortilege, presided also over exorcisms, and the criminal acts which some committed in his name could have reparation made for them by others in his name. To malicious genii, genii still stronger were opposed; to harmful amulets, those which were protective; to destructive measures, vitalizing remedies; and this was not even the most troublesome part of the magicians' task. Nobody, in fact, among those delivered by their intervention escaped unhurt from the trials to which he had been subjected. The possessing spirits when they quitted their victim generally left behind them traces of their occupation, in the brain, heart, lungs, intestines—in fact, in the whole body. The illnesses to which the

[1] Spells were employed against Ramses III. (CHABAS, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, pp. 170, 172; DÉVÉRIA, *Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin*, pp. 125, 126, 131), and the evidence in the criminal charge brought against the magicians explicitly mentions the wax figures and the philters used on this occasion.

[2] See the curious memoir by Goodwin in CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 2nd series, pp. 231–237, on the age of a hundred and ten years, and its mention in Pharaonic and Coptic documents.

human race is prone, were not indeed all brought about by enchanters relentlessly persecuting their enemies, but they were all attributed to the presence of an invisible being, whether spectre or demon, who by some supernatural means had been made to enter the patient, or who, unbidden, had by malice or necessity taken up his abode within him.[1] It was needful, after expelling the intruder, to re-establish the health of the sufferer by means of fresh remedies. The study of simples and other *materiæ medicæ* would furnish these; Thot had revealed himself to man as the first magician, he became in like manner for them the first physician and the first surgeon.[2]

THE CHILD HORUS ON THE CROCODILES.[3]

Egypt is naturally a very salubrious country, and the Egyptians boasted that they were "the healthiest of all mortals;" but they did not neglect any precautions to maintain their health. "Every month, for three successive days, they purged the system by means of emetics or clysters.[4] The study of medicine with them was divided between specialists; each physician attending to one kind

[1] Upon this conception of sickness and death, see pp. 111, 112 of this History.

[2] The testimony of classical writers and of the Egyptian monuments to Thot as physician and surgeon has been collected and brought up to date by PIETSCHMANN, *Hermes Trismegistos*, p. 20, et seq., 43, et seq., 57.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Alexandrian stele in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 15 and text, pp. 3, 4). The reason for the appearance of so many different animals in this stele and in others of the same nature, has been given by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 417–419; they were all supposed to possess the evil eye and to be able to fascinate their victim before striking him.

[4] HEROD., ii. 77; the testimony of Herodotus in regard to potions and clysters is confirmed by that of the medical Papyri of Egypt (CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, p. 65, et seq.).

of illness only. Every place possessed several doctors; some for diseases of the eyes, others for the head, or the teeth, or the stomach, or for internal diseases."[1] But the subdivision was not carried to the extent that Herodotus would make us believe. It was the custom to make a distinction only between the physician trained in the priestly schools, and further instructed by daily practice and the study of books,—the bone-setter attached to the worship of Sokhît who treated fractures by the intercession of the goddess,—and the exorcist who professed to cure by the sole virtue of amulets and magic phrases.[2] The professional doctor treated all kinds of maladies, but, as with us, there were specialists for certain affections, who were consulted in preference to general practitioners. If the number of these specialists was so considerable as to attract the attention of strangers, it was because the climatic character of the country necessitated it. Where ophthalmia and affections of the intestines raged violently, we necessarily find many oculists[3] as well as doctors for internal maladies. The best instructed, however, knew but little of anatomy. As with the Christian physicians of the Middle Ages, religious scruples prevented the Egyptians from cutting open or dissecting, in the cause of pure science, the dead body which was identified with that of Osiris. The processes of embalming, which would have instructed them in anatomy, were not intrusted to doctors; the horror was so great with which any one was regarded who mutilated the human form, that the "paraschite," on whom devolved the duty of making the necessary incisions in the dead, became the object of universal execration: as soon as he had finished his task, the assistants assaulted him, throwing stones at him with such violence that he had to take to his heels to escape with his life.[4] The knowledge of what went on within the body was therefore but vague. Life seemed to be a little air, a breath which was conveyed by the veins from member to member. "The head contains twenty-two vessels, which draw the spirits into it and send them thence to all parts of the body. There are two vessels for the breasts, which communicate heat to the lower parts. There are two vessels for the thighs, two for the neck,[5] two for the arms, two for the back of the

[1] HERODOTUS, ii. 84, and the commentary of Wiedemann on these two passages (*Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 322, et seq., 344, 345).

[2] This division into three categories, indicated by the *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. xcix. ll. 2, 3, has been confirmed by a curious passage in a Græco-Egyptian treatise on alchemy (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 13, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. xiii. pp. 501–503).

[3] Affections of the eyes occupy one-fourth of the *Ebers Papyrus* (EBERS, *Das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten*, in the *Abh. der phil.-hist. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesells. der Wissenschaften*, vol. xi. pp. 199–336; cf. J. HIRSCHBERG, *Ægypten, Geschichtliche Studien eines Augenarztes*, pp. 31–71).

[4] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 91.

[5] These two vessels, not mentioned in the Ebers and the Berlin Papyri through the inadvertence of the copyist, were restored to the text of the general enumeration by H. SCHÆFER, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Papyrus Ebers* (in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. pp. 35–37).

head, two for the forehead, two for the eyes, two for the eyelids, two for the right ear by which enter the breaths of life, and two for the left ear which in like manner admit the breaths of death."[1] The "breaths" entering by the right ear, are "the good airs, the delicious airs of the north;" the sea-breeze which tempers the burning of summer and renews the strength of man, continually weakened by the heat and threatened with exhaustion. These vital spirits, entering the veins and arteries by the ear or nose, mingled with the blood, which carried them to all parts of the body; they sustained the animal and were, so to speak, the cause of its movement. The heart, the perpetual mover—*hâîti*—collected them and redistributed them throughout the body: it was regarded as "the beginning of all the members," and whatever part of the living body the physician touched, "whether the head, the nape of the neck, the hands, the breast, the arms, the legs, his hand lit upon the heart," and he felt it beating under his fingers.[3] Under the influence of the good breaths, the vessels were inflated and worked regularly; under that of the evil, they became inflamed, were obstructed, were hardened, or gave way, and the physician had to remove the obstruction, allay the inflammation, and re-establish their vigour and elasticity. At the moment of death, the vital spirits "withdrew with the soul; the blood," deprived of air, "became coagulated, the veins and arteries emptied themselves, and the creature perished" for want of breaths.[4]

A DEAD MAN RECEIVING THE BREATH OF LIFE.[2]

The majority of the diseases from which the ancient Egyptians suffered, are those which still attack their successors; ophthalmia, affections of the

[1] *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. xcix. l. 1-c. l. 14; *The Berlin Medical Papyrus*, pl. xv. l. 5, pl. xvi. l. 3; cf. CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, pp. 63, 64; BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens dessinés sur les lieux*, vol. ii. pp. 114, 115.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by NAVILLE, in the *Ægyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. i. pl. lxix. The deceased carries in his hand a sail inflated by the wind, symbolizing the air, and holds it to his nostrils that he may inhale the breaths which will fill anew his arteries, and bring life to his limbs.

[3] *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. xcix. ll. 1-4. It has been thought from that passage that the Egyptians had a vague preconception of the circulation of the blood.

[4] *Pœmander*, § x., PARTHEY'S edition, pp. 75, 76.

stomach,[1] abdomen, and bladder,[2] intestinal worms,[3] varicose veins, ulcers in the leg, the Nile pimple,[4] and finally the "divine mortal malady," the *divinus morbus* of the Latins, epilepsy.[5] Anæmia, from which at least one-fourth of the present population suffers,[6] was not less prevalent than at present, if we may judge from the number of remedies which were used against hæmaturia, the principal cause of it. The fertility of the women entailed a number of infirmities or local affections which the doctors attempted to relieve, not always with success.[7] The science of those days treated externals only, and occupied itself merely with symptoms easily determined by sight or touch; it never suspected that troubles which showed themselves in two widely remote parts of the body might only be different effects of the same illness, and they classed as distinct maladies those indications which we now know to be the symptoms of one disease.[8] They were able, however, to determine fairly well the specific characteristics of ordinary affections, and sometimes described them in a precise and graphic fashion. "The abdomen is heavy, the pit of the stomach painful, the heart burns and palpitates violently. The clothing oppresses the sick man and he can barely support it. Nocturnal thirsts. His heart is sick, as that of a man who has eaten of the sycamore gum. The flesh loses its sensitiveness as that of a man seized with illness. If he seek to satisfy a want of nature he finds no relief. Say to this, 'There is an accumulation of humours in the abdomen, which makes the heart sick. I will act.'"[9] This is the beginning of gastric fever so common in Egypt,

[1] Designated by the name *ro-abû*. *Ro-abû* is also a general term, comprising, besides the stomach, all the internal parts of the body in the region of the diaphragm; cf. MASPERO in the *Revue critique*, 1875, vol. i. p. 237; LÜRING, *Die über die medicinischen Kenntnisse der alten Ægypter berichtenden Papyri*, pp. 22–24, 70, et seq.; JOACHIM, *Papyrus Ebers*, p. xviii. The recipes for the stomach are confined for the most part to the *Ebers Papyrus*, pls. xxxvi.–xliv.

[2] *Ebers Papyrus*, pls. ii., xvi., xxiii., xxxvi., etc.

[3] *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. xvi. l. 15, pl. xxiii. l. 1; cf. LÜRING, *Die über die medicinischen Kenntnisse der alten Ægypter berichtenden Papyri*, p. 16; JOACHIM, *Papyrus Ebers*, pp. xvii., xviii.

[4] *Medical Papyrus of Berlin*, pl. iii. l. 5, pl. vi. l. 6, pl. x. l. 3, et seq.

[5] BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens dessinés sur les lieux*, vol. ii. p. 109.

[6] GRIESINGER, *Klinische und Anatomische Beobachtungen über die Krankheiten von Ægypten* in the *Archiv für physiologische Heilkunde*, vol. xiii. p. 556.

[7] With regard to the diseases of women, cf. *Ebers Papyrus*, pls. xciii., xcviii., etc. Several of the recipes are devoted to the solution of a problem which appears to have greatly exercised the mind of the ancients, viz. the determination of the sex of a child before its birth (*Medical Papyrus of Berlin*, verso pls. i., ii.; cf. CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, pp. 68–70; BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 116, 117); analogous formularies in writers of classical antiquity or of modern times have been cited by LEPAGE-RENOUF, *Note on the Medical Papyrus of Berlin* (in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 123–125), by ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 486, and by LÜRING, *Die über die medicinischen Kenntnisse der alten Ægypter berichtenden Papyri*, pp. 139–141.

[8] This is particularly noticeable in the chapters which treat of diseases of the eyes; cf. on this subject the remarks of MASPERO in the *Revue critique*, 1889, vol. ii. p. 365.

[9] *Medical Papyrus of Berlin*, pl. xiii. ll. 3–6; cf. CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, p. 60; BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 112, 113. A whole series of diagnoses, worded with much clearness, will be found, in the treatise on diseases of the stomach in the *Ebers Papyrus*,

and a modern physician could not better diagnose such a case; the phraseology would be less flowery, but the analysis of the symptoms would not differ from that given us by the ancient practitioner. The medicaments recommended comprise nearly everything which can in some way or other be swallowed, whether in solid, mucilaginous, or liquid form.[1] Vegetable remedies are reckoned by the score, from the most modest herb to the largest tree, such as the sycamore, palm, acacia, and cedar, of which the sawdust and shavings were supposed to possess both antiseptic and emollient properties. Among the mineral substances are to be noted sea-salt, alum,[2] nitre, sulphate of copper, and a score of different kinds of stones—among the latter the "memphite stone" was distinguished for its virtues; if applied to parts of the body which were lacerated or unhealthy, it acted as an anæsthetic and facilitated the success of surgical operations. Flesh taken from the living subject, the heart, the liver, the gall, the blood—either dried or liquid—of animals, the hair and horn of stags, were all customarily used in many cases where the motive determining their preference above other *materiæ medicæ* is unknown to us. Many recipes puzzle us by their originality and by the barbaric character of the ingredients recommended: "the milk of a woman who has given birth to a boy," the dung of a lion, a tortoise's brains, an old book boiled in oil.[3] The medicaments compounded of these incongruous substances were often very complicated. It was thought that the healing power was increased by multiplying the curative elements; each ingredient acted upon a specific region of the body, and after absorption, separated itself from the rest to bring its influence to bear upon that region. The physician made use of all the means which we employ to-day to introduce remedies into the human system, whether pills or potions, poultices or ointments, draughts or clysters. Not only did he give the prescriptions, but he made them up, thus

pl. xxxvi. l. 4, xliv. l. 12; cf. MASPERO in the *Revue critique*, 1876, vol. i. pp. 235-237; JOACHIM, *Papyrus Ebers*, pp. 39–53.

[1] The partial enumeration and identification of the ingredients which enter into the composition of Egyptian medicaments have been made by CHABAS (*Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, pp. 71–77, and *L'Égyptologie*, vol. i. pp. 186, 187); by BRUGSCH (*Recueil de Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 105); by STERN in the *Glossary* which he has made to the *Ebers Papyrus*, and more recently by LÜRING (*Die über die medicinischen Kenntnisse der alten Ægypter berichtenden Papyri*, pp. 85–120, 143–170).

[2] Alum was called *abenû, ôben*, in ancient Egyptian (LORET, *Le Nom égyptien de l'Alun*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 199, 200); for the considerable quantity produced, cf. HERODOTUS, ii. 180, and WIEDEMANN's Commentary, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 610, 611.

[3] *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. lxxviii. l. 22—lxxix. l. 1: "To relieve a child who is constipated.—An old book. Boil it in oil, and apply half to the stomach, to provoke evacuation." It must not be forgotten that, the writings being on papyrus, the old book in question, once boiled, would have an effect analogous to that of our linseed-meal poultices. If the physician recommended taking an old one, it was for economical reasons merely; the Egyptians of the middle classes would always have in their possession a number of letters, copy-books, and other worthless waste papers, of which they would gladly rid themselves in such a profitable manner

combining the art of the physician with that of the dispenser. He prescribed the ingredients, pounded them either separately or together, he macerated them in the proper way, boiled them, reduced them by heating, and filtered them through linen.[1] Fat served him as the ordinary vehicle for ointments, and pure water for potions; but he did not despise other liquids, such as wine, beer (fermented or unfermented), vinegar, milk, olive oil, "ben" oil either crude or refined,[2] even the urine of men and animals: the whole, sweetened with honey, was taken hot, night and morning.[3] The use of more than one of these remedies became world-wide; the Greeks borrowed them from the Egyptians; we have piously accepted them from the Greeks; and our contemporaries still swallow with resignation many of the abominable mixtures invented on the banks of the Nile, long before the building of the Pyramids.

It was Thot who had taught men arithmetic; Thot had revealed to them the mysteries of geometry and mensuration; Thot had constructed instruments and promulgated the laws of music; Thot had instituted the art of drawing, and had codified its unchanging rules.[4] He had been the inventor or patron of all that was useful or beautiful in the Nile valley, and the climax of his beneficence was reached by his invention of the principles of writing, without which humanity would have been liable to forget his teaching, and to lose the advantage of his discoveries.[5] It has been sometimes questioned whether writing, instead of having been a benefit to the Egyptians, did not rather injure them. An old legend relates that when the god unfolded his discovery to King Thamos, whose minister he was, the monarch immediately raised an objection to it. Children and young people, who had hitherto been forced to apply themselves diligently to learn and retain whatever was taught them, now that they possessed a means of storing up knowledge without trouble, would cease to apply themselves, and would neglect to exercise their memories.[6] Whether Thamos was right or not, the criticism came too late:

[1] I know of no description of the methods for making up pharmaceutical preparations; but an idea can be formed of the minuteness and care with which the Egyptians performed these operations, from the receipts preserved, as at Edfû, for the preparation of the perfumes used in the temples. DÜMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenemapt*, vol. ii. pp. 13-32; LORET, *Le Kyphi, parfum sacre des anciens Égyptiens*, taken from the *Journal Asiatique*, 8th series, vol. x. pp. 76-132.

[2] The moringa, which supplies the "ben" oil, is the Bikû of the Egyptian texts (LORET, *Recherches sur plusieurs plantes connues des Anciens Égyptiens*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vii. pp. 103-106).

[3] CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1st series, pp. 66, 67, 78, 79; LÜRING, *Ueber die medicinischen Kenntnisse der alten Ægypter berichtenden Papyri*, pp. 165-170.

[4] For these various attributions to Thot, see the passages from Egyptian inscriptions and from classical authors, collected by PIETSCHMANN, *Hermes Trismegistos*, p. 13, et seq., 39, et seq.

[5] Concerning Thot as the inventor of writing, cf. the Egyptian texts of Pharaonic and Ptolemaic times quoted by BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der Alten Ægypter*, p. 446.

[6] PLATO, *Phædrus*, § lix., DIDOT'S edition, vol. i. p. 733.

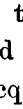
"the ingenious art of painting words and of speaking to the eyes" had once for all been acquired by the Egyptians, and through them by the greater part of mankind. It was a very complex system, in which were united most of the methods fitted for giving expression to thought, namely: those which were limited to the presentment of the idea, and those which were intended to suggest sounds.[1] At the outset the use was confined to signs intended to awaken the idea of the object in the mind of the reader by the more or less faithful picture of the object itself; for example, they depicted the sun by a centred disc 𓇳, the moon by a crescent 𓇶, a lion by a lion in the act of walking 𓃭, a man by a small figure in a squatting attitude 𓀀. As by this method it was possible to convey only a very restricted number of entirely materialistic concepts, it became necessary to have recourse to various artifices in order to make up for the shortcomings of the ideograms properly so-called. The part was put for the whole, the pupil 𓁹 in place of the whole eye 𓁹, the head of the ox 𓃒 instead of the complete ox 𓃭. The Egyptians substituted cause for effect and effect for cause, the instrument for the work accomplished, and the disc of the sun 𓇳 signified the day; a smoking brazier 𓌙 the fire: the brush, inkpot, and palette of the scribe 𓏛 denoted writing or written documents. They conceived the idea of employing some object which presented an actual or supposed resemblance to the notion to be conveyed; thus, the foreparts of a lion 𓁷 denoted priority, supremacy, command; the wasp symbolized royalty 𓆇, and a tadpole 𓆑 stood for hundreds of thousands. They ventured finally to use conventionalisms, as for instance when they drew the axe 𓌳 for a god, or the ostrich-feather 𓆄 for

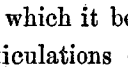
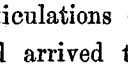
THOT RECORDS THE YEARS OF THE LIFE OF RAMSES II.[2]

[1] The gradual formation of the hieroglyphic system, and the nature of the various elements of which it was composed, have been very skilfully analysed by FR. LENORMANT, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien parmi les peuples de l'Ancien Monde*, vol. i. pp. 1–52.

[2] Bas-relief of the temple of Seti I. at Abydos, drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato. The god is marking with his reed-pen upon the notches of a long frond of palm, the duration in millions of years of the reign of Pharaoh upon this earth, in accordance with the decree of the gods.

justice; the sign in these cases had only a conventional connection with the concept assigned to it. At times two or three of these symbols were associated in order to express conjointly an idea which would have been inadequately rendered by one of them alone: a five-pointed star placed under an inverted crescent moon denoted a month, a calf running before the sign for water indicated thirst. All these artifices combined furnished, however, but a very incomplete means of seizing and transmitting thought. When the writer had written out twenty or thirty of these signs and the ideas which they were supposed to embody, he had before him only the skeleton of a sentence, from which the flesh and sinews had disappeared; the tone and rhythm of the words were wanting, as were also the indications of gender, number, person, and inflection, which distinguish the different parts of speech and determine the varying relations between them. Besides this, in order to understand for himself and to guess the meaning of the author, the reader was obliged to translate the symbols which he deciphered, by means of words which represented in the spoken language the pronunciation of each symbol. Whenever he looked at them, they suggested to him both the idea and the word for the idea, and consequently a sound or group of sounds; when each of them had thus acquired three or four invariable associations of sound, he forgot their purely ideographic value and accustomed himself to consider them merely as notations of sound.

The first experiment in phonetics was a species of rebus, where each of the signs, divorced from its original sense, served to represent several words, similar in sound, but differing in meaning in the spoken language. The same group of articulations, *Naûfir, Nofir,* conveyed in Egyptian the concrete idea of a lute and the abstract idea of beauty; the sign expressed at once the lute and beauty. The beetle was called *Khopirrû,* and the verb "to be" was pronounced *khopirû:* the figure of the beetle consequently signified both the insect and the verb, and by further combining with it other signs, the articulation of each corresponding syllable was given in detail. The sieve *khaû,* the mat *pû, pi,* the mouth *ra, rû,* gave the formula *khaû-pi-rû,* which was equivalent to the sound of *khopirû,* the verb "to be:" grouped together  , they denoted in writing the concept of "to be" by means of a triple rebus. In this system, each syllable of a word could be represented by one of several signs, all sounding alike. One-half of these "syllabics" stood for open, the other half for closed syllables, and the use of the former soon brought about the formation of a true alphabet. The final vowel in them became detached, and left only the remaining consonant—for example, *r* in *rû, h* in *ha, n* in *ni, b* in *bû*—so that *rû,* *ha,* *ni,* *bû,*

eventually stood for *r*, *h*, *n*, and *b* only. This process in the course of time having been applied to a certain number of syllables, furnished a fairly large alphabet, in which several letters represented each of the twenty-two chief articulations, which the scribes considered sufficient for their purposes. The signs corresponding to one and the same letter were homophones or "equivalents in sound"— , , , are homophones, just as and , because each of them, in the group to which it belongs, may be indifferently used to translate to the eye the articulations *m* or *n*. One would have thought that when the Egyptians had arrived thus far, they would have been led, as a matter of course, to reject the various characters which they had used each in its turn, in order to retain an alphabet only. But the true spirit of invention, of which they had given proof, abandoned them here as elsewhere: if the merit of a discovery was often their due, they were rarely able to bring their invention to perfection. They kept the ideographic and syllabic signs which they had used at the outset, and, with the residue of their successive notations, made for themselves a most complicated system, in which syllables and ideograms were mingled with letters properly so called. There is a little of everything in an Egyptian phrase, sometimes even in a word; as, for instance, in  *maszirû*, the ear, or  *kherôû*, the voice; there are the syllabics *mas*, *zir*, *rû*, *kher*, the ordinary letters *s*, *û*, *r*, which complete the phonetic pronunciation, and finally the ideograms, namely, , which gives the picture of the ear by the side of the written word for it, and which proves that the letters represent a term designating an action of the mouth. This medley had its advantages; it enabled the Egyptians to make clear, by the picture of the object, the sense of words which letters alone might sometimes insufficiently explain. The system demanded a serious effort of memory and long years of study; indeed, many people never completely mastered it. The picturesque appearance of the sentences, in which we see representations of men, animals, furniture, weapons, and tools grouped together in successive little pictures, rendered hieroglyphic writing specially suitable for the decoration of the temples of the gods or the palaces of kings. Mingled with scenes of worship, sacrifice, battle, or private life, the inscriptions frame or separate groups of personages, and occupy the vacant spaces which the sculptor or painter was at a loss to fill; hieroglyphic writing is pre-eminently a monumental script. For the ordinary purposes of life it was traced in black or red ink on fragments of limestone or pottery, or on wooden tablets covered with stucco, and specially on the fibres of papyrus. The exigencies of haste and the unskilfulness of scribes soon changed both its appearance and its

elements; the characters when contracted, superimposed and united to one another with connecting strokes, preserved only the most distant resemblance to the persons or things which they had originally represented. This cursive writing, which was somewhat incorrectly termed hieratic, was used only for public or private documents, for administrative correspondence, or for the propagation of literary, scientific, and religious works.

It was thus that tradition was pleased to ascribe to the gods, and among them to Thot—the doubly great—the invention of all the arts and sciences which gave to Egypt its glory and prosperity. It was clear, not only to the vulgar, but to the wisest of the nation, that, had their ancestors been left merely to their own resources, they would never have succeeded in raising themselves much above the level of the brutes. The idea that a discovery of importance to the country could have risen in a human brain, and, once made known, could have been spread and developed by the efforts of successive generations, appeared to them impossible to accept. They believed that every art, every trade, had remained unaltered from the outset, and if some novelty in its aspect tended to show them their error, they preferred to imagine a divine intervention, rather than be undeceived. The mystic writing, inserted as chapter sixty-four in the *Book of the Dead*, and which subsequently was supposed to be of decisive moment to the future life of man, was, as they knew, posterior in date to the other formulas of which this book was composed; they did not, however, regard it any the less as being of divine origin. It had been found one day, without any one knowing whence it came, traced in blue characters on a plaque of alabaster, at the foot of the statue of Thot, in the sanctuary of Hermopolis. A prince, Hardidûf, had discovered it in his travels, and regarding it as a miraculous object, had brought it to his sovereign.[1] This king, according to some, was Hûsaphaîti of the first dynasty, but by others was believed to be the pious Mykerinos. In the same way, the book on medicine, dealing with the diseases of women, was held not to be the work of a practitioner; it had revealed itself to a priest watching at night before the Holy of Holies in the temple of Isis at Coptos. "Although the earth was plunged into

[1] With regard to this double origin of chap. lxiv., see GUIEYSSE, *Rituel Funeraire Égyptien, chap. 64*, pp. 10–12 and pp. 58, 59. I have given elsewhere my reasons for regarding this tradition as a proof of the comparatively modern recension of this chapter, though this is contrary to the generally received opinion, which would recognize in it an indication of the great antiquity which the Egyptians attributed to the work (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 367–369). A tablet of hard stone, the "Péroffsky plinth," which bears the text of this chapter, and which is now in the museum of the Hermitage (GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Ermitage Impérial. Inventaire de la Collection Égyptienne*, No. 1101, pp. 169, 170), is probably a facsimile of the original discovered in the temple of Thot.

darkness, the moon shone upon it and enveloped it with light. It was sent as a great wonder to the holiness of King Kheops, the just of speech."[1] The gods had thus exercised a direct influence upon men until they became entirely civilized, and this work of culture was apportioned among the three divine dynasties according to the strength of each. The first, which comprised the most vigorous divinities, had accomplished the more difficult task of establishing the world on a solid basis; the second had carried on the education of the Egyptians; and the third had regulated, in all its minutiæ, the religious constitution of the country. When there was nothing more demanding supernatural strength or intelligence to establish it, the gods returned to heaven, and were succeeded on the throne by mortal men. One tradition maintained dogmatically that the first human king whose memory it preserved, followed immediately after the last of the gods, who, in quitting the palace, had made over the crown to man as his heir, and that the change of nature had not entailed any interruption in the line of sovereigns.[2] Another tradition would not allow that the contact between the human and divine series had been so close. Between the Ennead and Menes, it intercalated one or more lines of Theban or Thinite kings; but these were of so formless, shadowy, and undefined an aspect, that they were called Manes, and there was attributed to them at most only a passive existence, as of persons who had always been in the condition of the dead, and had never been subjected to the trouble of passing through life.[3] Menes was the first in order of those who were actually living.[4] From his time, the Egyptians claimed to possess an uninterrupted list of the Pharaohs who had ruled over the Nile valley. As far back as the XVIIIth dynasty this list was written upon papyrus, and furnished the number of years that each prince occupied the throne, or the length of his life.[5] Extracts from it were inscribed in the

[1] BIRCH, *Medical Papyrus with the name of Cheops*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 61–74.

[2] This tradition is related in the Chronicle of Scaliger (LAUTH, *Manetho und das Türiner Königsbuch*, pp. 8–11; cf. p. 74, et seq.), and in most of the ancient authors who have used Manetho's extracts (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 539, 540).

[3] This tradition occurs in the Armenian version of Eusebius, and, like the preceding one, comes from Manetho (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 526, 528). One only of these kings, Bytis, is known to us, who perhaps may be identified with the Bitiû of an Egyptian tale.

[4] MANETHO (in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 539): Μετὰ νέκυας τοὺς ἡμιθέους πρώτη βασιλεία καταριθμεῖται βασιλέων ὀκτὼ, ὧν πρῶτος Μήνης Θεινίτης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ξβ'. Most classical authorities confirm the tradition which Manetho had found in the archives of the temples of Memphis (HEROD., ii. 99; DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 43, 45, 94; JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.*, viii. 6, 2; ERATOSTHENES, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 540).

[5] The only one of these lists which we possess, the "Turin Royal Papyrus," was bought, nearly intact, at Thebes, by Drovetti, about 1818, but was accidentally injured by him in bringing home. The fragments of it were acquired, together with the rest of the collection, by the Piedmontese Government in 1820, and placed in the Turin Museum, where Champollion saw and drew attention to them in 1824 (*Papyrus Égyptiens historiques du Musée royal Égyptien*, p. 7, taken from the *Bulletin Férussac*, eighth section, 1824, No. 292). Seyffarth carefully collected and arranged them in the

temples, or even in the tombs of private persons; and three of these abridged catalogues are still extant, two coming from the temples of Seti I. and Ramses II. at Abydos,[1] while the other was discovered in the tomb of a person of rank named Tunari, at Saqqâra.[2] They divided this interminable succession of often problematical personages into dynasties, following in this division, rules of which we are ignorant, and which varied in the course of ages. In the time of the Ramessides, names in the list which subsequently under the Lagides formed five groups were made to constitute one single dynasty.[3] Manetho of Sebennytos, who wrote a history of Europe for the use of Alexandrine Greeks, had adopted, on some unknown authority, a division of thirty-one dynasties from Menes to the Macedonian Conquest, and his system has prevailed—not, indeed, on account of its excellence, but because it is the only complete one which has come down to us.[4] All the families inscribed in his lists ruled in succession.[5] The country was no doubt

order in which they now are; subsequently Lepsius gave a facsimile of them in 1840, in his *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pls. i.–vi., but this did not include the verso; Champollion-Figeac edited in 1847, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. vi., the tracings taken by the younger Champollion before Seyffarth's arrangement; lastly, Wilkinson published the whole in detail in 1851 (*The Fragments of the Hieratic Papyrus at Turin*). Since then, the document has been the subject of continuous investigation: E. de Rougé has reconstructed, in an almost conclusive manner, the pages containing the first six dynasties (*Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, pl. iii.), and Lauth, with less certainty, those which deal with the eight following dynasties (*Manetho und der Turiner Königspapyrus*, pls. iv.–x.).

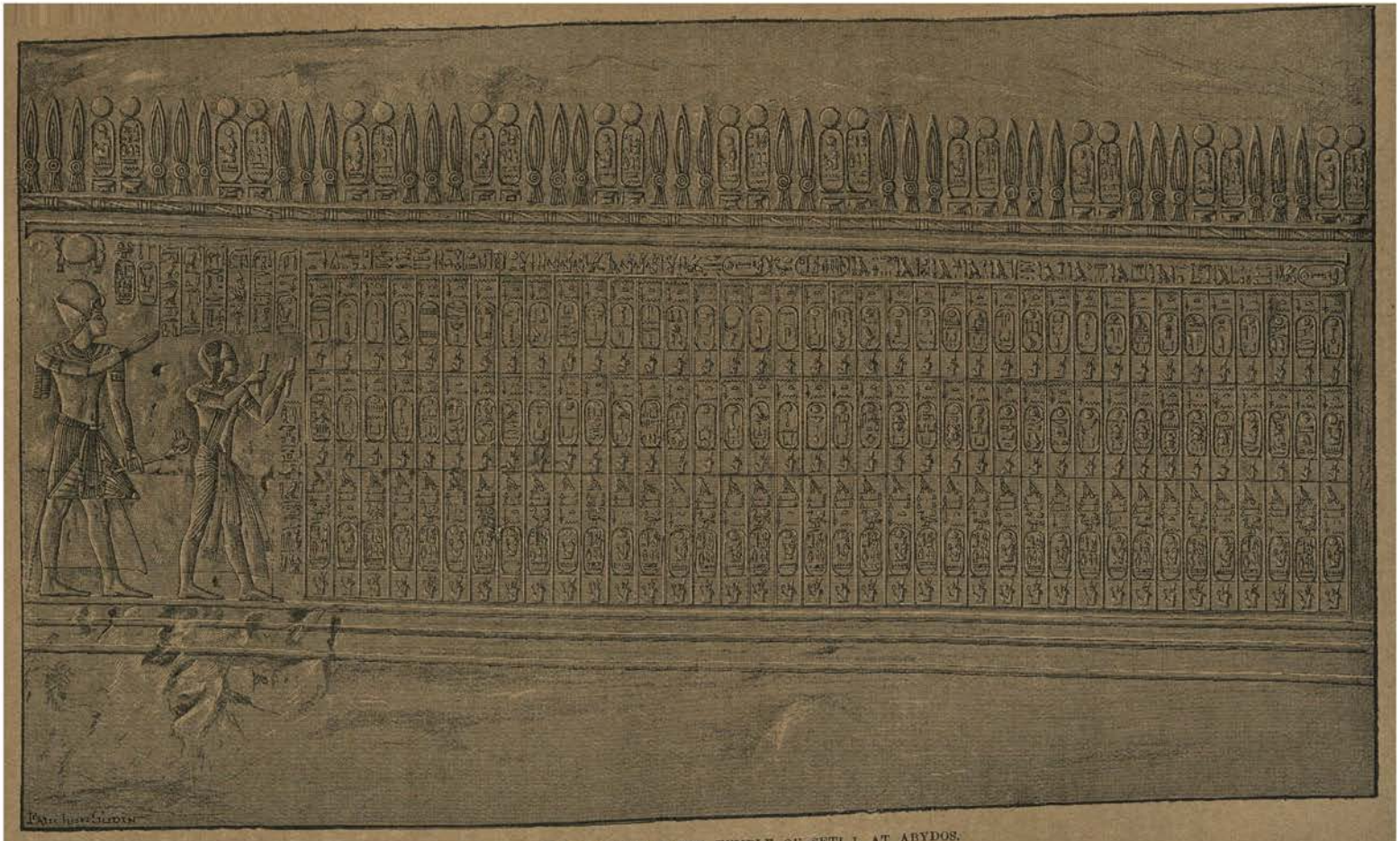
[1] The first table of Abydos, unfortunately incomplete, was discovered in the temple of Ramses II. by Banks, in 1818; the copy published by Caillaud (*Voyage à Méroé*, vol. iii. pp. 305–307, and pl. lxxii., No. 2) and by Salt (*Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics*, p. 1, et seq., and frontispiece) served as a foundation for Champollion's first investigations on the history of Egypt (*Lettres à M. de Blacas*, 2e Lettre, p. 12, et seq., and pl. vi.). The original, brought to France by Mimaut (Dubois, *Description des antiquités Égyptiennes*, etc., pp. 19–28), was acquired by England, and is now in the British Museum. The second table, which is complete, all but a few signs, was brought to light by Mariette in 1864, in the excavations at Abydos, and was immediately noticed and published by Dümichen, *Die Sethos Tafel von Abydos*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1864, pp. 81–83. The text of it is to be found in Mariette, *La Nouvelle Table d'Abydos* (*Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xiii.), and *Abydos*, vol. i. pl. 43.

[2] The table of Saqqâra, discovered in 1863, has been published by Mariette, *La Table de Saqqâra* (*Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. x. p. 169, et seq.), and reproduced in the *Monuments Divers*, pl. 58.

[3] The Royal Canon of Turin, which dates from the Ramesside period, gives, indeed, the names of these early kings without a break, until the list reaches Unas; at this point it sums up the number of Pharaohs and the aggregate years of their reigns, thus indicating the end of a dynasty (E. de Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, pp. 15, 16, 25). In the intervals between the dynasties rubrics are placed, pointing out the changes which took place in the order of direct succession (*id.*, pp. 160, 161). The division of the same group of sovereigns into five dynasties has been preserved to us by Manetho (in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 539–554).

[4] The best restoration of the system of Manetho is that by Lepsius, *Das Königsbuch der Alten Ægypter*, which should be completed and corrected from the memoirs of Lauth, Lieblein, Krall, and Unger. A common fault attaches to all these memoirs, so remarkable in many respects. They regard the work of Manetho, not as representing a more or less ingenious system applied to Egyptian history, but as furnishing an authentic scheme of this history, in which it is necessary to enclose all the royal names which the monuments have revealed, and are still daily revealing to us; cf. Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points dans le Recueil de Travaux*, t. xvii., p. 56 *sqq.*, 121 *sqq.*

[5] E. de Rougé triumphantly demonstrated, in opposition to Bunsen, now nearly fifty years ago, that all Manetho's dynasties are successive (*Examen de l'ouvrage de M. le Chevalier de Bunsen*, in the



THE TABLE OF THE KINGS IN THE TEMPLE OF SETI I. AT ABYDOS.

From a photograph by Beato.

frequently broken up into a dozen or more independent states, each possessing its own kings during several generations; but the annalists had from the outset discarded these collateral lines, and recognized only one legitimate dynasty, of which the rest were but vassals. Their theory of legitimacy does not always agree with actual history, and the particular line of princes which they rejected as usurpers represented at times the only family possessing true rights to the crown.[1] In Egypt, as elsewhere, the official chroniclers were often obliged to accommodate the past to the exigencies of the present, and to manipulate the annals to suit the reigning party; while obeying their orders the chroniclers deceived posterity, and it is only by a rare chance that we can succeed in detecting them in the act of falsification, and can re-establish the truth.

The system of Manetho, in the state in which it has been handed down to us by epitomizers, has rendered, and continues to render, service to science; if it is not the actual history of Egypt, it is a sufficiently faithful substitute to warrant our not neglecting it when we wish to understand and reconstruct the sequence of events. His dynasties furnish the necessary framework for most of the events and revolutions, of which the monuments have preserved us a record. At the outset, the centre to which the affairs of the country gravitated was in the extreme north of the valley. The principality which extended from the entrance of the Fayûm to the apex of the Delta, and subsequently the town of Memphis itself, imposed their sovereigns upon the remaining nomes, served as an emporium for commerce and national industries, and received homage and tribute from neighbouring peoples. About the time of the VIth dynasty this centre of gravity was displaced, and tended towards the interior; it was arrested for a short time at Heracleopolis (IXth and Xth dynasties), and ended by fixing itself at Thebes (XIth dynasty). From henceforth Thebes became the capital, and furnished Egypt with her rulers. With the exception of the XIVth Xoïte dynasty, all the families occupying the throne from the XIth to the XXth dynasty were Theban. When the barbarian shepherds invaded Africa from Asia, the Thebaïd became the last refuge and bulwark of Egyptian nationality; its

Annales de Philosophie chrétienne, 1846-47, vol. xiii.-xvi.), and the monuments discovered from year to year in Egypt have confirmed his demonstration in every detail.

[1] It is enough to give two striking examples of this. The royal lists of the time of the Ramessides suppress, at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, Amenôthes IV. and several of his successors, and give the following sequence—Amenôthes III., Harmhabît, Ramses I., without any apparent hiatus; Manetho, on the contrary, replaces the kings who were omitted, and keeps approximately to the real order between Horos (Amenôthes III.) and Armaïs (Harmhabît). Again, the official tradition of the XXth dynasty gives, between Ramses II. and Ramses III., the sequence—Mînephtah, Seti II., Nakht-Seti; Manetho, on the other hand, gives Amenemes followed by Thûôris, who appear to correspond to the Amenmeses and Siphtah of contemporary monuments, but, after Mînephtah, he omits Seti II. and Nakhîtou-Seti, the father of Ramses III.

chiefs struggled for many centuries against the conquerors before they were able to deliver the rest of the valley. It was a Theban dynasty, the XVIIIth, which inaugurated the era of foreign conquest; but after the XIXth, a movement, the reverse of that which had taken place towards the end of the first period, brought back the centre of gravity, little by little, towards the north of the country. From the time of the XXIst dynasty, Thebes ceased to hold the position of capital: Tanis, Bubastis, Mendes, Sebennytos, and above all, Sais, disputed the supremacy with each other, and political life was concentrated in the maritime provinces. Those of the interior, ruined by Ethiopian and Assyrian invasions, lost their influence and gradually dwindled away. Thebes became impoverished and depopulated; it fell into ruins, and soon was nothing more than a resort for devotees or travellers. The history of Egypt is, therefore, divided into three periods, each corresponding to the suzerainty of a town or a principality:—

I.—MEMPHITE PERIOD, usually called the "Ancient Empire," from the Ist to the Xth dynasty: kings of Memphite origin ruled over the whole of Egypt during the greater part of this epoch.

II.—THEBAN PERIOD, from the XIth to the XXth dynasty. It is divided into two parts by the invasion of the Shepherds (XVIth dynasty):

a. The first Theban Empire (Middle Empire), from the XIth to the XIVth dynasty.

b. The new Theban Empire, from the XVIIth to the XXth dynasty.

III.—SAÏTE PERIOD, from the XXIst to the XXXth dynasty, divided into two unequal parts by the Persian Conquest:

a. The first Saïte period, from the XXIst to the XXVIth dynasty.

b. The second Saïte period, from the XXVIIIth to the XXXth dynasty.

The Memphites had created the monarchy. The Thebans extended the rule of Egypt far and wide, and made of her a conquering state: for nearly six centuries she ruled over the Upper Nile and over Western Asia. Under the Saïtes she retired gradually within her natural frontiers, and from having been aggressive became assailed, and suffered herself to be crushed in turn by all the nations she had once oppressed.[1]

The monuments have as yet yielded no account of the events which tended to unite the country under the rule of one man; we can only surmise that the feudal principalities had gradually been drawn together into two groups, each

[1] The division into Ancient, Middle, and New Empire, proposed by Lepsius, has the disadvantage of not taking into account the influence which the removal of the seat of the dynasties exercised on the history of the country. The arrangement which I have here adopted was first put forward in the *Revue critique*, 1873, vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

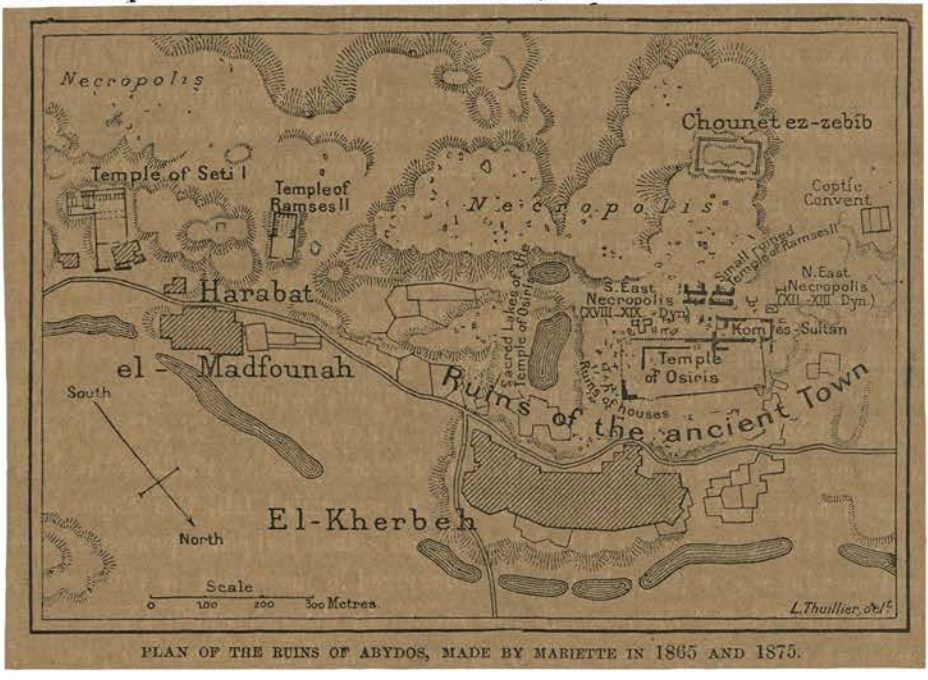
of which formed a separate kingdom. Heliopolis became the chief focus in the north, from which civilization radiated over the rich plains and the marshes of the Delta. Its colleges of priests had collected, condensed, and arranged the principal myths of the local religions; the Ennead to which it gave conception would never have obtained the popularity which we must acknowledge it had, if its princes had not exercised, for at least some period, an actual suzerainty over the neighbouring plains.[1] It was around Heliopolis that the kingdom of Lower Egypt was organized; everything there bore traces of Heliopolitan theories—the protocol of the kings, their supposed descent from Râ, and the enthusiastic worship which they offered to the sun. The Delta, owing to its compact and restricted area, was aptly suited for government from one centre; the Nile valley proper, narrow, tortuous, and stretching like a thin strip on either bank of the river, did not lend itself to so complete a unity. It, too, represented a single kingdom, having the reed and the lotus for its emblems; but its component parts were more loosely united, its religion was less systematized, and it lacked a well-placed city to serve as a political and sacerdotal centre. Hermopolis contained schools of theologians who certainly played an important part in the development of myths and dogmas; but the influence of its rulers was never widely felt. In the south, Siût disputed their supremacy, and Heracleopolis stopped their road to the north. These three cities thwarted and neutralized one another, and not one of them ever succeeded in obtaining a lasting authority over Upper Egypt. Each of the two kingdoms had its own natural advantages and its system of government, which gave to it a particular character, and stamped it, as it were, with a distinct personality down to its latest days.[2] The kingdom of Upper Egypt was more powerful, richer, better populated, and was governed apparently by more active and enterprising rulers. It is to one of the latter, Mîni or Menes of Thinis, that tradition ascribes the honour of having fused the two Egypts into a single empire, and of having inaugurated the reign of the human dynasties. Thinis figured in the historic period as one of the least of Egyptian cities. It barely maintained an existence on the left bank of the Nile, if not on the exact spot now occupied by Girgeh, at least only a short distance from it.[3] The principality of the Osirian Reliquary, of which

[1] Cf. what is said of Heliopolis, its position and its ruins, on pp. 135, 136, of this volume.

[2] See, on this head, the points which M. Erman has worked out very ably in his *Ægypten*, p. 32, et seq.; in spite, however, of the opinion which he expresses (p. 128), I believe that the northern kingdom received, in very early times, a political organization as strong and as complete as that of the southern kingdom (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 244, et seq.).

[3] The site of Thinis is not yet satisfactorily identified. It is neither at Kom-es-Sultân, as Mariette thought (*Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1864, p. 285), nor, according to the hypothesis of A. Schmidt, at El-Kherbeh (*Die Griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, pp. 69–79). Brugsch has proposed to fix the site at the village of Tineh (*Geogr. Inschriften*,

it was the metropolis, occupied the valley from one mountain range to the other, and gradually extended across the desert as far as the Great Theban Oasis.[1] Its inhabitants worshipped a sky-god, Anhûri, or rather two twin gods, Anhûri-Shû, who were speedily amalgamated with the solar deities and became a warlike personification of Râ. Anhûri-Shû, like all the other solar manifesta-



PLAN OF THE RUINS OF ABYDOS, MADE BY MARIETTE IN 1865 AND 1875.

tions, came to be associated with a goddess having the form or head of a lioness —a Sokhît, who took for the occasion the epithet of Mîhît, the northern one.[2] Some of the dead from this city are buried on the other side of the Nile, near the modern village of Mesheikh, at the foot of the Arabian chain, whose steep cliffs here approach somewhat near the river:[3] the principal

vol. i. p. 207), near Berdis, and is followed in this by Dümichen (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 154). The present tendency is to identify it either with Girgeh itself, or with one of the small neighbouring towns—for example, Birbeh—where there are some ancient ruins (MARIETTE-MASPERO, *Monuments divers*, text, pp. 26, 27; SAYCE, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 65); this was also the opinion of Champollion and of Nestor L'hôte (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 72, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 88, 125). I may mention that, in a frequently quoted passage of Hellanicos (*fragm.* 150, edit. MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. i. p. 66), Zoëga corrects the reading Τίνδιον ὄνομα into Θῖν δὲ οἱ ὄνομα, which would once more give us the name of Thinis: the mention of this town as being ἐπιποταμίη, "situated on the river," would be a fresh reason for its identification with Girgeh.

[1] From the XIth dynasty, the lords of Abydos and Thinis bear officially, at the beginning of their inscriptions, the title of "Masters of the Oasis" (BRUGSCH, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase el-Khargeh*, p. 62).

[2] On Anhûri-Shû, cf. what is said on pp. 99, 101, 140, 141, of this volume.

[3] I explored this after Mariette. The majority of the tombs of the XIXth dynasty which it contains have been published in part in MARIETTE'S *Monuments divers*, pl. 78, and pp. 26, 27; several others, dating back to the VIth dynasty, have been noticed by Nestor L'hôte (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol.

necropolis was at some distance to the east, near the sacred town of Abydos. It would appear that, at the outset, Abydos was the capital of the country, for the entire nome bore the same name as the city, and had adopted for its symbol the representation of the reliquary in which the god reposed. In very early times Abydos fell into decay, and resigned its political rank to Thinis, but its religious importance remained unimpaired. The city occupied a long and narrow strip of land between the canal and the first slopes of the Libyan mountains. A brick fortress defended it from the incursions of the Bedouin,[1] and beside it the temple of the god of the dead reared its naked walls. Here Anhûri, having passed from life to death, was worshipped under the name of Khontamentît, the chief of that western region whither souls repair on quitting this earth.[2] It is impossible to say by what blending of doctrines or by what political combinations this Sun of the Night came to be identified with Osiris of Mendes, since the fusion dates back to a very remote antiquity; it had become an established fact long before the most ancient sacred books were compiled. Osiris Khontamentît grew rapidly in popular favour, and his temple attracted annually an increasing number of pilgrims. The Great Oasis had been considered at first as a sort of mysterious paradise, whither the dead went in search of peace and happiness. It was called Uît, the Sepulchre; this name clung to it after it had become an actual Egyptian province,[3] and the remembrance of its ancient purpose survived in the minds of the people, so that the "cleft," or gorge in the mountain through which the doubles journeyed towards it, never ceased to be regarded as one of the gates of the other world. At the time of the New Year festivals, spirits flocked thither from all parts of the valley; they there awaited the coming of the dying sun, in order to embark with him and enter safely the dominions of Khontamentît.[4] Abydos, even before the historic period, was the only town, and its god the only god, whose worship, practised by all Egyptians, inspired them all with an equal devotion.

The excavations of the last few years have brought to light some, at all events, of the oldest Pharaohs known to the Egyptian annalists, namely, those whom they placed in their first human dynasties; and the locality where the monuments of these princes were discovered, shows us that these writers were

xiii. pp. 71–72) and by Sayce (*Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 62–65).

[1] It is the present Kom-es-Sultân, where Mariette hoped to find the tomb of Osiris.

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 23, 24.

[3] As late as the Persian epoch, the ancient tradition found its echo in the name "Isles of the Blessed" (HEROD., iii. 26) which was given to the Great Oasis. A passage in the inscription describes the souls repairing to the Oasis of Zoszes (BRUGSCH, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, p. 41, and *Dict. Geogr.*, p. 1002), which is a part of the Great Oasis, and is generally considered as a dwelling-place of the dead (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 421–427).

[4] See what is said upon this subject on pp. 196–198 of this work.

correct in representing Thinis as playing an important part in the history of the early ages of their country. If the tomb of Menes—that sovereign whom we are inclined to look upon as the first king of the official lists—lies near the village of Nagadeh, not far from Thebes,[1] those of his immediate successors are close to Thinis, in the cemeteries of Abydos.[2] They stand at the very foot of the Libyan hills, near the entrance to the ravine—the "Cleft"—through which the mysterious oasis was reached, and thither the souls flocked in order that they might enter by a safe way the land beyond the grave.[3] The mass of pottery, whole and broken, which has accumulated on this site from the offerings of centuries has obtained for it among the Fellahin the name of Omm-el-Gaâb—"the mother of pots."[4] The tombs there lie in serried ranks. They present for the most part a rough model[5] of the pyramids of the Memphite period—rectangular structures of bricks without mortar rising slightly above the level of the plain. The funeral chamber occupies the centre of each, and is partly hollowed out of the soil, like a shallow well, the sides being bricked. It had a flat timber roof, covered by a layer of about three feet of sand; the floor also was of wood, and in several cases the remains of the beams of both ceiling and pavement have been brought to light. The body of the royal inmate was laid in the middle of the chamber, surrounded by its funeral furniture and by a part of the offerings. The remainder was placed in the little rooms which opened out of the principal vault, sometimes on the same level, sometimes on one higher than itself; after their contents had been laid within them, the entrance to these rooms was generally walled up. Human bodies have been found inside them, probably those of slaves killed at the

[1] The account of the discovery and its results was published by J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte: Ethnographie préhistorique et tombeau royal de Négadah*, pp. 147–202. The objects found during these excavations are now in the Gizeh Museum.

[2] The credit of having discovered this important necropolis, and of having brought to light the earliest known monuments of the first dynasties, is entirely due to Amélineau. He carried on important work there during four years, from 1895 to 1899: unfortunately its success was impaired by the theories which he elaborated with regard to the new monuments, and by the delay in publishing an account of the objects which remained in his possession. A very good and brief account of the discovery and of the controversies to which it gave rise, has been inserted by JEAN CAPART, *Notes sur les Origines de l'Egypte, d'après les fouilles récentes*, in the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, vol. iv., 1898–1899, November No.), to which I must refer my readers for the details. M. Amélineau has published a short account of his excavations, and of the deductions he has drawn from them, in three pamphlets which appeared between 1896 and 1898, under the title of *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, in 8vo.: he also published some of the monuments he discovered in two volumes, the first of which is also called *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, 1896–1897; and the second *Le tombeau d'Osiris*, 1899. Professor Petrie has continued M. Amélineau's excavations (1899–1900), and has given us the result of his researches in *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, 1900, part i.

[3] For the "Cleft," cf. *supra*, pp. 196, 197, 232.

[4] Two views of the necropolis of Omm-el-Gaâb as it appeared at the end of 1899, may be found in PETRIE, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, part i. pl. i. 1, 2.

[5] This ingenious simile was made by Professor Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

funeral that they might wait upon the dead in his life beyond the grave.[1] The objects placed in these chambers were mostly offerings, but besides these were coarse stelæ bearing the name of a person, and dedicated to "the double of his luminary."[2] Some of them mention a dwarf[3] or a favourite dog of the sovereign,[4] who accompanied his master into the tomb. Tablets of ivory or bone skilfully incised furnish us with scenes representing some of the ceremonies of the deification of the king in his lifetime and the sacrifices offered at the time of his burial;[5] in rarer instances they record his exploits.[6] The offerings themselves were such as we meet with in burials of a subsequent age—bread, cakes, meat, and poultry of various sorts[7]—indeed, everything we find mentioned in the lists inscribed in the tombs of the later dynasties, particularly the jars of wine and liquors, on the clay bungs of which are still legible the impression of the signet bearing the name of the sovereign for whose use they were sealed.[8] Besides stuffs and mats, the furniture comprised chairs, beds, stools, an enormous number of vases, some in coarse pottery for common use, others in choice stone such as diorite, granite, or rock crystal very finely worked, on the fragments of all of which may be read cut in outline the names and preamble of the Pharaoh to whom the object belonged.[9] The ceremonial of the funerary offering and its significance was already fully developed at this early period; this can be gathered by the very nature of the objects buried with the deceased,

[1] FL. PETRIE, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, part i. p. 14.

[2] AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles*, etc., pls. XXXV.-XXXVII.; J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240; FL. PETRIE, *op. cit.*, part i., pls. XXXIV.-XXXVI. The formula is the same as that found on some of the Theban stelæ of the XX-XXIst dynasties: like many of the Theban formulas, this particular one is merely a revival of a very ancient one, which dates back to the primitive ages of Egyptian history. The "luminous double" or the "double of his luminary" is doubtless that luminous spectre which haunted the tombs and even the houses of the living during the night, and which I have mentioned, *supra*, p. 114.

[3] AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles*, etc., pls. XXXV.-XXXVIII.; J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 240, No. 893; FL. PETRIE, *op. cit.*, part i., pl. XXXV., Nos. 36, 37. Petrie found the skeletons of two dwarfs, probably the very two to whom the two stelæ (Nos. 36, 37) in the tomb of Semempses were raised (*The Royal Tombs*, vol. i. pp. 13, 27). Was one of these dwarfs one of the *Danga* of Puanît who were sought after by the Pharaohs of the Memphite dynasties?

[4] AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI.; J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 240, Nos. 800, 801.

[5] This was the ceremony called by the Egyptians "The Festival of the Foundation"—*habu sadu*. The plaques of ivory and of bone on which it was represented, and which refer to King Serpent, to King Den, and to King Semempses, have been published by PETRIE, *op. cit.*, pl. x., No. 10; pl. xi., Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15; pl. xii., No. 1; pl. xiii., No. 5; pl. xiv., Nos. 10–12; pl. xv., Nos. 16–18.

[6] As in the plaques of King Den, published by PETRIE, *op. cit.*, part i., pl. x., No. 14; pl. xi., No. 8; pl. xiv., Nos. 8, 9; and by Spiegelberg (*Ein neues Denkmal ans der Frühzeit der Ægyptischen Kunst*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1897, vol. XXXV. pp. 7-11).

[7] J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 171; AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, pp. 110, 113, 116; FL. PETRIE, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, part i. p. 15.

[8] AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.; J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. pp. 164, 170; FL. PETRIE, *op. cit.*, part i., pls. xii., XVIII.-XXIX., XXXVIII., No. 7.

[9] J. DE MORGAN, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 188, et seq.; FL. PETRIE, *op. cit.*, part i., pl. XXVIII.

by their number, quantity, and by the manner in which they were arranged. Like their successors in the Egypt of later times, these ancient kings expected to continue their material existence within the tomb, and they took precautions that life there should be as comfortable as circumstances should permit. Access to the tomb was sometimes gained by a sloping passage or staircase; this made it possible to see if everything within was in a satisfactory condition. After the dead had been enclosed in his chamber, and five or six feet of sand had been spread over the beams which formed its roof, the position of the tomb was shown merely by a scarcely perceptible rise in the soil of the necropolis, and its site would soon have been forgotten, if its easternmost limits had not been marked by two large stelæ on which were carefully engraved one of the appellations of the king—that of his double, or his Horus name.[1] It was on this spot, upon an altar placed between the two stelæ, that the commemorative ceremonies were celebrated, and the provisions renewed on certain days fixed by the religious law. Groups of private tombs were scattered around,—the resting-places of the chief officers of the sovereign, the departed Pharaoh being thus surrounded in death by the same courtiers as those who had attended him during his earthly existence.[2]

The princes, whose names and titles have been revealed to us by the inscriptions on these tombs, have not by any means been all classified as yet, the prevailing custom at that period having been to designate them by their Horus names, but rarely by their proper names, which latter is the only one which figures in the official lists which we possess of the Egyptian kings. A few texts, more explicit than the rest, enable us to identify three of them with the Usaphais, the Miebis, and the Semempses of Manetho—the fifth, sixth, and seventh kings of the I^st^ dynasty.[3] The fact that they are buried in the necropolis of Abydos apparently justifies the opinion of the Egyptian chroniclers that they were natives of Thinis. Is the Menes who usually figures at their head[4] also a Thinite prince? Several scholars believe that his

[1] For the Horus name of the Pharaohs, see *infra*, pp. 260, 261.

[2] PETRIE, *op. cit.*, part i. pp. 3–7, where the author has made a restoration of the aspect presented by these royal tombs on that site in ancient times.

[3] The credit is due to SETHE (*Die älteste geschichtliche Denkmäler der Ægypter*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1897, pp. 1–6) of having attributed their ordinary names to several of the kings of the I^st^ dynasty with Horus names only which were found by Amélineau, and these identifications have been accepted by all Egyptologists. Petrie discovered quite recently on some fragments of vases the Horus names of these same princes, together with their ordinary names (*The Royal Tombs*, etc., pp. 4–6). The Usaphais, the Miebis, and the Semempses of Manetho are now satisfactorily identified with three of the Pharaohs discovered by Amélineau and by Petrie. For the readings proposed for these names, see MASPERO, *Revue critique*, 1900, vol. ii. p. 1.

[4] In the time of Seti I. and Ramses II. he heads the list of the Table of Abydos. Under

ordinary name, Mînî, is to be read on an ivory tablet engraved for a sovereign whose Horus name—Ahauîti, the warlike—is known to us from several documents, and whose tomb also has been discovered, but at Nagadeh. It is a great rectangular structure of bricks 165 feet long and 84 broad, the external walls of which were originally ornamented by deep polygonal grooves, resembling those which score the façade of Chaldæan buildings,[1] but the Nagadeh tomb has a second brick wall which fills up all the hollows left in the first one, and thus hides the primitive decoration of the monument. The building contains twenty-one chambers, five of which in the centre apparently constituted the dwelling of the deceased, while the others, grouped around these, serve as storehouses from whence he could draw his provisions at will.[2] Did the king buried within indeed bear the name of Menes,[3] and if such was the case, how are we to reconcile the tradition of his Thinite origin with the existence of his far-off tomb in the neighbourhood of Thebes? Objects bearing his Horus name have been found at Omm-el-Gaâb, and it is evident that he belonged to the same age as the sovereigns interred in this necropolis. If, indeed, Menes was really his personal name, there is no reason against his being the Menes of tradition, he whom the Pharaohs of the glorious Theban dynasties regarded as the earliest of their purely human ancestors. Whether he was really the first king who reigned over the whole of Egypt, or whether he had been preceded by other sovereigns whose monuments we may find in some site still unexplored, is a matter for conjecture. That princes had exercised authority in various parts of the country is still uncertain, but that the Egyptian historians did not know them, seems to prove that they had left no written records of their names. At any rate, a Menes lived who reigned at the outset of history, and doubtless before long the Nile valley, when more carefully explored, will yield us monuments recording his actions and

Ramses II. his statue was carried in procession, preceding all the other royal statues (CHAMPOLLION. *Monuments de l'Égypt et de la Nubie*, pl. cxlix.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 163). Finally, the "Royal Papyrus" of Turin, written in the time of Ramses I., begins the entire series of the human Pharaohs with his name.

[1] Cf. what is said on this subject on pp. 711, 712.

[2] J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 97, et seq.; *Ethnographie préhistorique*, etc., p. 154, et seq.

[3] The sign *Manu*, which appears on the ivory tablet found in this tomb (J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines*, vol. ii. p. 167, No. 549), has been interpreted as a king's name, and consequently inferred to be Menes, simultaneously by Borchardt (*Ein neuer Königsname der Ersten Dynastie*) in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin, 1897, *séance* of the 25th November, pp. 1054, 1058) and Maspero (*Revue Critique*, 1897, vol. ii. p. 440). This reading has been disputed on various sides, and latest by Naville (*Les plus anciens Monuments Egyptiens*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, 1899, vol. xxi. p. 107, et seq.). The point remains, therefore, a contested one until further discovery.

determining his date. The civilization of the Egypt of his time was ruder than that with which we have hitherto been familiar on its soil, but even at that early period it was almost as complete. It had its industries and its arts, of which the cemeteries furnish us daily with the most varied examples: weaving, modelling in clay, wood-carving, the incising of ivory, gold, and the hardest stone were all carried on; the ground was cultivated with hoe and plough; tombs were built showing us the model of what the houses and palaces must have been; the country had its army, its administrators, its priests, its nobles, its writing, and its system of epigraphy differs so little from that to which we are accustomed in later ages, that we can decipher it with no great difficulty. Frankly speaking, all that we know at present of the first of the Pharaohs beyond the mere fact of his existence is practically *nil*, and the stories related of him by the writers of classical times are mere legends arranged to suit the fancy of the compiler. "This Menes, according to the priests, surrounded Memphis with dykes. For the river formerly followed the sandhills for some distance on the Libyan side. Menes, having dammed up the reach about a hundred stadia to the south of Memphis, caused the old bed to dry up, and conveyed the river through an artificial channel dug midway between the two mountain ranges. Then Menes, the first who was king, having enclosed a firm space of ground with dykes, there founded that town which is still called Memphis; he then made a lake round it, to the north and west, fed by the river, the city being bounded on the east by the Nile."[1] The history of Memphis, such as it can be gathered from the monuments, differs considerably from the tradition current in Egypt at the time of Herodotus.[2] It appears, indeed, that at the outset, the site on which it subsequently arose was occupied by a small fortress, Ânbû-hazû—the white wall—which was dependent on Heliopolis, and in which Phtah possessed a sanctuary. After the "white wall" was separated from the Heliopolitan principality to form a nome by itself, it assumed a certain importance, and furnished, so it was said, the dynasties which succeeded the Thinite. Its prosperity dates only, however, from the time when the sovereigns of the Vth and VIth dynasties fixed on it for their residence; one of them, Papi I., there founded for himself and for his "double" after him, a new town, which he called Minnofîrû, from his tomb. Minnofîrû, which is the correct pronunciation and the origin of Memphis, probably signified "the good refuge," the haven of the good,

[1] HEROD., ii. 99. The dyke supposed to have been made by Menes is evidently that of Qosheîsh, which now protects the province of Gîzeh, and regulates the inundation in its neighbourhood.

[2] It has been most cleverly disentangled by ERMAN, *Ægypten*, pp. 240–244.

the burying-place where the blessed dead came to rest beside Osiris.[1] The people soon forgot the true interpretation, or probably it did not fall in with their taste for romantic tales. They were rather disposed, as a rule, to discover in the beginnings of history individuals from whom the countries or cities with which they were familiar took their names: if no tradition supplied them with this, they did not experience any scruple in inventing one. The Egyptians of the time of the Ptolemies, who were guided in their philological speculations by the pronunciation in vogue around them, attributed the patronship of their city to a Princess Memphis, a daughter of its founder, the fabulous Uchoreus;[2] those of preceding ages before the name had become altered, thought to find in Minnofirû a "Mîni Nofir," or "Menes the Good," the reputed founder of the capital of the Delta. Menes the Good, divested of his epithet, is none other than Menes, the first king, and he owes this episode in his life to a popular attempt at etymology.[3] The legend which identifies the establishment of the kingdom with the construction of the city, must have originated at a time when Memphis was still the residence of the kings and the seat of government, at latest about the end of the Memphite period. It must have been an old tradition in the time of the Theban dynasties, since they admitted unhesitatingly the authenticity of the statements which ascribed to the northern city so marked a superiority over their own country.

When once this half-mythical Menes was firmly established in his position, there was little difficulty in inventing a story which would portray him as an ideal sovereign. He was represented as architect, warrior, and statesman; he had begun the temple of Phtah,[4] written laws and regulated the worship of the gods,[5] particularly that of Hâpis,[6] and he had conducted expeditions against the Libyans.[7] When he lost his only son in the flower of his age, the people improvised a hymn of mourning to console him—the "Maneros"—both the words and the tune of which were handed down from generation to generation.[8] He did not, moreover, disdain

[1] The translation made by the Greeks, *ὅρμος ἀγαθῶν*, exactly corresponds to the ancient orthography Min-nofirû, which has become Min-nofir, Minnûfi, the "Haven of the Good," by dropping the plural termination and then the final *r* (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 20, PARTHEY's edition, p. 35). The other translation, *τάφος Ὀσίριδος*, given by a Greek author, would derive Memphis from Ma-omphis, M-omphis, in which the name Ûnnofir, given to Osiris, takes the common form *Ὄμφις*: *τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ὄμφιν εὐεργέτην ὁ Ἑρμαϊὸς φησιν δηλοῦν ἑρμηνευόμενον* (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 42, PARTHEY's edition, pp. 74, 75).

[2] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 50, 51; the legend preserved by this historian was of Theban origin, Uchoreus, the father of the eponymous goddess of Memphis, being the founder of Thebes.

[3] One monument (ERMAN, *Historische Nachlese*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. pp. 43–46) associates Mîni, called Minna or Menna, *Μηνᾶς*, with Phtah and Ramses II.: the eponymous hero became a god, and Mîni is here treated as Ûsirtasen III. was at Semneh, or as Amenôthes III. at Soleb.

[4] HEROD., ii. 99; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 396–398.

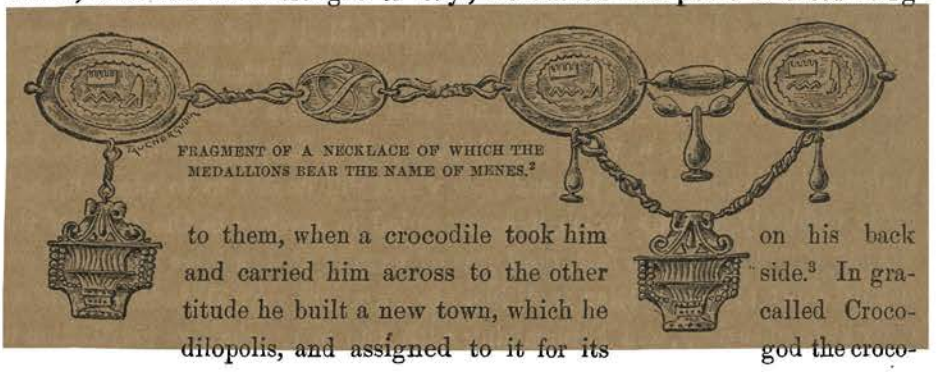
[5] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 94; he perhaps only promulgated the laws originally drawn up by Thot.

[6] ÆLIAN, *Hist. Animalium*, xi. 10; in Manetho, Kakôû instituted the worship of Hâpis, cf. p. 238.

[7] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 539, 540.

[8] HEROD., ii. 79. According to the *De Iside et Osiride*, § 17 (PARTHEY's edition, p. 28), the origin of

the luxuries of the table, for he invented the art of serving a dinner, and the mode of eating it in a reclining posture.[1] One day, while hunting, his dogs, excited by something or other, fell upon him to devour him. He escaped with difficulty, and, pursued by them, fled to the shore of Lake Mœris, and was there brought to bay; he was on the point of succumbing



FRAGMENT OF A NECKLACE OF WHICH THE MEDALLIONS BEAR THE NAME OF MENES.[2]

to them, when a crocodile took him on his back and carried him across to the other side.[3] In gratitude he built a new town, which he called Crocodilopolis, and assigned to it for its god the crocodile which had saved him; he then erected close to it the famous labyrinth and a pyramid for his tomb.[4] Other traditions show him in a less favourable light. They accuse him of having, by horrible crimes, excited against him the anger of the gods, and allege that after a reign of sixty to sixty-two years, he was killed by a hippopotamus which came forth from the Nile.[5] They also related that the Saïte Tafnakhti, returning from an expedition against the Arabs, during which he had been obliged to renounce the pomp and luxuries of royal life, had solemnly cursed him, and had caused his imprecations to be inscribed upon a stele set up in the temple of Amon at Thebes.[6]

the Maneros is traced back to Isis lamenting the death of Osiris. The questions raised by this hymn have been discussed by two Egyptologists—Brugsch, *Die Adonisklage und das Linoslied*, 1852; and Lauth, *Ueber den Ægyptischen Maneros* (in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Munich, 1869, pp. 163-194).

[1] Diodorus Siculus, i. 45; cf. *De Iside et Osiride*, § 8 (Parthey's edition, pp. 12, 13).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin after Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xlvii. 2, and pp. 8, 9. The gold medallions engraved with the name of Menes are ancient, and perhaps go back to the XXth dynasty: the setting is entirely modern, with the exception of the three oblong pendants of cornelian.

[3] This is an episode from the legend of Osiris: at Philæ, in the little building of the Antonines, may be seen a representation of a crocodile crossing the Nile, carrying on his back the mummy of the god. The same episode is also found in the tale of Onûs el-Ujûd and of Uard f'il-Ikmâm, where the crocodile leads the hero to his beautiful prisoner in the Island of Philæ. Ebers, *l'Égypte*, French trans., vol. ii. pp. 415, 416, has shown how this episode in the Arab story must have been inspired by the bas-relief at Philæ and by the scene which it portrays: the temple is still called "Kasr," and the island "Geziret Onûs el-Ujûd."

[4] Diod. Siculus, i. 89; several commentators, without any reason, would transfer this legend to a king of the XIIth dynasty, Amenemhâît III. We have no cause to suspect that Diodorus, or the historian from whom he took his information, did not copy correctly a romance of which Menes was the hero (Unger, *Manetho*, pp. 82, 130, 131): if traditions relating to other kings have become mixed up with this one, it need not astonish us, since we know this is of frequent occurrence in the composition of Egyptian tales.

[5] Manetho, in Müller-Didot, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 539, 540. In popular romances, this was the usual end of criminals of every kind (Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 59-62); we shall see that another king, Akhthoes the founder of the IXth dynasty, after committing horrible misdeeds, was killed, in the same way as Menes, by a hippopotamus.

[6] *De Iside et Osiride*, § 8 (Parthey's edition, pp. 12, 13); Diodorus, i. 45; Alexis, in Athenæus, x. p. 418 *e*.

Nevertheless, in the memory that Egypt preserved of its first Pharaoh, the good outweighed the evil. He was worshipped in Memphis side by side with Phtah and Ramses II.; his name figured at the head of the royal lists, and his cult continued till the time of the Ptolemies.

His immediate successors had an actual existence, and their tombs are there in proof of it. We know where Usaphais, Miebis, and Semempses[1] were laid to rest, besides more than a dozen other princes whose real names and whose position in the official lists are still uncertain. The order of their succession was often a matter of doubt to the Egyptians themselves, but perhaps the discoveries of the next few years will enable us to clear up and settle definitely matters which were shrouded in mystery in the time of the Theban Pharaohs. As a fact, the forms of such of their names as have been handed down to us by later tradition, are curt and rugged, indicative of an early state of society, and harmonizing with the more primitive civilization to which they belong: Ati the Wrestler, Teti the Runner, Qenqoni the Crusher, are suitable rulers for a people, the first duty of whose chief was to lead his followers into battle, and to strike harder than any other man in the thickest of the fight.[2] Some of the monuments they have left us, seem to show that their reigns were as much devoted to war as those of the later Pharaohs. The king whose Horus name was Nârumîr, is seen on a contemporary object which has come down to us, standing before a heap of beheaded foes; the bodies are all stretched out on the ground, each with his head placed neatly between his legs: the king had overcome, apparently in some important engagement, several thousands of his enemies, and was inspecting the execution of their leaders.[3] That the foes with whom these early kings contended were in most cases Egyptian princes of the nomes, is proved by the list of city names which are inscribed on the fragments of another document of the same nature, and we gather from them that Dobu (Edfu), Hasutonu (Cynopolis), Habonu (Hipponon), Hakau (Memphis) and others were successively taken and dismantled.[4] On this fragment King Den is represented standing over a

[1] FLINDERS PETRIE, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, vol. i. p. 56.

[2] The Egyptians were accustomed to explain the meaning of the names of their kings to strangers, and the Canon of Eratosthenes has preserved several of their derivations, of which a certain number, as, for instance, that of Menes from *αἰώνιος*, the "lasting," are tolerably correct. M. Krall (*Die Composition und die Schicksale des Manethonischen Geschichtswerkes*, pp. 16–19) is, to my knowledge, the only Egyptologist who has attempted to glean from the meaning of these names indications of the methods by which the national historians of Egypt endeavoured to make up the lists of the earliest dynasties.

[3] Palette discovered and published by QUIBELL, *Slate Palette from Hieracônpolis*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1898, pp. 81–84, pls. xii., xiii.

[4] Palette resembling the preceding one, and with it deposited in the Gîzeh Museum; reproduced by STEINDORFF, *Eine neue Art ægyptische Kunst*, in the *Ægyptiaca* (dedicated to Ebers), p. 180, and

prostrate chief of the Bedouin, striking him with his mace.[1] Sondi, who is classed in the IInd dynasty, received a continuous worship towards the end of the IIIrd dynasty.[2] But did all those whose names preceded or followed his on the lists, really exist as he did? and if they existed, to what extent do the order and the relation assigned to them agree with the actual truth? The different lists do not contain the same names in the same positions; certain Pharaohs are added or suppressed without appreciable reason. Where Manetho inscribes Kenkenes and Ouenephes, the tables of the time of Seti I. give us Ati and Ata; Manetho reckons nine kings to the IInd dynasty, while they register only five.[3] The monuments, indeed, show us that Egypt in the past obeyed princes whom her annalists were unable to classify: for instance, they associate with Sondi a Pirsenû, who is not mentioned in the annals. We must, therefore, take the record of all this opening period of history for what it is—namely, a system invented at a much later date, by means of various artifices and combinations—to be partially accepted in default of a better, but without according to it that excessive confidence which it has hitherto received. The two Thinite dynasties, in direct descent from the first human king Menes, furnish, like this hero himself, only a tissue of romantic tales and miraculous legends in the place of history. A double-headed stork, which had appeared in the first year

by J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. pl. iii. The names of the towns were enclosed within the embattled line which was used later on to designate foreign countries. The animals which surmount them represent the gods of Egypt, the king's protectors; and the king himself, identified with these gods, is making a breach in the wall with a pick-axe. The names of the towns have not been satisfactorily identified: Hat-kau, for instance, may not be Memphis, but it appears that there is no doubt with regard to Habonu. Cf. SAYCE, *The Beginnings of the Egyptian Monarchy* in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1898, vol. xx. pp. 99–101.

[1] The ivory plaque, which doubtless came from the king's tomb at Abydos, is in the collection of Mr. McGregor.—ED.

[2] His priest Shiri is known to us by a stele in the form of a door, in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1876, p. 296, No. 996; MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur*, pp. 31, 32, 213, No. 993); the son and grandson of Shiri, Ankaf and Aasen, are mentioned on a monument in the museum at Aix, exercising the same priestly office as Shiri (GIBERT-DÉVÈRIA, *Le Musée d'Aix*, pp. 7, 8, Nos. 1, 2; cf. WIEDEMANN, *On a monument of the First Dynasties*, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. ix. pp. 180, 181). A part of Shiri's monument is at Oxford (*Marmora Oxoniensia*, 2nd part, pl. i.; LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. ix.), another part at Florence (SCHIAPARELLI, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, pp. 230–232). A notice of his tomb occurs in MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 92, et seq. A Saïte bronze, which passed from the Posno Collection (*Catalogue*, Paris, 1883, No. 53, p. 14) into the possession of the Berlin Museum, is supposed to represent Sondi. The worship of this prince lasted down to, or was restored under, the Ptolemies (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 31).

[3] The impossibility of reconciling the names of the Greek with those of the Pharaonic lists has been admitted by most of the savants who have discussed the matter—Mariette (*La Nouvelle Table d'Abydos*, p. 5, et seq.), E. de Rougé (*Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 18, et seq.), Lieblein (*Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, p. 12, et seq.), Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 162, 163, 166, 167, etc.); most of them explain the differences by the supposition that, in many cases, one of the lists gives the cartouche name, and the other the cartouche prenomen of the same king.

of Teti, son of Menes, had foreshadowed to Egypt a long prosperity,[1] but a famine under Ouenephes,[2] and a terrible plague under Semempses, had depopulated the country:[3] the laws had been relaxed, great crimes had been committed, and revolts had broken out. During the reign of Boêthos, a gulf had opened near Bubastis, and swallowed up many people,[4] then the Nile had flowed with honey for fifteen days in the time of Nephercheres,[5] and Sesochris was supposed to have been a giant in stature.[6] A few details about royal edifices were mixed up with these prodigies. Teti had laid the foundation of the great palace of Memphis,[7] Ouenephes had built the pyramids of Ko-komè near Saqqâra.[8] Several of the ancient Pharaohs had published books on theology, or had written treatises on anatomy and medicine;[9] several had made laws which lasted down to the beginning of the Christian era. One of them was called Kakôû, the male of males, or the bull of bulls. They explained his name by the statement that he had concerned himself about the sacred animals; he had proclaimed as gods, Hâpis of Memphis, Mnevis of Heliopolis, and the goat of Mendes.[10] After him, Binôthris had conferred the right of succession upon all the women of the blood-royal.[11] The accession of the IIIrd dynasty, a Memphite one according to Manetho, did not at first change the miraculous character of this history. The Libyans had revolted against Necherophes, and the two armies were encamped before each other, when one night the disk of the moon became immeasurably enlarged, to the great alarm of the rebels, who recognized in this phenomenon a sign of the anger of heaven, and yielded without fighting.[12] Tosorthros, the successor of Necherophes, brought the hieroglyphs and the art of stone-cutting to perfection. He composed, as Teti did, books of medicine, a fact which caused him to be identified with the

[1] APION, frag. 11, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. iii. p. 512. Ælian (*Hist. Anim.*, xi. 40), who has transmitted this fragment to us, calls the son of Menes, Oinis, κατὰ τὸν Οἶνιδα, which Bunsen, without reason, corrects into κατ' Ἀτώθιδα (*Ægyptens Stelle*, vol. ii. p. 46, note 15).

[2] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 539, 540.

[3] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 539, 540.

[4] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 542, 543.

[5] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 542, 543. John of Antioch, on whose authority is not known, places this miracle under Binôthris (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 539).

[6] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 542, 543.

[7] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 539, 540.

[8] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 539, 540.

[9] Teti wrote books on anatomy (MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 539, 540), and a recipe for causing the hair to grow, is ascribed to his mother, Queen Shishît (*Ebers Papyrus*, pl. lxvi. l. 5). Tosorthros, of the IIIrd dynasty, was said to have composed a treatise on medicine (MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 544).

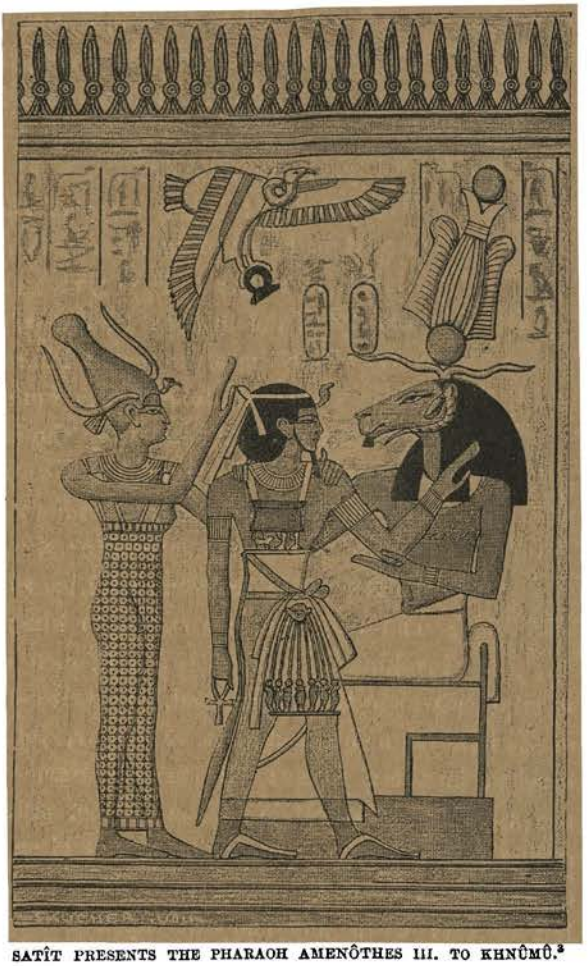
[10] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 542, 543; cf. KRALI, *Die Composition und Schicksale des Manethonischen Geschichtswerkes*, p. 4.

[11] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 542, 543.

[12] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 544, 545.

healing god Imhotpû.[1] The priests related these things seriously, and the Greek writers took them down from their lips with the respect which they offered to everything emanating from the wise men of Egypt.

What they related of the human kings was not more detailed, as we see, than their accounts of the gods. Whether the legends dealt with deities or kings, all that we know took its origin, not in popular imagination, but in sacerdotal dogma: they were invented long after the times they dealt with, in the recesses of the temples, with an intention and a method of which we are enabled to detect flagrant instances on the monuments.[2] Towards the middle of the third century before our era, the Greek troops stationed on the southern frontier, in the forts at the first cataract, developed a particular veneration for Isis of Philæ. Their devotion spread to the superior officers who came to inspect them, then to the whole population of the Thebäid, and finally reached the court of the Macedonian kings. The latter, carried away by force of example, gave every encouragement to a movement which attracted worshippers to a common sanctuary, and united in one cult the two races over which they ruled. They pulled down the meagre building of the Saïte



SATÎT PRESENTS THE PHARAOH AMENÔTHES III. TO KHNÛMÛ.[3]

[1] MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græc.*, vol. ii. pp. 544, 545.

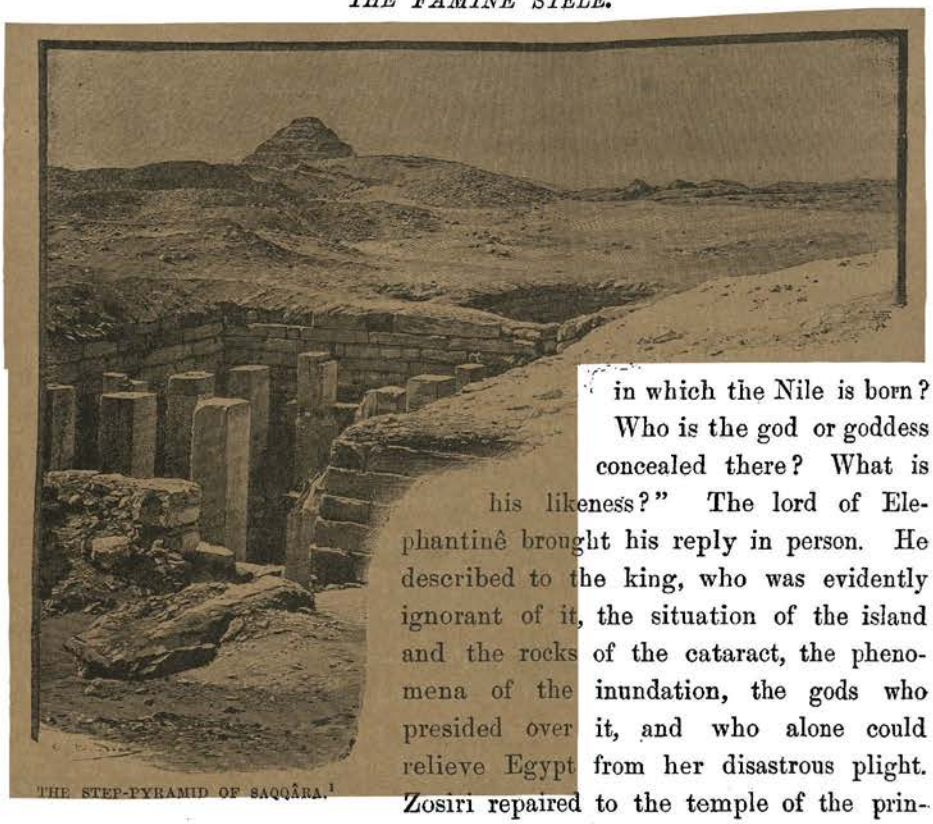
[2] On pp. 169–171 of this history, I have given a *résumé* of the information possessed, or supposed to be possessed, by the chronicler of the legend of Aît-nobsû, concerning the benefits which Râ, Shû, and Sibû had conferred upon the sanctuary of the nome during their terrestrial reigns.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the bas-reliefs of the temple of Khnûmû, at Elephantinê (*Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, vol. i. pl. 36, 1). This bas-relief is now destroyed.

period which had hitherto sufficed for the worship of Isis, constructed at great cost the temple which still remains almost intact, and assigned to it considerable possessions in Nubia, which, in addition to gifts from private individuals, made the goddess the richest landowner in Southern Egypt. Khnûmû and his two wives, Anûkit and Satît, who, before Isis, had been the undisputed suzerains of the cataract, perceived with jealousy their neighbour's prosperity: the civil wars and invasions of the centuries immediately preceding had ruined their temples, and their poverty contrasted painfully with the riches of the new-comer. The priests resolved to lay this sad state of affairs before King Ptolemy, to represent to him the services which they had rendered and still continued to render to Egypt, and above all to remind him of the generosity of the ancient Pharaohs, whose example, owing to the poverty of the times, the recent Pharaohs had been unable to follow. Doubtless authentic documents were wanting in their archives to support their pretensions: they therefore inscribed upon a rock, in the island of Sehel, a long inscription which they attributed to Zosiri of the IIIrd dynasty. This sovereign had left behind him a vague reputation for greatness. As early as the XIIth dynasty Ûsirtasen III. had claimed him as "his father"—his ancestor—and had erected a statue to him;[1] the priests knew that, by invoking him, they had a chance of obtaining a hearing. The inscription which they fabricated, set forth that in the eighteenth year of Zosiri's reign he had sent to Madîr, lord of Elephantinê, a message couched in these terms: "I am overcome with sorrow for the throne, and for those who reside in the palace, and my heart is afflicted and suffers greatly because the Nile has not risen in my time, for the space of eight years. Corn is scarce, there is a lack of herbage, and nothing is left to eat: when any one calls upon his neighbours for help, they take pains not to go. The child weeps, the young man is uneasy, the hearts of the old men are in despair, their limbs are bent, they crouch on the earth, they fold their hands; the courtiers have no further resources; the shops formerly furnished with rich wares are now filled only with air, all that was in them has disappeared. My spirit also, mindful of the beginning of things, seeks to call upon the Saviour who was here where I am, during the centuries of the gods, upon Thot-Ibis, that great wise one, upon Imhotpû, son of Phtah of Memphis. Where is the place

ANÛKIT.

[1] The mutilated base of this statue is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Berlin (ERMAN, *Verzeichniss der Ægyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse*, p. 34, No. 94[a]).



THE STEP-PYRAMID OF SAQQÂRA.[1]

in which the Nile is born? Who is the god or goddess concealed there? What is his likeness?" The lord of Elephantinê brought his reply in person. He described to the king, who was evidently ignorant of it, the situation of the island and the rocks of the cataract, the phenomena of the inundation, the gods who presided over it, and who alone could relieve Egypt from her disastrous plight. Zosiri repaired to the temple of the principality and offered the prescribed sacrifices; the god arose, opened his eyes, panted and cried aloud, "I am Khnûmû who created thee!" and promised him a speedy return of a high Nile and the cessation of the famine. Pharaoh was touched by the benevolence which his divine father had shown him; he forthwith made a decree by which he ceded to the temple all his rights of suzerainty over the neighbouring nomes within a radius of twenty miles. Henceforward the entire population, tillers and vinedressers, fishermen and hunters, had to yield the tithe of their incomes to the priests; the quarries could not be worked without the consent of Khnûmû, and the payment of a suitable indemnity into his coffers, and finally, all metals and precious woods shipped thence for Egypt had to submit to a toll on behalf of the temple.[2] Did the Ptolemies admit the claims which the local priests attempted to deduce from this

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Dévèria (1864); in the foreground, the tomb of Ti.

[2] This is the inscription discovered at Sehêl by Mr. Wilbour in 1890, and published by BRUGSCH, *Die Biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth;* and by PLEYTE, *Schenkingsoorkonde van Sehêle uit het 18de Jaar van Koning Tosertasis* (taken from the Report of the Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam, 3rd series, vol. viii.); cf. MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1891, vol. ii. p. 149, et seq. The correct reading of the royal name was pointed out, almost immediately after the discovery, by Steindorff, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxviii. pp. 111, 112.

romantic tale? and did the god regain possession of the domains and dues which they declared had been his right? The stele shows us with what ease the scribes could forge official documents, when the exigencies of daily life forced the necessity upon them; it teaches us at the same time how that fabulous chronicle was elaborated, whose remains have been preserved for us by classical writers. Every prodigy, every fact related by Manetho, was taken from some document analogous to the supposed inscription of Zosiri.[1]

The real history of the early centuries, therefore, eludes our researches, and no contemporary record traces for us those vicissitudes which Egypt passed through before being consolidated into a single kingdom, under the rule of one man. Many names, apparently of powerful and illustrious princes, had survived in the memory of the people; these were collected, classified, and grouped in a regular manner into dynasties, but the people were ignorant of any exact facts connected with the names, and the historians, on their own account, were reduced to collect apocryphal traditions for their sacred archives. The monuments of these remote ages, however, cannot have entirely disappeared: they exist in places where we have not as yet thought of applying the pick, and chance excavations will some day most certainly bring them to light. The few which we do possess barely go back beyond the IIIrd dynasty: namely, the hypogeum of Shiri, priest of Sondi and Pirsenû;[2] possibly the tomb of Khûîthotpû at Saqqâra;[3] the Great Sphinx of Gizeh; a short inscription on the rocks of the Wady Maghâra, which represents Zosiri (the same king of whom the priests of Khnûmû in the Greek period made a precedent) working the turquoise or copper mines of Sinai;[4] and finally the Step-Pyramid where this same Pharaoh rests.[5] It forms a

[1] The legend of the yawning gulf at Bubastis must be connected with the gifts supposed to have been offered by King Boêthos to the temple of that town, to repair the losses sustained by the goddess on that occasion; the legend of the pestilence and famine is traceable to some relief given by a local god, and for which Semempses and Ûenephes might have shown their gratitude in the same way as Zosiri. The tradition of the successive restorations of Denderah (DÜMICHEN, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, pl. xvi. *a–b*, and pp. 15, 18, 19) accounts for the constructions attributed to Teti I. and to Tosorthros; finally, the pretended discoveries of sacred books, dealt with elsewhere (pp. 224, 225), show how Manetho was enabled to attribute to his Pharaohs the authorship of works on medicine or theology.

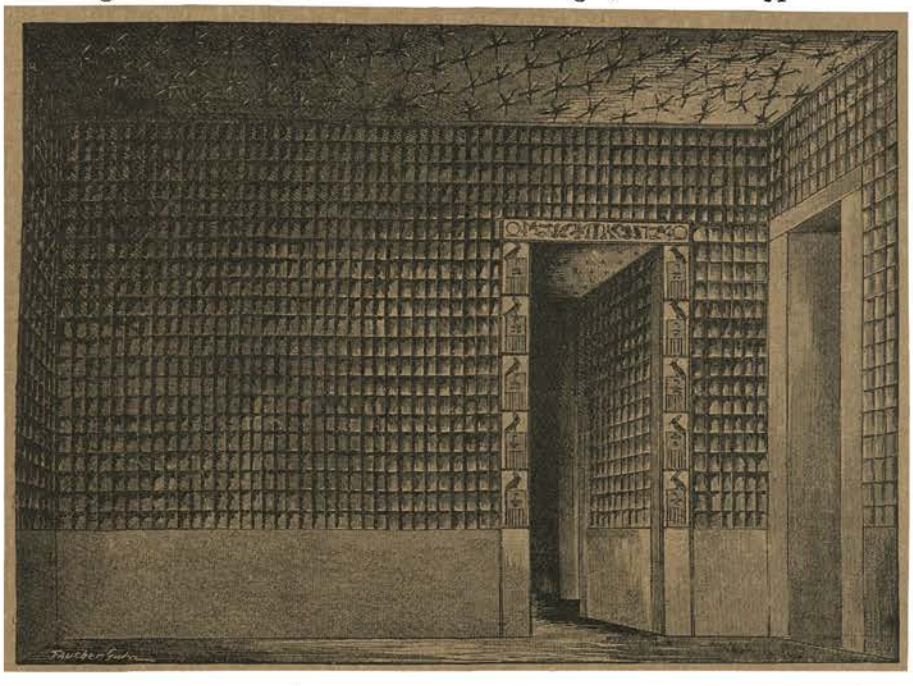
[2] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 92–94, and the fragments mentioned above, p. 236.

[3] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 68–70. Mariette ascribes the construction of the tomb of Khabiûsokari to the 1st dynasty (p. 73); I am inclined to think it is not earlier than the IIIrd.

[4] This text, in which only the Horus-name is given to the king, was copied by Bénédite four years ago; it is the most ancient of all the Egyptian historical inscriptions.

[5] The stele of Sehêl has enabled us to verify the fact that the preamble [a string of titles] to the inscription of the king, buried in the Step-Pyramid, is identical with that of King Zosiri: it was, therefore, Zosiri who constructed, or arranged for the construction of this monument as his tomb (BRUGSCH, *Der König Ihser*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxviii. pp. 110, 111). The Step-Pyramid of Saqqâra was opened in 1819, at the expense of the Prussian General Minutoli, who was the first to

rectangular mass, incorrectly orientated, with a variation from the true north of 4° 35′, 393 ft. 8 in. long from east to west, and 352 ft. deep, with a height of 159 ft. 9 in. It is composed of six cubes, with sloping sides, each being about 13 ft. less in width than the one below it; that nearest to the ground measures 37 ft. 8 in. in height, and the uppermost one



ONE OF THE CHAMBERS OF THE STEP-PYRAMID, WITH ITS WALL-COVERING OF GLAZED TILES.[1]

29 ft. 2 in. It was entirely constructed of limestone from the neighbouring mountains. The blocks are small, and badly cut, the stone courses being concave to offer a better resistance to downward thrust and to shocks of earthquake. When breaches in the masonry are examined, it can be seen that the external surface of the steps has, as it were, a double stone

give a brief description of the interior, illustrated by plans and drawings (*Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*, pp. 295–299, and Atlas, pls. xxvi.–xxviii.).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the coloured sketch by Segato. M. Stern (*Die Randbemerkungen zu dem manethonischen Königscanon*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 90, note 1) attributes the decoration of glazed pottery to the XXVIth dynasty, which opinion is shared by BORCHARDT, *Die Thür aus der Stufenpyramide bei Sakkara* (in the *Zeitschrift*, v. xxx. pp. 83–87). The yellow and green glazed tiles bearing the cartouche of Papi I., show that the Egyptians of the Memphite dynasties used glazed facings at that early date; we may, therefore, believe, if the tiles of the vault of Zosiri are really of the Saïte period, that they replaced a decoration of the same kind, which belonged to the time of its construction, and of which some fragments still exist among the tiles of more recent date. The chamber has been drawn and reproduced in black and white by Minutoli (*Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*, pl. xxviii.), and in colour by Segato in VALERIANI, *Nuova Illustrazione istorico-monumentale del Basso e dell' Alto Egitto*, pl. C; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 823, 824.

facing, each facing being carefully dressed. The body of the pyramid is solid, the chambers being cut in the rock beneath. These chambers have been often enlarged, restored, and reworked in the course of centuries, and the passages which connect them form a perfect labyrinth into which it is dangerous to venture without a guide. The columned porch, the galleries and halls, all lead to a sort of enormous shaft, at the bottom of which the architect had contrived a hiding-place, destined, no doubt, to contain the more precious objects of the funerary furniture. Until the beginning of this century, the vault had preserved its original lining of glazed pottery. Three quarters of the wall surface were covered with green tiles, oblong and slightly convex on the outer side, but flat on the inner: a square projection pierced with a hole, served to fix them at the back in a horizontal line by means of flexible wooden rods. The three bands which frame one of the doors are inscribed with the titles of the Pharaoh: the hieroglyphs are raised in either blue, red, green, or yellow, on a fawn-coloured ground. Other kings had built temples, palaces, and towns,—as, for instance, King Khâsakhimu, of whose constructions some traces exist at Hieracônpolis, opposite to El-Kab, or King Khâsakhmui, who preceded by a few years the Pharaohs of the IVth dynasty—but the monuments which they raised to be witnesses of their power or piety to future generations, have, in the course of ages, disappeared under the tramplings and before the triumphal blasts of many invading hosts: the pyramid alone has survived, and the most ancient of the historic monuments of Egypt is a tomb.

THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF EGYPT.

THE KING, QUEEN, AND ROYAL PRINCES—PHARAONIC ADMINISTRATION—FEUDALISM AND THE EGYPTIAN PRIESTHOOD, THE MILITARY—THE CITIZENS AND THE COUNTRY-PEOPLE.

The cemeteries of Gizeh and Saqqâra: the Great Sphinx; the mastabas, their chapel and its decoration, the statues of the double, the sepulchral vault—Importance of the wall-paintings and texts of the mastabas in determining the history of the Memphite dynasties.

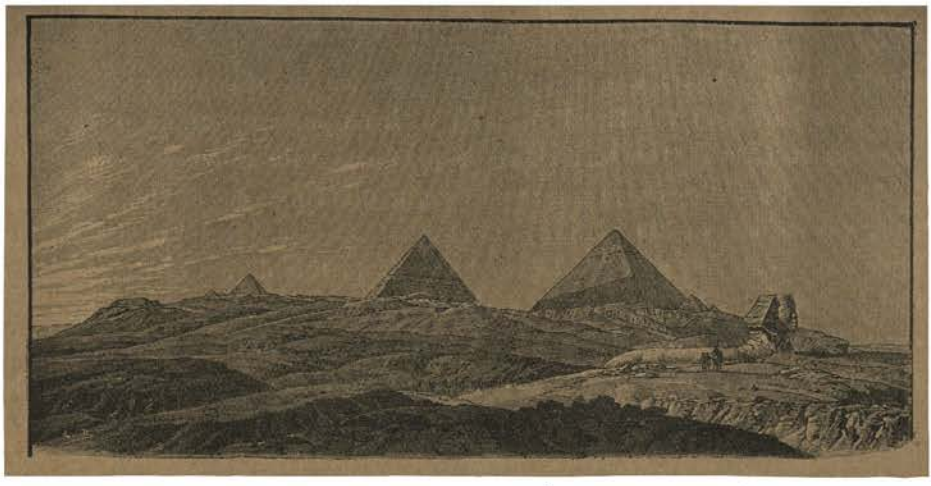
The king and the royal family—Double nature and titles of the sovereign: his Horus-names, and the progressive formation of the Pharaonic Protocol—Royal etiquette an actual divine worship; the insignia and prophetic statues of Pharaoh, Pharaoh the mediator between the gods and his subjects—Pharaoh in family life; his amusements, his occupations, his cares—His harem: the women, the queen, her origin, her duties to the king—His children: their position in the State; rivalry among them during the old age and at the death of their father; succession to the throne, consequent revolutions.

The royal city: the palace and its occupants—The royal household and its officers: Pharaoh's jesters, dwarfs, and magicians—The royal domain and the slaves, the treasury and the establishments which provided for its service: the buildings and places for the receipt of taxes—The scribe, his education, his chances of promotion: the career of Amten, his successive offices, the value of his personal property at his death.

Egyptian feudalism: the status of the lords, their rights, their amusements, their obligations to the sovereign—The influence of the gods: gifts to the temples, and possessions in mortmain; the priesthood, its hierarchy, and the method of recruiting its ranks—The military: foreign mercenaries; native militia, their privileges, their training.

The people of the towns—The slaves, men without a master—Workmen and artisans; corporations: misery of handicraftsmen—Aspect of the towns: houses, furniture, women in family life—Festivals: periodic markets, bazaars: commerce by barter, the weighing of precious metals.

The country people—The villages; serfs, free peasantry—Rural domains; the survey, taxes; the bastinado, the corvée—Administration of justice, the relations between peasants and their lords; misery of the peasantry; their resignation and natural cheerfulness; their improvidence; their indifference to political revolutions.



THE SPHINX AND THE PYRAMIDS OF GÎZEH, SEEN AT SUNSET.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF EGYPT.

The king, the queen, and the royal princes—Administration under the Pharaohs—Feudalism and the Egyptian priesthood, the military—The citizens and country people.

BETWEEN the Fayûm and the apex of the Delta, the Lybian range expands and forms a vast and slightly undulating table-land, which runs parallel to the Nile for nearly thirty leagues. The Great Sphinx Harmakhis has mounted guard over its northern extremity ever since the time of the Followers of Horus. Hewn out of the solid rock at the extreme margin of the mountain-plateau, he seems to raise his head in order that he may be the first to behold across the valley the rising of his father the Sun. Only the general outline of the lion can now be traced in his weather-worn body. The lower portion of the head-dress has fallen, so that the neck appears too slender to support the weight of the head. The cannon-shot of the fanatical Mamelukes has injured both the nose and beard, and the red colouring which gave animation to his features has now almost entirely disappeared. But in spite of this, even in its

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from *La Description de l'Égypte*, A., vol. v. pl. 7. The vignette, which is also by Boudier, represents a man bewailing the dead, in the attitude adopted at funerals by

decay, it still bears a commanding expression of strength and dignity. The eyes look into the far-off distance with an intensity of deep thought, the lips still smile, the whole face is pervaded with calmness and power. The art that could conceive and hew this gigantic statue out of the mountain-side, was an art in its maturity, master of itself and sure of its effects. How many centuries were needed to bring it to this degree of development and perfection! In later times, a chapel of alabaster and rose granite was erected alongside the god; temples were built here and there in the more accessible places, and round these were grouped the tombs of the whole

THE MASTABA OF KHOMTINI IN THE NECROPOLIS OF GÎZEH.[1]

country. The bodies of the common people, usually naked and uncoffined, were thrust under the sand, at a depth of barely three feet from the surface. Those of a better class rested in mean rectangular chambers, hastily built of yellow bricks, and roofed with pointed vaulting. No ornaments or treasures gladdened the deceased in his miserable resting-place; a few vessels, however, of coarse pottery contained the provisions left to nourish him during the period of his second existence.[2]

Some of the wealthy class had their tombs cut out of the mountain-side; but the majority preferred an isolated tomb, a "mastaba,"[3] comprising a chapel above ground, a shaft, and some subterranean vaults. From a

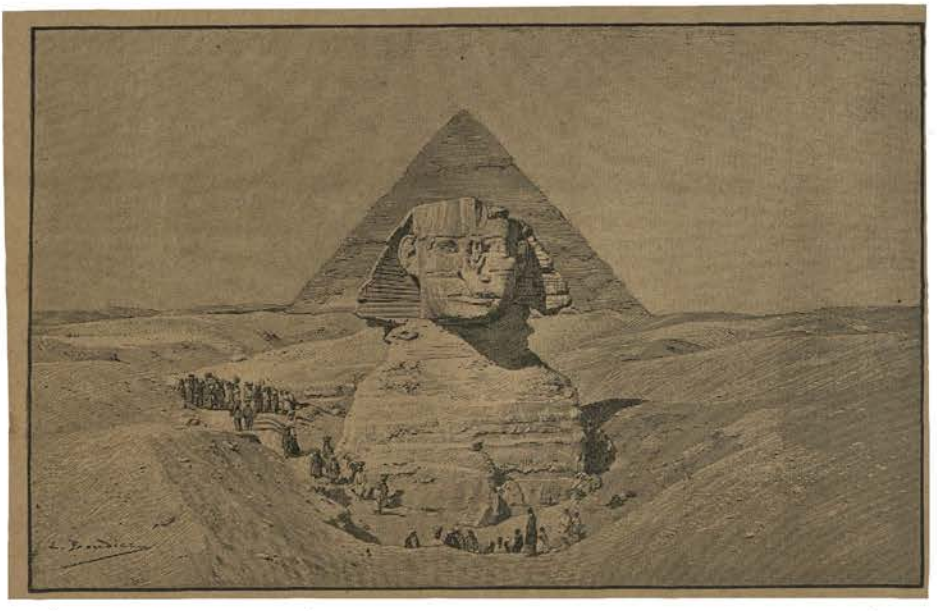
professional mourners of both sexes; the right fist resting on the ground, while the left hand scatters on the hair the dust which he has just gathered up. The statue is in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Album photographique du musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by Lepsius (*Denkm.*, ii. 26). The corner-stone at the top of the mastaba, at the extreme left of the hieroglyphic frieze, had been loosened and thrown to the ground by some explorer; the artist has restored it to its original position.

[2] MARIETTE, *Sur les tombes de l'Ancien Empire que l'on trouve à Saqqâra*, pp. 2, 3 (REV. ARCH., 2nd series, vol. xix. pp. 8, 9), and *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 17, 18.

[3] "The Arabic word 'mastaba,' plur. 'masatib,' denotes the stone bench or platform seen in the streets of Egyptian towns in front of each shop. A carpet is spread on the 'mastaba,' and the customer sits upon it to transact his business, usually side by side with the seller. In the necropolis of Saqqâra, there is a temple of gigantic proportions in the shape of a 'mastaba.' The inhabitants of the neighbourhood call it 'Mastabat-el-Farâoun,' the seat of Pharaoh, in the belief that anciently one of the Pharaohs sat there to dispense justice. The Memphite tombs of the Ancient Empire, which thickly cover the Saqqâra plateau, are more or less miniature copies of the 'Mastabat-el-

distance these chapels have the appearance of truncated pyramids, varying in size according to the fortune or taste of the owner; there are some which measure 30 to 40 ft. in height, with a façade 160 ft. long, and a depth from back to front of some 80 ft., while others attain only a height of some 10 ft. upon a base of 16 ft. square.[1] The walls slope uniformly towards one another, and usually have a smooth surface; sometimes, however, their courses



THE GREAT SPHINX OF GÎZEH PARTIALLY UNCOVERED, AND THE PYRAMID OF KHEPHREN.[2]

are set back one above the other almost like steps. The brick mastabas were carefully cemented externally, and the layers bound together internally by fine sand poured into the interstices. Stone mastabas, on the contrary, present a regularity in the decoration of their facings alone; in nine cases out of ten the core is built of rough stone blocks, rudely cut into squares, cemented with gravel and dried mud, or thrown together pell-mell without mortar of any kind. The whole building should have been orientated according to rule, the four sides to the four cardinal points, the greatest axis directed north and south; but the masons seldom troubled themselves

Farâoun.' Hence the name of mastabas, which has always been given to this kind of tomb, in the necropolis of Saqqâra" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 22, 23).

[1] The mastaba of Sabû is 175 ft. 9 in. long, by about 87 ft. 9 in. deep, but two of its sides have lost their facing (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 143); that of Râuimâît measures 171 ft. 3 in. by 84 ft. 6 in. on the south front, and 100 ft. on the north front (*id.*, p. 222). On the other hand, the mastaba of Papû is only 19 ft. 4 in. by 29 ft. long (*id.*, p. 391), and that of Khâbiûphtah (*id.*, p. 294) 42 ft. 4 in. by 21 ft. 8 in.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in the course of the excavations begun in 1886, with the funds furnished by a public subscription opened by the *Journal des Débats*.

to find the true north, and the orientation is usually incorrect.[1] The doors face east, sometimes north or south, but never west. One of these is but the semblance of a door, a high narrow niche, contrived so as to face east, and decorated with grooves framing a carefully walled-up entrance; this was for the use of the dead, and it was believed that the ghost entered or left it at will. The door for the use of the living, sometimes preceded by a portico, was almost always characterized by great simplicity. Over it is a cylindrical tympanum, or a smooth flagstone, bearing sometimes merely the name of the dead person, sometimes his titles and descent, sometimes a prayer for his welfare, and an enumeration of the days during which he was entitled to receive the worship due to ancestors. They invoked on his behalf, and almost always precisely in the same words, the "Great God," the Osiris of Mendes, or else Anubis, dwelling in the Divine Palace,[3] that burial might be granted to him in Amentît, the land of the West, the very great and very good, to him the vassal of the Great God; that he might walk in the ways in which it is good to walk, he the vassal of the Great God; that he might have offerings of bread, cakes, and drink, at the New Year's Feast, at the feast of Thot, on the first day of the year, on the feast of Ûagaît,[4] at the great fire festival, at the procession of the god Mînû, at the feast of offerings, at the monthly and half-monthly festivals, and every day.[5]

TETINIÔNKHÛ, SITTING BEFORE THE FUNERAL REPAST.[2]

[1] Thus the axis of the tomb of Pirsenû is 17° east of the magnetic north (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 299). In some cases the divergence is only 1° or 2°, more often it is 6°, 7°, 8°, or 9°, as can be easily ascertained by consulting the work of Mariette.

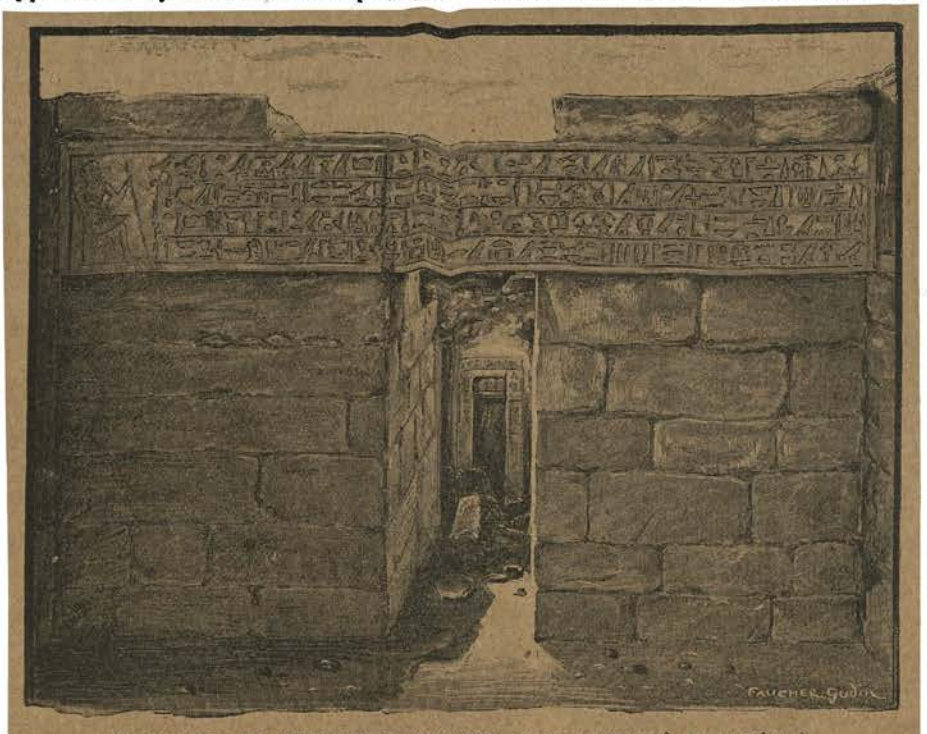
[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph of the original monument which is preserved in the Liverpool Museum; cf. GATTY, *Catalogue of the Mayer Collection;* I. Egyptian Antiquities, No. 294, p. 45.

[3] The "Divine Palace" is the palace of Osiris. Anubis performed for it the duties of usher, and his protection was deemed necessary for those who wished to be admitted into the presence of the "Great God" (cf. p. 197, et seq., of this volume).

[4] Ûagaît was the festival of the dead, celebrated during the first days of the year. See p. 321.

[5] MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux monuments exposés dans les galeries provisoires du Musée*

The chapel is usually small, and is almost lost in the great extent of the building.[1] It generally consists merely of an oblong chamber, approached by a rather short passage.[2] At the far end, and set back into the



THE FAÇADE AND THE STELE OF THE TOMB OF PHTAHSHOPSISÛ AT SAQQÂRA.[3]

western wall,[4] is a huge quadrangular stele, at the foot of which is seen the table of offerings, made of alabaster, granite or limestone placed flat upon the ground, and sometimes two little obelisks or two altars, hollowed

d'Antiquités Égyptiennes, 1864, pp. 20–22; *Sur les tombes de l'Ancien Empire que l'on trouve à Saqqâra*, pp. 3–8 (REV. ARCH., 2nd series, xix. pp. 9–14); *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 21–33. For a more complete and technical description of the mastabas of the Memphite period, see PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 169–178, and MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 109-133.

[1] Thus the chapel of the mastaba of Sabû is only 14 ft. 4 in. long, by about 3 ft. 3 in. deep (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 143), and that of the tomb of Phtahshopsisû 10 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 7 in. (*id.*, p. 131).

[2] The mastaba of Tinti has four chambers (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 149), as has also that of Assi-ônkhû (*id.*, p. 190); but these are exceptions, as may be ascertained by consulting the work of Mariette. Most of those which contain several rooms are ancient one-roomed mastabas, which have been subsequently altered or enlarged; this is the case with the mastabas of Shopsi (*id.*, p. 206) and of Ankhaftûka (*id.*, p. 304). A few, however, were constructed from the outset with all their apartments—that of Râônkhûmai, with six chambers and several niches (*id.*, p. 280); that of Khâbiûphtah, with three chambers, niches, and doorway ornamented with two pillars (*id.*, p. 294); that of Ti, with two chambers, a court surrounded with pillars, a doorway, and long inscribed passages (*id.*, pp. 332, 333); and that of Phtahhotpû, with seven chambers, besides niches (*id.*, p. 351)

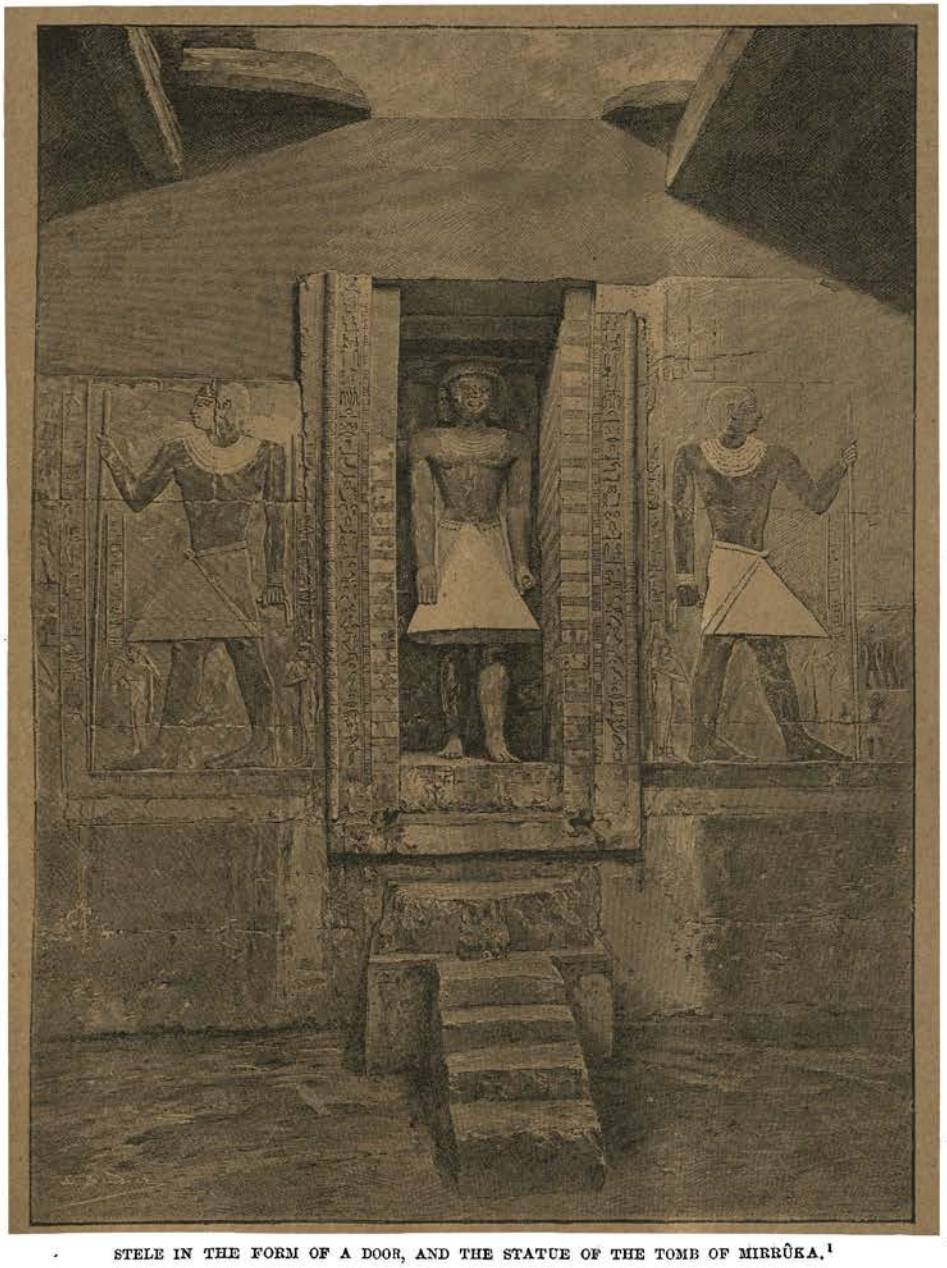
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. 2.

[4] MARIETTE, *Sur les tombes de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 8; *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 35, 36, where "west" should be read for "east" in the published text. The rule is not as invariable as Mariette believed it to be, and I have pointed out a few examples of stelæ facing north or south.

at the top to receive the gifts mentioned in the inscription on the exterior of the tomb. The general appearance is that of a rather low, narrow doorway, too small to be a practicable entrance.[1] The recess thus formed is almost always left empty; sometimes, however, the piety of relatives placed within it a statue of the deceased. Standing there, with shoulders thrown back, head erect, and smiling face, the statue seems to step forth to lead the double from its dark lodging where it lies embalmed, to those glowing plains where he dwelt in freedom during his earthly life: another moment, crossing the threshold, he must descend the few steps leading into the public hall. On festivals and days of offering, when the priest and family presented the banquet with the customary rites, this great painted figure, in the act of advancing, and seen by the light of flickering torches or smoking lamps, might well appear endued with life. It was as if the dead ancestor himself stepped out of the wall and mysteriously stood before his descendants to claim their homage. The inscription on the lintel repeats once more the name and rank of the dead. Faithful portraits of him and of other members of his family figure in the bas-reliefs on the door-posts. The little scene at the far end represents him seated tranquilly at table, with the details of the feast carefully recorded at his side, from the first moment when water is brought to him for ablution, to that when, all culinary skill being exhausted, he has but to return to his dwelling, in a state of beatified satisfaction. The stele represented to the visitor the door leading to the private apartments of the deceased; the fact of its being walled up for ever showing that no living mortal might cross its threshold. The inscription which covered its surface was not a mere epitaph informing future generations who it was that reposed beneath. It perpetuated the name and genealogy of the deceased, and gave him a civil status, without which he could not have preserved his personality in the world beyond; the nameless dead, like a living man without a name, was reckoned as non-existing. Nor was this the only use of the stele; the pictures and prayers inscribed upon it acted as so many talismans for ensuring the continuous existence of the ancestor, whose memory they recalled. They compelled the god therein invoked, whether Osiris or the jackal Anubis, to act as mediator between the living and the departed; they granted to the god the enjoyment of sacrifices and those good things abundantly offered to the deities, and by which they live, on condition that a share of them might first be

[1] The stele of Shiri, priest of the Pharaohs Sondi and Pirsenû, and one of the most ancient monuments known, offers a good example of these door-shaped stelæ; cf. p. 237 of this volume, and MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 31, 32, where the stele of Khâbiûsokari is reproduced, and where the signification of stelæ of this particular type was first pointed out.

set aside for the deceased. By the divine favour, the soul or rather the doubles of the bread, meat, and beverages passed into the other world,



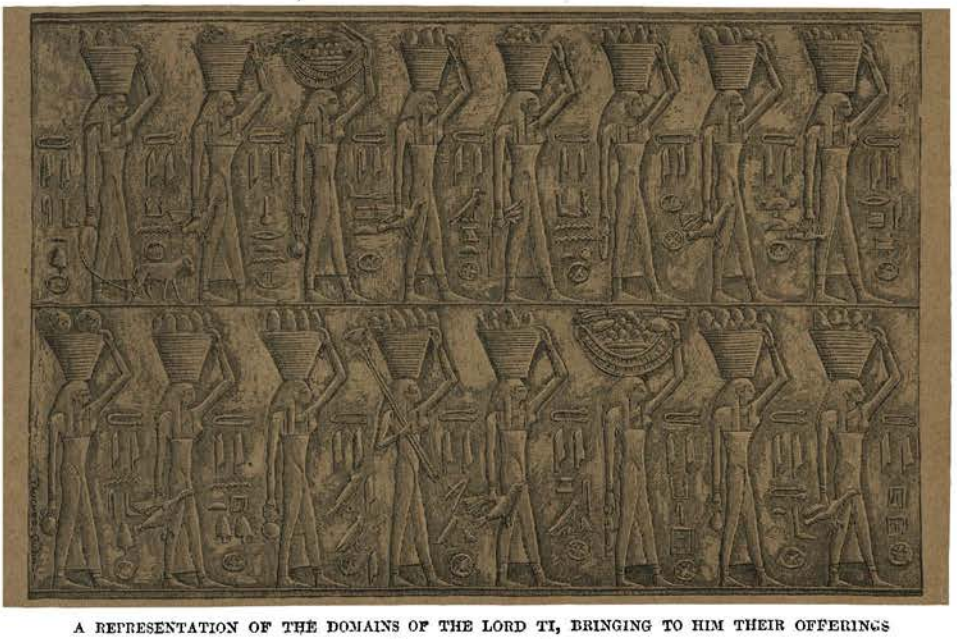
STELE IN THE FORM OF A DOOR, AND THE STATUE OF THE TOMB OF MIRRÛKA.[1]

and there refreshed the human double. It was not, however, necessary that the offering should have a material existence, in order to be effective;

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph of the tomb of Mirrûka, taken by M. de Morgan.

the first comer who should repeat aloud the name and the formulas inscribed upon the stone, secured for the unknown occupant, by this means alone, the immediate possession of all the things which he enumerated.[1]

The stele constitutes the essential part of the chapel and tomb. In many cases it was the only inscribed portion, it alone being necessary to ensure the identity and continuous existence of the dead man; often, however, the



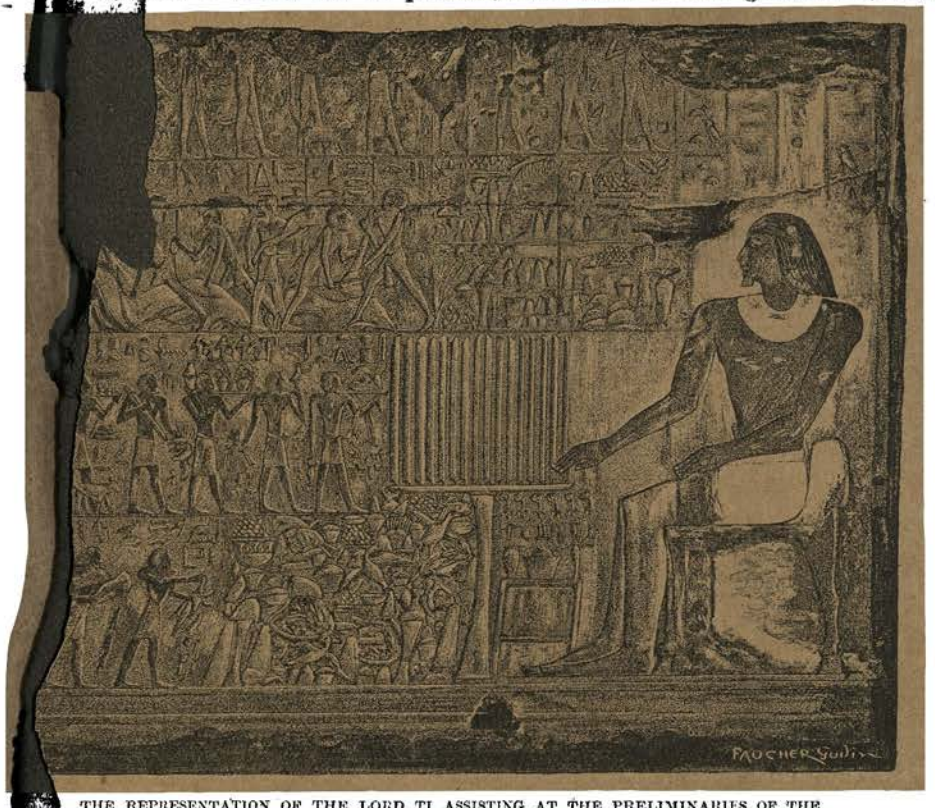
A REPRESENTATION OF THE DOMAINS OF THE LORD TI, BRINGING TO HIM THEIR OFFERINGS IN PROCESSION.[2]

sides of the chamber and passage were not left bare. When time or the wealth of the owner permitted, they were covered with scenes and writing, expressing at greater length the ideas summarized by the figures and inscriptions of the stele. Neither pictorial effect nor the caprice of the moment was permitted to guide the artist in the choice of his subjects; all that he drew, pictures or words, had a magical purpose. Every individual who built for himself an "eternal house," either attached to it a staff of priests of the double, of inspectors, scribes, and slaves, or else made an agreement with the priests of a neighbouring temple to serve the chapel in perpetuity. Lands taken from his patrimony, which thus became the

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 1–34; *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 31, et seq.; and *Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 155, et seq.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a "squeeze" taken from the tomb of Ti. The domains are represented as women. The name is written before each figure, with the designation of the land-owner—"the nebbek [locust tree?] of Ti," "the two sycamores of Ti," "the wine of Ti;" cf. p. 329 of this volume.

of the Eternal House," rewarded them for their trouble, and hem with meats, vegetables, fruits, liquors, linen and vessels for In theory, these "liturgies" were perpetuated from year to year, nd of time; but in practice, after three or four generations, the



THE REPRESENTATION OF THE LORD TI ASSISTING AT THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE SACRIFICE AND OFFERING.[2]

ancestors were forsaken for those who had died more recently. Notanding the imprecations and threats of the donor against the priests hould neglect their duty, or against those who should usurp the l endowments,[3] sooner or later there came a time when, forsaken by e double was in danger of perishing for want of sustenance. In order sure that the promised gifts, offered in substance on the day of

ASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 53–75, where a contract kind, between a Prince of Siût and the priests of the god Ûapûaîtû, is explained at length; RIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 313; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, vol. i. pl. 1. Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. 13.

e mutilated text of the tomb of Sonûiônkhû offers an example of these menaces in the ith which we are dealing (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 313; cf. E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, s *hiéroglyphiques*, vol. i. pl. 1). Shorter formulas are found in the tombs of Hotpûhikhûît *Les Mastabas*, p. 342), of Khonû (*id.*, p. 185), and of Ninki (PIEHL, *Inscriptions pro- Mastaba de la VIe Dynastie*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 121–126).

burial, should be maintained throughout the centuries, the re
only depicted them upon the chapel walls, but represented in a
lands which produced them, and the labour which contribute
production. On one side we see ploughing, sowing, reaping, th
of the corn, the storing of the grain, the fattening of the p
the driving of the cattle. A little further on, workmen of all
are engaged in their several trades: shoemakers ply the awl,
blow through their tubes, metal founders watch over their sm
carpenters hew down trees and build a ship; groups of women
spin under the eye of a frowning taskmaster, who seems impatie
chatter. Did the double in his hunger desire meat? He might
the pictures on the wall the animal that pleased him best, whethe
ox, or gazelle; he might follow the course of its life, from its b
the meadows to the slaughter-house and the kitchen, and might
his hunger with its flesh. The double saw himself represented i
paintings as hunting, and to the hunt he went; he was painted eating
drinking with his wife, and he ate and drank with her; the pic
ploughing, harvesting, and gathering into barns, thus became to him a
realities. In fine, this painted world of men and things represented
the wall was quickened by the same life which animated the double,
whom it all depended: the *picture* of a meal or of a slave was perhap
which best suited the *shade* of guest or of master.[1]

Even to-day, when we enter one of these decorated chapels, the id
death scarcely presents itself: we have rather the impression of bein
some old-world house, to which the master may at any moment return
see him portrayed everywhere upon the walls, followed by his servan
surrounded by everything which made his earthly life enjoyable.
two statues of him stand at the end of the room, in constant readin
undergo the "Opening of the Mouth" and to receive offerings.[2] S
these be accidentally removed, others, secreted in a little chamber
in the thickness of the masonry, are there to replace them.[3] These
chambers have rarely any external outlet, though occasionally they ar
nected with the chapel by a small opening, so narrow that it will hardly
of a hand being passed through it. Those who came to repeat prayers
burn incense at this aperture were received by the dead in person.
statues were not mere images, devoid of consciousness. Just as the d

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. i. pp. 1–34; c
Égyptiennes, vol. i. pp. 193, 194; *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 205–207; *Archéologie Égyptienne*, p

[2] Cf. what is said about the "Opening of the Mouth" on p. 180 of this volume.

[3] This is the "serdab," or "passage" of Arab diggers; cf. MARIETTE, *Notice des monuments*, 1864, pp. 23, 24; *Sur les tombes de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 8, 9; *Les Mastabas*, pp.

d be linked to an idol in the temple sanctuary in order to nto a prophetic being, capable of speech and movement,[1] so ble of a man was attached to the effigy of his earthly body, ne, metal, or wood, a real living person was created and was o the tomb. So strong was this conviction that the belief hrough two changes of religion until the present day. The unts the statues with which he was associated in the past. er times, he yet strikes with madness or death any who dare to repose; and one can only be protected from him by breaking, at nt of discovery, the perfect statues which the vault contains. The weakened or killed by the mutilation of these his sustainers.[2] The rnish in their modelling a more correct idea of the deceased than his disfigured as it was by the work of the embalmers; they were also y destroyed, and any number could be made at will. Hence arose y incredible number of statues sometimes hidden away in the same These sustainers or imperishable bodies of the double were multiplied insure for him a practical immortality; and the care with which re shut into a secure hiding-place, increased their chances of pre-n.[4] All the same, no precaution was neglected that could save a from destruction. The shaft leading to it descended to a mean forty to fifty feet, but sometimes it reached, and even exceeded, a feet. Running horizontally from it is a passage so low as to a man standing upright in it, which leads to the sepulchral chamber so called, hewn out of the solid rock and devoid of all ornament; the us, whether of fine limestone, rose-granite, or black basalt, does not ar the name and titles of the deceased. The servants who deposited n it placed beside it on the dusty floor the quarters of the ox, laughtered in the chapel, as well as phials of perfume, and large d pottery containing muddy water; after which they walled ance to the passage and filled the shaft with chips of stone with earth and gravel. The whole, being well watered, soon

[1] See what has been said on the subject of prophetic statues on pp. 119, 120 of this History

The legends still current about the pyramids of Gîzeh furnish some good examples of this d of superstition. "The guardian of the Eastern pyramid was an idol . . . who had both eyes n, and was seated on a throne, having a sort of halberd near it, on which, if any one fixed his , he heard a fearful noise, which struck terror to his heart, and caused the death of the arer. There was a spirit appointed to wait on each guardian, who departed not from before him." he keeping of the other two pyramids was in like manner entrusted to a statue, assisted by a spirit *'Égypte de Mourtadi, fils du Gaphiphe*, from the translation of M. PIERRE VATTIER, Paris, 1666, p. 46–61). I have collected a certain number of tales resembling that of Mourtadi in the *Études Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 77, et seq.

[3] Eighteen or nineteen were found in the serdab of Rahotpû only at Saqqâra (MARIETTE, otice des principaux Monuments, 1864, pp. 62, 182, 202; *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 157).

[4] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 7–9, 47–49, etc

hardened into a compact mass, which protected the vault a
from desecration.[1]

During the course of centuries, the ever-increasing nu
at length formed an almost uninterrupted chain of burying
table-land. At Gîzeh they follow a symmetrical plan, and li
regular roads;[2] at Saqqâra they are scattered about on the
ground, in some places sparsely, in others huddled confu
Everywhere the tombs are rich in inscriptions, statues, and
sculptured scenes, each revealing some characteristic custom, or s
of contemporary civilization. From the womb, as it were, of these
the Egypt of the Memphite dynasties gradually takes new life, and
in the full daylight of history. Nobles and fellahs, soldiers and pries
and craftsmen,—the whole nation lives anew before us; each with his
his dress, his daily round of occupation and pleasures. It is a perfe
and although in places the drawing is defaced and the colour dimmed,
may be restored with no great difficulty, and with almost absolute
The king stands out boldly in the foreground, and his tall figure to
all else. He so completely transcends his surroundings, that at f
one may well ask if he does not represent a god rather than a man;
matter of fact, he is a god to his subjects. They call him "the g
"the great god," and connect him with Râ through the intervening
successors of the gods who ruled the two worlds. His father before
"Son of Râ," as was also his grandfather, and his great-grandfathe
through all his ancestors, until from "son of Râ" to "son of Râ" th
reached Râ himself. Sometimes an adventurer of unknown ante
abruptly inserted in the series, and we might imagine that he would
the succession of the solar line; but on closer examination we alwa
either the intruder is connected with the god by a genealogy hit
pected, or that he is even more closely related to him than his
inasmuch as Râ, having secretly descended upon the earth, had beg
a mortal mother in order to rejuvenate the race.[4] If things came
marriage with some princess would soon legitimise, if not the usurper hi

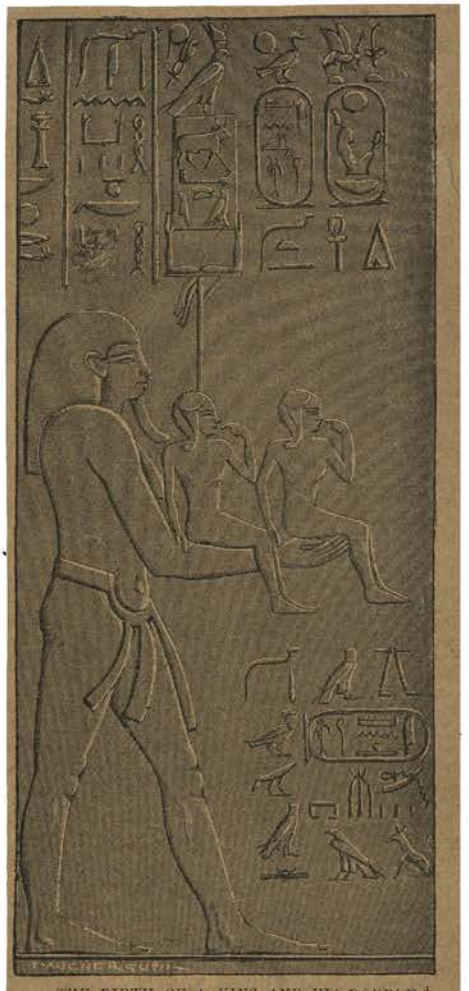
[1] MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux Monuments Égyptiens*, 1864, pp. 31, 32; *Sur les tombe
l'Ancien Empire que l'on trouve à Saqqarah*, pp. 9–11; *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 42–46

[2] JOMARD, *Description générale de Memphis et des Pyramides* in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vo
pp. 619, 620; MARIETTE, *Sur les tombes de l'Ancien Empire que l'on trouve à Saqqarah*, p. 4.

[3] MARIETTE, *Sur les tombes de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 6, and *Les Mastabas*, p. 29. The necropolis
Saqqâra is in reality composed of a score of cemeteries, grouped around, or between the roy
pyramids, each having its *clientèle* and particular regulations.

[4] A legend, preserved for us in the *Westcar Papyrus* (ERMAN'S edition, pl. ix. ll. 5–11, pl. x. l.
et seq.), maintains that the first three kings of the Vth dynasty, Ûsirkaf, Sahûrî, and Kakiû, we
children born to Râ, lord of Sakhîbû, by Rûdîtdidît, wife of a priest attached to the temple
that town.

escendants, and thus firmly re-established the succession.[1] The
fore, are blood-relations of
me through their father,
their mother, directly
e God, and their souls
r bodies have a super-
each soul being a double
om Horus, the successor of
the first to reign alone
t. This divine double is
to the royal infant at birth,
me manner as the ordinary
incarnate in common mortals.
remained concealed, and
lie dormant in those princes
stiny did not call upon to
t it awoke to full self-con-
in those who ascended the
the moment of their accession.
t time to the hour of their death,
nd it, all that they possessed
humanity was completely
were from henceforth only
Râ," the Horus, dwelling
, during his sojourn here
the blessings of Horus,
heir complex nature was
outset in the form and
their names. Among
s the choice of a name was not a matter of indifference; not only
beasts, but even inanimate objects, require one or more names, and
on or thing in the world could attain to complete



THE BIRTH OF A KING AND HIS DOUBLE.[2]

to Binothris of the IInd dynasty; cf. p. 238 of this volume.
ngly power in the time of the Ancient Empire were first
sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières
d subsequently by ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*,
have given above has already been put forward in a small
officiels des rois d'Égypte (*Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp.
ues, pp. 42–45).
a photograph by Gayet. The king is Amenôthes III., whose
n the temple of Luxor, with the same wealth of details that
een a son of the god Amon and the goddess Mût: cf. CHAM-
e la Nubie, pl. cccxxix., 2-cccxli.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*,

existence until the name had been conferred. The most anc
often only a short word, which denoted some moral or phy
Titi the runner, Mîni the lasting, Qonqeni the crusher, Sondi
Uznasît the flowery-tongued. They consisted also of short sen
the royal child confessed his faith in the power of the gods,
pation in the acts of the Sun's life—"Khâfrî," his rising
kaûhorû," the doubles of Horus last for ever; "Ûsirkerî,"
is omnipotent. Sometimes the sentence is shortened, and he
god is understood: as for instance, "Ûsirkaf," HIS double is
"Snofrûi," HE has made me good; "Khûfûi," HE has protected
for the names "Ûsirkerî," "Ptahsnofrûi,"[1] "Khnûmkhûfûi," wit
pression of Râ, Phtah, and Khnûmû.[2] The name having once,
taken possession of a man on his entrance into life, never leaves
in this world or the next; the prince who had been called Ûn
at the moment of his birth, retained this name even after death,
his mummy existed, and his double was not annihilated.

When the Egyptians wished to denote that a person or thing
certain place, they inserted their names within the picture of th
question. Thus the name of Teti is written inside a picture of Te
the result being the compound hieroglyph . Again, when the
king became king in his turn, they enclose his ordinary name in
flat-bottomed frame ▭ which we call a cartouche; the elliptic
which is a kind of plan of the world, a representation of those
over by Râ in his journey, and over which Pharaoh, because
Râ, exercises his rule. When the names of Teti or Snofrû
group , "son of the Sun," are placed in a cartouche,
they are preceded by the words which respectively exp
over the two halves of Egypt, the South and the North, the
describing exactly the visible person of Pharaoh during his
mortals. But this first name chosen for the child did not inclu
man; it left without appropriate designation the double of Hor
revealed in the prince at the moment of access
received a special title, which is always construc
the picture of the hawk-god, who desired to lea
of his soul, then a simple or compound epit
Horus which the Pharaoh wished particularly

[1] The name Phtahsnofrûi is frequently met with on the st
des noms hiéroglyphiques, Nos. 132 and 726, pp. 40 and 241; M
Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos, pl. clxxvi., No. 660)
be tempted to insert here, has not as yet been found upon the m

[2] For the restitution of the omitted elements in these and s
period, cf. W. MAX MÜLLER, *Bemerkung über einige Königsnamer*
pp. 176, 177.

of Truth; "Horû miri-toûi," Horus friend of both lands;
ûû," Horus
ings; "Horu
who crushes
The variable
ns is usually
blong rect-
ed at the
number of
in a sum-
façade of a
e centre of
bolted door may
be distinguished:
e representation of
l where the double
day rest, and the
or is the portal of
.[1] The stereotyped
e names and titles,
represented by the
od, is placed
ngle, some-
of it, some-
: the hawk
by nature,
ere remain
st his will.

THE ADULT KING ADVANCING, FOLLOWED BY HIS DOUBLE.[2]

preamble was not enough to satisfy the love of precision which
characteristic of the Egyptians. When they wished to represent
is sepulchral chamber, they left out of consideration the period
he had presided over the earthly destinies of the
them similar to those of Horus, from whom the

the "Banner Name;" indeed, it was for some time believed
stuff, ornamented at the bottom by embroidery or fringe, and
f a king. Wilkinson thought that this "square title," as he
from several Hieroglyphical Subjects, p. 7, note 14). The real
mined by Professor Flinders Petrie (*Tanis*, 1st part, p. 5, note,
22, and pl. xx.) and by myself (*Revue Critique*, 1888, vol. ii.
ii. pp. 274, 275).

om an illustration in ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH'S *Gallery of*
, pl. 31. The king thus represented is Thutmosis. II. of the
nted by a man's head, which the double holds in his hand,
s formerly sacrificed at the burial of a chief (LEFÉBURE, *Rites*

double proceeded. They, therefore, withdrew him from the to
have been his lot, and there was substituted for the ordinary s
of those groups which symbolize sovereignt
countries of the Nile—the coiled uræus of the
vulture of the South, ; there was then
second sparrow-hawk, the golden sparrow-haw
phant sparrow-hawk which had delivered Egy
The soul of Snofrûi, which is called, as a s
, "Horus master of Truth," is, as
entitled , "the Lord of the Vu
Uræus," master of Truth, and Horus trium
other hand, the royal prince, when he put
received, from the moment of his advancement to t
rank, such an increase of dignity, that his birth-na
when framed in a cartouche and enhanced with brillia
—was no longer able to fully represent him. This
of his person was therefore marked by a new designa
he was the living flesh of the sun, so his surname alw
allusion to some point in his relations with his father
claims the love which he felt for the latter, "Miriri
the latter experienced for him, "Mirnirî," or el
the stability of the doubles of Râ, "Tatkerî,"
"Nofirkerî," or some other of their sovereign virtues. Sever
IVth dynasty had already dignified themselves by these s
the VIth were the first to incorporate them regularly into th
There was some hesitation at first as to the position the
occupy, and it was sometimes placed after the birth-name, as i
"Papi Nofirkerî," sometimes before it, as in , "

THE *KA*, OR "DOUBLE" NAME.[3]

[1] The meaning of this group, which has long been rendered as "the gold sp
glittering sparrow-hawk," was determined with certainty for the first time by Brug
in a demotic inscription at Philæ (BRUGSCH, *Uebereinstimmung einer hieroglyphi*
Philæ mit dem griechischen und demotischen Anfangs-Texte des
sequently adopted by E. de Rougé (*Étude sur une stèle Égy*
Impériale, pp. 21, 22), Brugsch's interpretation has since been
Die Ægyptologie, p. 202), though, from force of custom, the
golden Horus," is often given.

[2] The reading of the group is not yet determined with certai
in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxix. pp. 57, 58; and PIEHL, *Notes*
Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society, vol. xiii.,
scription would be "Master of the Vulture and of the Uræu
and consequently "Master of the Countries of North and Sout
hieroglyphischen Inschrift von Philæ, pp. 10, 11).

[3] The *Ka*, or double name, represented in this illustration is
builder of the second of the great pyramids at Gîzeh; it reads "Ho

[4] Some good examples of this indecision may be found in t
where the cartouche of the prenomen is placed once before th
Travaux, vol. xii. p. 56), and almost everywhere else after it (*ib.*,

It was finally decided to place it at the beginning, preceded by the group "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," which expresses in its fullest extent the power granted by the gods to the Pharaoh alone; the other, or birth-name, came after it, accompanied by the words "Son of the Sun." There were inscribed, either before or above these two solar names—which are exclusively applied to the visible and living body of the master—the two names of the sparrow-hawk, which belonged especially to the soul; first, that of the double in the tomb, and then that of the double while still incarnate. Four terms seemed thus necessary to the Egyptians in order to define accurately the Pharaoh, both in time and in eternity.

THE GODDESS ADOPTS THE KING BY SUCKLING HIM.[2]

Long centuries were needed before this subtle analysis of the royal person, and the learned graduation of the formulas which corresponded to it, could transform the Nome chief, become by conquest suzerain over all other chiefs and king of all Egypt, into a living god here below, the all-powerful son and successor of the gods; but the divine concept of royalty, once implanted in the mind, quickly produced its inevitable consequences. From the moment that the Pharaoh became god upon earth, the gods of heaven, his fathers or his brothers,[1] and the goddesses recognized him as their son, and, according to the ceremonial imposed by custom in such cases, consecrated his adoption by offering him the breast to suck, as they would have done to their own child.[3] Ordinary mortals spoke of him only in symbolic words, designating him by some periphrasis: Pharaoh, "Pirûi-Âûi," the Double Palace, "Prûîti," the Sublime Porte,[4] His Majesty,[5] the Sun of the two lands, Horus master of the

[1] The formula "his fathers the gods" or "his brethren the gods" is constantly applied to the Pharaohs in texts of all periods.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger. The original is in the great speos of Silsilis. The king here represented is Harmhabît of the XVIIIth dynasty; cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypt et de la Nubie*, pl. cix., No. 3; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xliv. 5; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 121 *b*.

[3] The explanation of the scene, frequently met with, in which we see a goddess of gigantic stature offering her breast to a crowned or helmeted king, who stands before her, was first given by MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 23, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. xiv., 1891-92, pp. 308-312. Characteristic examples of this method of adoption by actual or fictitious suckling of the person adopted, are found among other ancient and modern peoples.

[4] The meaning and etymology of the word Pharaoh were discovered by E. DE ROUGÉ, *Note sur le mot Pharaon*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athénæum Français*, 1856, pp. 66-68; Mr. Lepage-Renouf has proposed an explanation of it, derived from the Hebrew (*The Name of Pharaoh*, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. xv., 1892-93, pp. 421, 422). The value of the title Rûîti, Prûîti, was determined, to the best of my recollection, by CHABAS, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 305.

[5] The title "Honûf" is translated by the same authors, sometimes as "His Majesty," sometimes

palace,[1] or, less ceremoniously, by the indeterminate pronoun "One."[2] The greater number of these terms is always accompanied by a wish addressed to the sovereign for his "life," "health," and "strength," the initial signs of which are written after all his titles.[3] He accepts all this graciously, and even on his own initiative, swears by his own life, or by the favour of Râ,[4] but he forbids his subjects to imitate him:[5] for them it is a sin, punishable in this world and in the next,[6] to adjure the person of the sovereign, except in the case in which a magistrate requires from them a judicial oath.[7] He is approached, moreover, as a god is approached, with downcast eyes, and head or back bent; they "sniff the earth" before him,[8] they veil their faces with both hands to shut out the splendour of his appearance; they chant a devout form of adoration before submitting to him a petition. No one is free from this obligation: his ministers themselves, and the great ones of his kingdom, cannot deliberate with him on matters of state, without inaugurating the proceeding by a sort of solemn service in his honour, and reciting to him at length a eulogy of his divinity.[10] They did not, indeed, openly exalt him above the other gods, but these were rather too numerous to share heaven among them, whilst he alone rules over the "Entire Circuit of the Sun," and the whole earth, its mountains and plains, are in subjection under his sandalled feet. People, no doubt, might be met with who did not obey him,

THE CUCUPHA-HEADED SCEPTRE.[9]

as "His Holiness." The reasons for translating it "His Majesty," as was originally proposed by Champollion, and afterwards generally adopted, have been given last of all by E. de Rougé (*Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, vol. ii. § 189, p. 60).

[1] ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben*, p. 92, where may be found collected several of these indirect methods of designating the king both in official documents and in ordinary speech.

[2] This determinate manner of speaking of the sovereign, which we have as yet met with only in the texts of the New Theban Empire, was first pointed out by MASPERO, *Le Conte des deux Frères*, in the *Revue des Cours Littéraires*, vol. vii. p. 783, note 2.

[3] This is the group ônkhû, ûzai, sonbû, usually shortened in French into *v.s.f.*, *vie, santé, force.*

[4] As occurs in the inscription of Piônkhi Miamun, ll. 24, 65; cf. l. 110.

[5] CHABAS, *Hebræo-Ægyptiaca*, § iii. *Interdiction des Jurements*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 177–182.

[6] In the "Negative Confession," the deceased declares that he has not uttered any malediction against the king (*Livre des morts*, ch. CXXV., NAVILLE'S edition, vol. ii. p. 306).

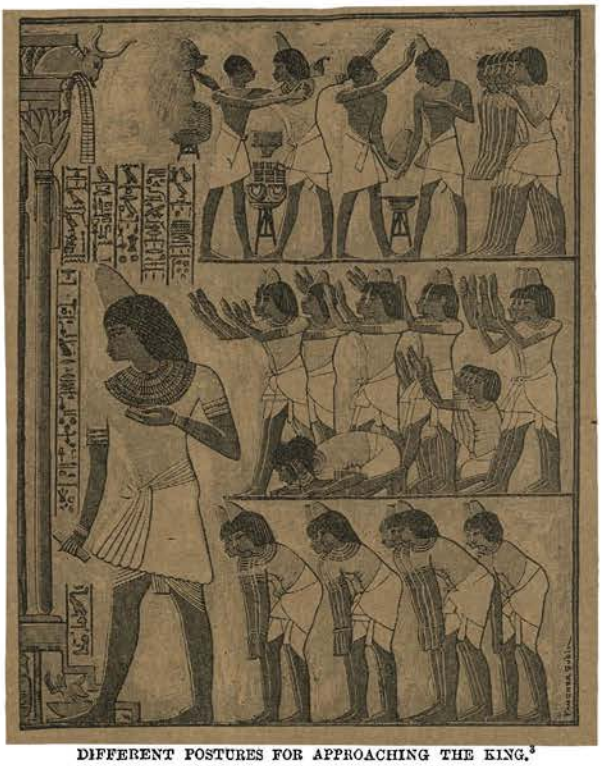
[7] For the judicial oath, and the form it took, cf. W. SPIEGELBERG, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynastien xviii.–xxi.* pp. 71–81.

[8] This is the literal translation of the group "sonû-to," which is usually employed to express the prostration of the faithful before the god or the king, the *proscynêma* of texts of the Greek period.

[9] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the engraving in PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Recherches sur les légendes royales et l'époque du règne de Schai ou Scheraï*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 467. The original is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, to which it was presented by Prisse d'Avennes. It is of glazed earthenware, of very delicate and careful workmanship.

[10] The fashion was observed in all times, but the best examples of it are found on the monuments of the New Theban Empire. I may refer my readers specially to the commencement of the *Stele of the Gold-mines* (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. xxi.; and CHABAS, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, p. 13, et seq.)

but these were rebels, adherents of Sît, "Children of Ruin,"[1] who, sooner or later, would be overtaken by punishment. While hoping that his fictitious claim to universal dominion would be realized, the king adopted, in addition to the simple costume of the old chiefs, the long or short petticoat, the jackal's tail, the turned-up sandals, and the insignia of the supreme gods,—the ankh, the crook, the flail, and the sceptre tipped with the head of a jerboa or a hare, which we misname the cucupha-headed sceptre.[2] He put on the many-coloured diadems of the gods, the head-dresses covered with feathers, the white and the red crowns either separately or combined so as to form the pshent. The viper or uræus, in metal or gilded wood, which rose from his forehead, was imbued with a mysterious life, which made it a means of executing his vengeance and accomplishing his secret purposes. It was supposed to vomit flames and to destroy those who should dare to attack its master in battle. The supernatural virtues which it communicated to the crown, made it an enchanted thing which no one could resist.[4] Lastly, Pharaoh had his temples where his enthroned statue,



DIFFERENT POSTURES FOR APPROACHING THE KING.[3]

[1] On p. 159, note 2, of this volume, will be found the explanation of the phrase "Mosû Batashît," which is usually translated "Children of Rebellion."

[2] This identification, suggested by Champollion (*Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique*, Nos. 384, 385), is, from force of custom, still adhered to, in nearly all works on Egyptology. But we know from ancient evidence that the cucupha was a bird, perhaps a hoopoe (LEEMANS, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, pp. 279–281); the sceptre of the gods, moreover, is really surmounted by the head of a quadruped having a pointed snout and long retreating ears, and belonging to the greyhound, jackal, or jerboa species (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Recherches sur les légendes royales et sur l'époque du règne de Schai ou Scheraï*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. ii., 1845, p. 466, et seq.).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger; cf. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii., 76. The picture represents Khâmhaît presenting the superintendents of storehouses to Tûtânkhamon, of the XVIIIth dynasty.

[4] The mysterious life with which the uræus of the royal crowns was supposed to be imbued, was first noticed by E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude sur divers monuments du règne de Toutmès III. découverts à Thèbes par M. Mariette*, p. 15. Concerning the enchanted crowns, see MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 134, where a description of them, and a concise explanation of their magical office, will be found.

animated by one of his doubles, received worship, prophesied, and fulfilled all the functions of a Divine Being, both during his life, and after he had rejoined in the tomb his ancestors the gods, who existed before him and who now reposed impassively within the depths of their pyramids.[1]

Man, as far as his body was concerned, and god in virtue of his soul and its attributes, the Pharaoh, in right of this double nature, acted as a constant mediator between heaven and earth. He alone was fit to transmit the prayers of men to his fathers and his brethren the gods. Just as the head of a family was in his household the priest *par excellence* of the gods of that family,—just as the chief of a nome was in his nome the priest *par excellence* in regard to the gods of the nome,—so was Pharaoh the priest *par excellence* of the gods of all Egypt, who were his special deities. He accompanied their images in solemn processions; he poured out before them the wine and mystic milk, recited the formulas in their hearing, seized the bull who was the victim with a lasso and slaughtered it according to the rite consecrated by ancient tradition. Private individuals had recourse to his intercession, when they asked some favour from on high; as, however, it was impossible for every sacrifice to pass actually through his hands, the celebrating priest proclaimed at the beginning of each ceremony that it was the king who made the offering—*Sûtni di hotpû*—he and none other, to Osiris, Phtah, and Râ-Harmakhis, so that they might grant to the faithful who implored them the object of their desires, and, the declaration being accepted in lieu of the act, the king was thus regarded as really officiating on every occasion for his subjects. He thus maintained daily intercourse with the gods, and they, on their part, did not neglect any occasion of communicating with him. They appeared to him in dreams to foretell his future, to command him to restore a monument which was threatened with ruin, to advise him to set out to war, to forbid him risking his life in the thick of the fight.[2]

[1] This method of distinguishing deceased kings is met with as far back as the "Song of the Harpist," which the Egyptians of the Ramesside period attributed to the founder of the XIth dynasty (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 178, et seq.). The first known instance of a temple raised by an Egyptian king to his double is that of Amenôthes III. at Soleb, in Nubia, but I do not agree with Prof. Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 268, 269, and *Geschichte des alten Ægyptens*, pp. 251, 252), or with Prof. Erman (*Ægypten*, p. 98), who imagine that this was the first instance of the practice, and that it had been introduced into Nubia before its adoption on Egyptian soil. Under the Ancient Empire we meet with more than one functionary who styles himself, in some cases during his master's lifetime, in others shortly after his death, "Prophet of Horus who lives in the palace" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 228, tomb of Kaï), or "Prophet of Kheops" (*ibid.*, pp. 88, 89, tomb of Tinti), "Prophet of Sondi" (*ibid.*, pp. 92, 93, tomb of Shiri), "Prophet of Kheops, of Mykerinos, of Ûsirkaf" (*ibid.*, pp. 198–200, tomb of Tapûmânkhi), or of other sovereigns.

[2] Among other examples, the texts mention the dream in which Thûtmosis IV., while still a royal prince, received from Phrâ-Harmakhis orders to unearth the Great Sphinx (VYSE, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii., pl. facing p. 114; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 63), the dream in which Phtah forbids Minephtah to take part in the battle against the peoples of the sea (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Extrait d'un mémoire sur les attaques*, p. 9), that by which Tonûatamon, King of Napata, is persuaded to undertake the conquest of Egypt (MARIETTE, *Mon. divers*, pl. vii.; MASPERO, *Essai sur la stèle du Songe*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xviii. pp. 321-332; cf. *Records of the*

Communication by prophetic dreams was not, however, the method usually selected by the gods: they employed as interpreters of their wishes the priests and the statues in the temples. The king entered the chapel where the statue was kept, and performed in its presence the invocatory rites, and questioned it upon the subject which occupied his mind. The priest replied under direct inspiration from on high, and the dialogue thus entered upon might last a long time. Interminable discourses, whose records cover the walls of the Theban temples, inform us what the Pharaoh said on such occasions, and in what emphatic tones the gods replied.[1] Sometimes the animated statues raised their voices in the darkness of the sanctuary and themselves announced their will; more frequently they were content to indicate it by a gesture. When they were consulted on some particular subject and returned no sign, it was their way of signifying their disapprobation. If, on the other hand, they significantly bowed their head, once or twice, the subject was an acceptable one, and they approved it.[2] No state affair was settled without asking their advice, and without their giving it in one way or another.

The monuments, which throw full light on the supernatural character of the Pharaohs in general, tell us but little of the individual disposition of any king in particular, or of their everyday life. When by chance we come into closer intimacy for a moment with the sovereign, he is revealed to us as being less divine and majestic than we might have been led to believe, had we judged him only by his impassive expression and by the pomp with which he was surrounded in public. Not that he ever quite laid aside his grandeur; even in his home life, in his chamber or his garden, during those hours when he felt himself withdrawn from public gaze, those highest in rank might never forget when they approached him that he was a god. He showed himself to be a kind father, a good-natured husband,[3] ready to dally with his wives and caress them on the cheek as they offered him a flower, or moved a piece upon the draught-board. He took an interest in those who waited on him, allowed them certain breaches of etiquette when he was pleased with them,[4] and was indulgent to their little failings. If they had just

Past, 1st Ser., vol. iv. p. 83). Herodotus had already made us familiar with the dreams of Sabaco (ii. 139) and of the high priest Sethos (ii. 112).

[1] At Deîr el-Bahari, Queen Hâtshopsîtû hears the voice of Amon himself in the depths of the sanctuary, or, in other words, the voice of the priest who received the direct inspiration and words of Amon in the presence of the statue (MARIETTE, *Deîr el-Bahari*, pl. x. l. 2; DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. xx. ll. 4–6).

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 81, et seq.

[3] As a literary example of what the conduct of a king was like in his family circle, we may quote the description of King Mînîbphtah, in the story of Satni-Khâmoîs (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. 165, et seq.). The pictures of the tombs at Tel-el-Amarna show us the intimate terms on which King Khûniaton lived with his wife and daughters, both big and little (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii., pl. 99 *b*, where the queen has her arms round the king's waist, 104, 108, etc.).

[4] Pharaoh Shopsiskaf dispenses his son-in-law Shopsisphtah from *sniffing the earth* in front of

returned from foreign lands, a little countrified after a lengthy exile from the court, he would break out into pleasantries over their embarrassment and their unfashionable costume,—kingly pleasantries which excited the forced mirth of the bystanders, but which soon fell flat and had no meaning for those outside the palace.[1] The Pharaoh was fond of laughing and drinking; indeed, if we may believe evil tongues, he took so much at times as to incapacitate him for business.[2] The chase was not always a pleasure to him, hunting in the desert, at least, where the lions evinced a provoking tendency to show as little respect for the divinity of the prince as for his mortal subjects; but, like the chiefs of old, he felt it a duty to his people to destroy wild beasts, and he ended by counting the slain in hundreds, however short his reign might be.[3] A considerable part of his time was taken up in war—in the east, against the Libyans in the regions of the Oasis; in the Nile Valley to the south of Aswân against the Nubians; on the Isthmus of Suez and in the Sinaitic Peninsula against the Bedouin; frequently also in a civil war against some ambitious noble or some turbulent member of his own family. He travelled frequently from south to north, and from north to south, leaving in every possible place marked traces of his visits—on the rocks of Elephantinê and of the first cataract,[4] on those of Silsilis or of El-Kab, and he appeared to his vassals as Tûmû himself arisen among them to repress injustice and disorder.[5] He restored or enlarged the monuments, regulated equitably the assessment of taxes and charges, settled or dismissed the lawsuits between one town and another concerning the appropriation of the water, or the possession of certain territories, distributed fiefs which had fallen vacant, among his faithful servants, and granted pensions to be paid out of the royal revenues.[6] At length he re-entered Memphis, or one of his usual residences, where fresh labours awaited him. He gave audience daily

him (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, p. 68; MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 112, 113), and Papi I. grants to Ûni the privilege of wearing his sandals in the palace (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 128; MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pls. xliv., xlv., l. 23; ERMAN, *Commentar zur Inschrift des Una*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 20, leaves the passage unexplained).

[1] See in *Les Aventures de Sinûhît* (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypt ancienne*, pp. 124, 125) an account of the audience granted by Amenemhâît II. to the hero on his return from a long exile in Asia.

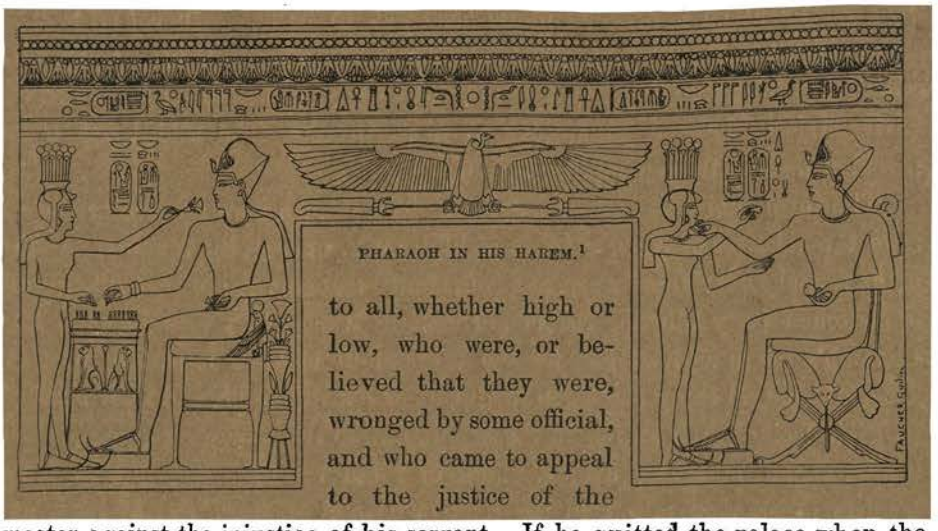
[2] *E.g.* Amasis, in a tale of the Greek period (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 299-308).

[3] Amenôthes III. had killed as many as a hundred and two lions during the first ten years of his reign (*Scarabée 580 du Louvre*, in PIERRET'S *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Louvre*, vol. i. pp. 87, 88).

[4] Traces of the journey of Mirnirî to Assûan are mentioned by PETRIE in *A Season in Egypt*, pl. xiii., No. 338; and by SAYCE, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt* (in the *Receuil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 147), and of the journey of Papi I. to El-Kab by STERN, *Die Cultusstätte der Lucina*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, pp. 67, 68.

[5] These are the identical expressions used in the *Great Inscription of Beni-Hassan*, ll. 36–46.

[6] These details are not found on the historical monuments, but are furnished to us by the description given in "The Book of Knowledge of what there is in the other world" of the course of the sun across the domain of the hours of night; the god is there described as a Pharaoh passing



PHARAOH IN HIS HAREM.[1]

to all, whether high or low, who were, or believed that they were, wronged by some official, and who came to appeal to the justice of the master against the injustice of his servant. If he quitted the palace when the cause had been heard, to take boat or to go to the temple, he was not left undisturbed, but petitions and supplications assailed him by the way.[2] In addition to this, there were the daily sacrifices, the despatch of current affairs, the ceremonies which demanded the presence of the Pharaoh, and the reception of nobles or foreign envoys. One would think that in the midst of so many occupations he would never feel time hang heavy on his hands. He was, however, a prey to that profound *ennui* which most Oriental monarchs feel so keenly, and which neither the cares nor the pleasures of ordinary life could dispel. Like the Sultans of the "Arabian Nights," the Pharaohs were accustomed to have marvellous tales related to them, or they assembled their councillors to ask them to suggest some fresh amusement: a happy thought would sometimes strike one of them, as in the case of him who aroused the interest of Snofrûi by recommending him to have his boat manned by young girls barely clad in large-meshed network. All his pastimes were not so playful. The Egyptians by nature were not cruel, and we have very few records either in history or tradition of bloodthirsty Pharaohs; but the life of an ordinary individual was of so little value in their eyes, that they never hesitated to sacrifice it, even for a caprice. A sorcerer had no sooner boasted before Kheops of being able to raise the dead, than the king proposed that he should try

through his kingdom, and all that he does for his vassals, the dead, is identical with what Pharaoh was accustomed to do for his subjects, the living (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. cxcix.-cc., cci. 2, 3; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxiii., Nos. 1, 2; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 208 *a-d*).

[2] See the *Berlin Papyrus* n° 2 for the supplications with which a peasant overwhelms the chief steward Mirûitensi and King Nibkanirî of the IXth or Xth dynasty (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 43, et seq.).

the experiment on a prisoner whose head was to be forthwith cut off.[1] The anger of Pharaoh was quickly excited, and once aroused, became an all-consuming fire; the Egyptians were wont to say, in describing its intensity, "His Majesty became as furious as a panther."[2] The wild beast often revealed itself in the half-civilized man.

The royal family was very numerous. The women were principally chosen from the relatives of court officials of high rank, or from the daughters of the great feudal lords;[3] there were, however, many strangers among them, daughters or sisters of petty Libyan, Nubian, or Asiatic kings; they were brought into Pharaoh's house as hostages for the submission of their respective peoples. They did not all enjoy the same treatment or consideration, and their original position decided their status in the harem, unless the amorous caprice of their master should otherwise decide. Most of them remained merely concubines for life, others were raised to the rank of "royal spouses," and at least one received the title and privileges of "great spouse," or queen.[4] This was rarely accorded to a stranger, but almost always to a princess born in the purple, a daughter of Râ, if possible a sister of the Pharaoh, and who, inheriting in the same degree and in equal proportion the flesh and blood of the Sun-god, had, more than others, the right to share the bed and throne of her brother.[5] She had her own house, and a train of servants and followers as large as those of the king; while the women of inferior rank were more or less shut up in the parts of the palace assigned to them, she came and went at pleasure, and appeared in public with or without her husband. The preamble of official documents in which she is mentioned, solemnly recognizes her as the living follower of Horus, the associate of the Lord of the Vulture and the Uræus, the very gentle, the very praiseworthy, she who sees her Horus, or Horus and Sît, face to face.[6] Her union with the god-king rendered her a

[1] ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, pl. viii. l. 12, and pp. 10, 11; MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 42–44 and 73. Cf. p. 282 of this History.

[2] Thus in the Piônkhi-Miamûn inscription (ll. 23 and 93, E. DE ROUGÉ's edition, pp. 20, 52), in the *Conte des deux Frères*, the hero, who is a kind of god disguised as a peasant, also becomes "furious," and the author adds, "as a southern panther" (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 10).

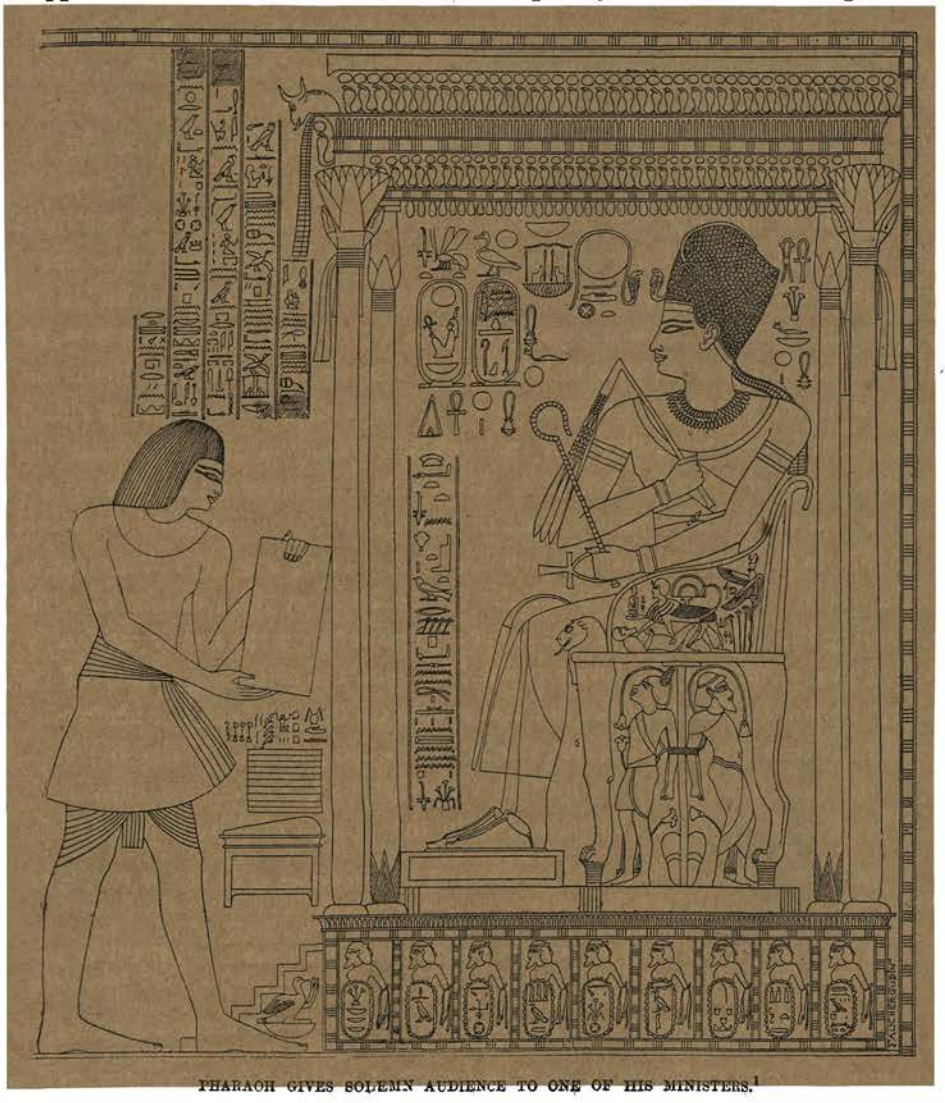
[3] Queen Miririônkhnas, wife of Papi I., was the daughter of a person named Khûi, attached to the court, her mother being a princess Nîbît (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 130, et seq.; cf. E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, pl. cliii.).

[4] The first "great spouse of the king" whose name has come down to us, is mentioned by Ûni; this is Queen Amîtsi, wife of Mirirî-Papi I. of the VIth dynasty (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 121; cf. ERMAN, *Commentar zur Inschrift des Una*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, pp. 10, 11).

[5] It would seem that Queen Mirisônkhû (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 183; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 14, 26), wife of Khephren, was the daughter of Kheops, and consequently her husband's sister (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, pp. 61, 62).

[6] The preamble of the queens of this period was settled for the first time by E. DE ROUGÉ (*Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 44, 45, 57–61, 130), on the authority of the inscriptions of Queen Mirîttefsi

goddess, and entailed upon her the fulfilment of all the duties which a goddess owed to a god. They were varied and important. The woman, indeed, was supposed to combine in herself more completely than a man the qualities



PHARAOH GIVES SOLEMN AUDIENCE TO ONE OF HIS MINISTERS.[1]

necessary for the exercise of magic, whether legitimate or otherwise: she saw and heard that which the eyes and ears of man could not perceive; her voice, being more flexible and piercing, was heard at greater distances; she was

(E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, pl. lxii.), of Queen Mirisônkhû (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 183; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 14), of Queen Khûît (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 207, 208), of a queen whose name is still uncertain (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 225), and of Queen Mirirîônkhnas (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte*, pl. cliii.).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 77. The king is Amenôthes III. (XVIIIth dynasty).

by nature mistress of the art of summoning or banishing invisible beings. While Pharaoh was engaged in sacrificing, the queen, by her incantations, protected him from malignant deities, whose interest it was to divert the attention of the celebrant from holy things: she put them to flight by the sound of prayer and sistrum,[1] she poured libations and offered perfumes and flowers. In processions she walked behind her husband, gave audience with him, governed for him while he was engaged in foreign wars, or during his progresses through his kingdom: such was the work of Isis while her brother Osiris was conquering the world.[2] Widowhood did not always entirely disqualify her. If she belonged to the solar race, and the new sovereign was a minor, she acted as regent by hereditary right, and retained the authority for some years longer.[3] It occasionally happened that she had no posterity, or that the child of another woman inherited the crown. In that case there was no law or custom to prevent a young and beautiful widow from wedding the son, and thus regaining her rank as Queen by a marriage with the successor of her deceased husband. It was in this manner that, during the earlier part of the IVth dynasty, the Princess Mirtîttefsi ingratiated herself successively in the favour of Snofrûi and Kheops.[4] Such a case did not often arise, and a queen who had once quitted the throne had but little chance of again ascending it. Her titles, her duties, her supremacy over the rest of the family, passed to a younger rival: formerly she had been the active companion of the king, she now became only the nominal spouse of the god,[5] and her office came to an end when the god, of whom she had been the goddess, quitting his body, departed heavenward to rejoin his father the Sun on the far-distant horizon.[6]

Children swarmed in the palace, as in the houses of private individuals:

[1] The magical virtues of the sistrum are celebrated by the author of *De Iside et Osiride*, § 63 (PARTHEY's edition, pp. 111, 112); frequent mention is made of them in the Dendera inscriptions.

[2] The part played by the queen in regard to the king has been clearly defined by the earlier Egyptologists. A statement of the views of the younger Champollion on this subject will be found in the *Egypte ancienne* of Champollion-Figeac (p. 56, et seq.); as to the part played by Isis, Regent of Egypt, cf. pp. 173–175 of the present work.

[3] The best-known of these queen regencies is that which occurred during the minority of Thûtmosis III., about the middle of the XVIIIth dynasty. Queen Tûaû also appears to have acted as regent for her son Ramses II. during his first Syrian campaigns (LEPSIUS, *Notice sur deux statues égyptiennes représentant l'une la mère du roi Ramsès-Sésostris, l'autre le roi Amasis*, in vol. ix. of the *Annales de l'Institut de Correspondance archéologique*, p. 5, et seq.).

[4] M. de Rougé was the first to bring this fact to light in his *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, pp. 36–38. Mirtîttefsi also lived in the harem of Khephren, but the title which connects her with this king—*Amakhît*, the vassal—proves that she was then merely a nominal wife; she was probably by that time, as M. de Rougé says, of too advanced an age to remain the favourite of a third Pharaoh.

[5] The title of "divine spouse" is not, so far as we know at present, met with prior to the XVIIIth dynasty. It was given to the wife of a living monarch, and was retained by her after his death; the divinity to whom it referred was no other than the king himself. Cf. ERMAN, in SCHWEINFURTH'S memoir, *Alte Baureste und Hieroglyphische Inschriften im Uadi Gasûs*, p. 17, et seq. (Berlin Academy of Sciences, *Philol.-Hist. Abhandlungen nicht zur Academie gehör. Gelehrter*, 1885, vol. ii.).

[6] These are the identical expressions used in the Egyptian texts in speaking of the death of

in spite of the number who died in infancy, they were reckoned by tens, sometimes by the hundred, and more than one Pharaoh must have been puzzled to remember exactly the number and names of his offspring.[1] The origin and rank of their mothers greatly influenced the condition of the children. No doubt the divine blood which they took from a common father raised them all above the vulgar herd, but those connected with the solar line on the maternal side occupied a decidedly much higher position than the rest: as long as one of these was living, none of his less nobly-born brothers might aspire to the crown.[2] Those princesses who did not attain to the rank of queen by marriage, were given in early youth to some well-to-do relative,[4] or to some courtier of high descent whom Pharaoh wished to honour;[5] they filled the office of priestesses to the goddesses Nît or Hâthor,[6] and bore

THE QUEEN SHAKES THE SISTRUM WHILE THE KING OFFERS THE SACRIFICE.[3]

kings; cf. MASPERO, *Les Premières Lignes des Mémoires de Sinûhît*, pp. 3, 10 (*Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, vol. ii.), for the death of Amenemhâît I., and EBERS, *Thaten und Zeit Tutmes III.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, p. 7, for that of Thûtmosis III.

[1] This was probably so in the case of the Pharaoh Ramses II., more than one hundred and fifty of whose children, boys and girls, are known to us, and who certainly had others besides of whom we know nothing.

[2] Proof of this fact is furnished us, in so far as the XVIIIth dynasty is concerned, by the history of the immediate successors of Thûtmosis I., the Pharaohs Thûtmosis II., Thûtmosis III., Queen Hâtshopsîtû, Queen Mûtnofrît, and Isis, concubine of Thûtmosis II. and mother of Thûtmosis III.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief in the temple of Ibsambûl: Nofrîtari (cf. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii., 189 *b*) shakes behind Ramses II. two sistra, on which are representations of the head of Hâthor.

[4] Thus the Princess Sîtmosû was given in marriage to her brother Safkhîtâbûihotpû (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii., pl. xxiv.; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 44, but the instance given is not absolutely certain).

[5] Princess Khâmâît, eldest daughter of Pharaoh Shopsiskaf, was married to Shopsisphtah in this manner (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 67), and Princess Khontkaûs to Snozmûhît, surnamed Midi (*id.*, pp. 103, 104).

[6] To give only one instance from among many, Princess Hotpûhirîsît was prophetess of Hâthor and of Nît (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 90; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. lxiv.).

in their households titles which they transmitted to their children, with such rights to the crown as belonged to them.[1] The most favoured of the princes married an heiress rich in fiefs, settled on her domain, and founded a race of feudal lords. Most of the royal sons remained at court, at first in their father's service and subsequently in that of their brothers' or nephews': the most difficult and best remunerated functions of the administration were assigned to them, the superintendence of public works, the important offices of the priesthood,[2] the command of the army.[3] It could have been no easy matter to manage without friction this multitude of relations and connections, past and present queens, sisters, concubines, uncles, brothers, cousins, nephews, sons and grandsons of kings who crowded the harem and the palace. The women contended among themselves for the affection of the master, on behalf of themselves or their children. The children were jealous of one another, and had often no bond of union except a common hatred for the son whom the chances of birth had destined to be their ruler. As long as he was full of vigour and energy, Pharaoh maintained order in his family; but when his advancing years and failing strength betokened an approaching change in the succession, competition showed itself more openly, and intrigue thickened around him or around his nearest heirs. Sometimes, indeed, he took precautions to prevent an outbreak and its disastrous consequences, by solemnly associating with himself in the royal power the son he had chosen to succeed him: Egypt in this case had to obey two masters, the younger of whom attended to the more active duties of royalty, such as progresses through the country, the conducting of military expeditions, the hunting of wild beasts, and the administration of justice; while the other preferred to confine himself to the *rôle* of adviser or benevolent counsellor.[4] Even this precaution, however, was insufficient to prevent disasters. The women of the seraglio, encouraged from without by their relations or friends, plotted secretly for the removal of the irksome sovereign.[5]

[1] Nîbît, married to Khûi, transmitted her rights to her daughter Mirirîônkhnas; this latter would have been the rightful heir to the throne at the beginning of the VIth dynasty (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, p. 132, note 1).

[2] Mirabû, son of Kheops, was "head of all the works of the king" (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 18, et seq.); Minû-An was high priest of the Hermopolitan Thot (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 24; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 62); Khâfkhûfûi was prophet of Hâpi and of "Horus who raises his arm" (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. lxi.).

[3] Prince Amoni (Amenemhâît II.), son of Ûsirtasen I., commanded an army during a campaign in Ethiopia (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 42, and pl. cccxv.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 132).

[4] This fact was known from the time of Lepsius (BUNSEN, *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. ii. p. 228, et seq.; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Examen de l'ouvrage de M. le chevalier de Bunsen*, 2nd art., p. 45, et seq.), in regard to the first four Pharaohs of the XIIth dynasty. A passage in the *Mémoires de Sinouhît* (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 101–104) gives a very exact description of the respective parts played by the two kings.

[5] The passage of the Ûni inscription, in which mention is made of a lawsuit carried on against Queen Amîtsi (ERMAN, *Commentar zur Inschrift des Una*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 10–12), probably refers to some harem conspiracy. The celebrated lawsuit, some details of which are preserved for us in a

Those princes who had been deprived by their father's decision of any legitimate hope of reigning, concealed their discontent to no purpose; they were arrested on the first suspicion of disloyalty, and were massacred wholesale; their only chance of escaping summary execution was either by rebellion [1] or by taking refuge with some independent tribe of Libya or of the desert of Sinai.[2] Did we but know the details of the internal history of Egypt, it would appear to us as stormy and as bloody as that of other Oriental empires: intrigues of the harem, conspiracies in the palace, murders of heirs-apparent, divisions and rebellions in the royal family, were the almost inevitable accompaniment of every accession to the Egyptian throne.

The earliest dynasties had their origin in the "White Wall," but the Pharaohs hardly ever made this town their residence, and it would be incorrect to say that they considered it as their capital; each king chose for himself in the Memphite or Letopolite nome, between the entrance to the Fayûm and the apex of the Delta, a special residence, where he dwelt with his court, and from whence he governed Egypt.[3] Such a multitude as formed his court needed not an ordinary palace, but an entire city. A brick wall, surmounted by battlements, formed a square or rectangular enclosure around it, and was of sufficient thickness and height not only to defy a popular insurrection or the surprises of marauding Bedouin, but to resist for a long time a regular siege. At the extreme end of one of its façades, was a single tall and narrow opening, closed by a wooden door supported on bronze hinges, and surmounted with a row of pointed metal ornaments; this opened into a long narrow passage between the external wall and a partition wall of equal strength; at the end of the passage in the angle was a second door, sometimes leading into a second passage, but more often opening into a large courtyard, where the dwelling-houses were somewhat crowded together: assailants ran the risk of being annihilated in the passage before reaching the centre of the place.[4] The royal residence could be immediately distinguished by the

papyrus of Turin (TH. DÉVÉRIA, *Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin*, vide *Journal Asiatique*, 1866-68), gives us some information in regard to a conspiracy which was hatched in the harem against Ramses III.

[1] A passage in the "Instructions of Amenemhâît" (*Sallier Pap. II.*, pl. i. l. 9, et seq.) describes in somewhat obscure terms an attack on the palace by conspirators, and the wars which followed their undertaking.

[2] The case of Sinûhît, when he fled from Libya into Idumæa, on the death of Amenemhâît I. (MASPERO, *Les Premières Lignes des Mémoires de Sinouhît*, pp. 17, 18, and *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 97, et seq.), is an instance of this.

[3] Erman was the first to bring this important point in early Egyptian history to light (ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 243, 244; cf. ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 56, 57, and the objections of WIEDEMANN, *The Age of Memphis*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. ix., 1886-87, pp. 184, 190).

[4] No plan or exact drawing of any of the palaces of the Ancient Empire has come down to us, but, as Erman has very justly pointed out, the signs found in contemporary inscriptions give us a good general idea of them (ERMAN, *Ægypten*, pp. 106, 107). The doors which lead from one of the hours of the night to another, in the "Book of the Other World," show us the double

projecting balconies on its façade, from which, as from a tribune, Pharaoh could watch the evolutions of his guard, the stately approach of foreign envoys, Egyptian nobles seeking audience, or such officials as he desired to reward for their services. They advanced from the far end of the court, stopped before the balcony, and after prostrating themselves stood up, bowed their heads, wrung and twisted their hands, now quickly, now slowly, in a rhythmical manner, and rendered worship to their master, chanting his praises, before receiving the necklaces and jewels of gold which he presented to them by his chamberlains, or which he himself deigned to fling to them.[1] It is difficult for us to catch a glimpse of the detail of the internal arrangements: we find, however, mention made of large halls "resembling the hall of Atûmû in the heavens," whither the king repaired to deal with state affairs in council, to dispense justice and sometimes also to preside at state banquets. Long rows of tall columns, carved out of rare woods and painted with bright colours, supported the roofs of these chambers, which were entered by doors inlaid with gold and silver, and incrusted with malachite or lapis-lazuli.[2] The private apartments, the "âkhonûîti," were entirely separate, but they communicated with the queen's dwelling and with the harem of the wives of inferior rank.[3] The "royal children" occupied a quarter to themselves, under the care of their tutors; they had their own houses and a train of servants proportionate to their rank, age, and the fortune of their mother's family.[4] The nobles who had appointments at court

passage leading to the courtyard (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 166–168). The hieroglyph gives us the name ÛÔSKHÎT (literally, *the broad* [place]) of the courtyard on to which the passage opened, at the end of which the palace and royal judgment-seat (or, in the other world, the tribunal of Osiris, the *court* of the double truth) were situated.

[1] The ceremonial of these receptions is not represented on any monuments with which we are at present acquainted, prior to the XVIIIth dynasty; it may be seen in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 76, under Amenôthes III., and 103–105, under Amenôthes IV., in Dümichen, *Hist. Inst.*, vol. ii. pl. lx. *e*, under Harmhabi. The ceremonial during the XIIth dynasty is described in the *Mémoires de Sinouhît* (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 123–127). I am inclined to believe the "Golden Friends" mentioned in the Uni inscription (l. 17) are those "Friends of the King" who had received the necklace and jewels of gold at one of these solemn audiences.

[2] This is the description of the palace of Amon built by Ramses III. (*Harris Papyrus*, No. 4, pl. iv. ll. 11, 12). Ramses II. was seated in one of these halls, on a throne of gold, when he deliberated with his councillors in regard to the construction of a cistern in the desert for the miners who were going to the gold-mines of Akîti (PRISSE, *Monuments*, pl. xxi. l. 8). The room in which the king stopped, after leaving his apartments, for the purpose of putting on his ceremonial dress and receiving the homage of his ministers, appears to me to have been called during the Ancient Empire "Pi-daît"—"The House of Adoration" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 270, 271, 307, 308, etc.), the house in which the king was worshipped, as in temples of the Ptolemaic epoch, was that in which the statue of the god, on leaving the sanctuary, was dressed and worshipped by the faithful. Sinûhît, under the XIIth dynasty, was granted an audience in the "Hall of Electrum" (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 123).

[3] The "sûhît" or pavilions formed part of the apartments belonging to the harem. The tomb of Rakhmirî shows us one of these "women's kiosques" belonging to the XVIIIth dynasty (VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, pl. xxxv., in the *Mémoires de la mission française*, vol. v.); other pictures of different epochs represent the dead as playing at draughts in them (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 220, et seq.).

[4] Shposiskafânkhû (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 50) was "Governor of the houses of the Royal Children" under Nofiririkerî of the Vth dynasty (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 73). Sinûhît receives

and the royal domestics lived in the palace itself, but the offices of the different functionaries, the storehouses for their provisions, the dwellings of their *employés*, formed distinct quarters outside the palace, grouped around narrow courts, and communicating with each other by a labyrinth of lanes or covered passages. The entire building was constructed of wood or bricks, less frequently of roughly dressed stone, badly built, and wanting in solidity. The ancient Pharaohs were no more inclined than the Sultans of later days to occupy palaces in which their predecessors had lived and died. Each king desired to possess a habitation after his own heart, one which would not be haunted by the memory, or perchance the double, of another sovereign.[1] These royal mansions, hastily erected, hastily filled with occupants, were vacated and fell into ruin with no less rapidity; they grew old with their master, or even more rapidly than he, and his disappearance almost always entailed their ruin. In the neighbourhood of Memphis many of these palaces might be seen, which their short-lived masters had built for eternity, an eternity which did not last longer than the lives of their builders.[2]

Nothing could present a greater variety than the population of these ephemeral cities in the climax of their splendour. We have first the people who immediately surrounded the Pharaoh,[3] the retainers of the palace and of the harem, whose highly complex degrees of rank are revealed to us on the monuments.[4] His person was, as it were, minutely subdivided into departments, each requiring its attendants and their appointed chiefs. His toilet alone gave employment to a score of different trades. There were royal barbers, who had the privilege of shaving his head and chin; hair-

a "*House of a son of the king*," in which there were all manner of riches, a tent in which to take the air, ornaments worthy of a god, and orders on the treasury, money, garments made from royal stuffs, gums and royal perfumes such as the children of the king delight to have in every house, and lastly, "whole troops of artisans of all kinds" (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 127). In regard to other "Governors of the houses of the Royal Children," see MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 250, 259.

[1] ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 242–244.

[2] The song of the harp-player on the tomb of King Antûf contains an allusion to these ruined palaces: "The gods [kings] who were of yore, and who repose in their tombs, mummies and *manes*, all buried alike in their pyramids, when castles are built they no longer have a place in them; see, thus it is done with them! I have heard the poems in praise of Imhotpû and of Hardidif which are sung in the songs, and yet, see, where are their places to-day? their walls are destroyed, their places no more, as though they had never existed!" (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 179, 180).

[3] They are designated by the general terms of Shonîtiû, the "people of the circle," and Qonbîtiû, the "people of the corner." These words are found in religious inscriptions referring to the staff of the temples, and denote the attendants or court of each god; they are used to distinguish the notables of a town or borough, the sheikhs, who enjoyed the right to superintend local administration and dispense justice.

[4] The Egyptian scribes had endeavoured to draw up an hierarchical list of these offices. At present we possess the remains of two lists of this description. One of these, preserved in the "Hood Papyrus" in the British Museum, has been published and translated by MASPERO, in *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 1–66 (cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 211–227); another and more complete copy, discovered in 1890, is in the possession of M. Golénischeff. The other list, also in the British Museum, was published by Prof. Petrie in a memoir of *The Egypt Exploration Fund* (*Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, p. 21, et seq.); in this latter the names and titles are intermingled with various other matter. To these two works may be added the lists of professions and trades to be found *passim* on the monuments, and which have been commented on by BRUGSCH (*Die Ægyptologie*, p. 228, et seq.).

dressers who made, curled, and put on his black or blue wigs and adjusted the diadems to them;[1] there were manicurists who pared and polished his nails,[2] perfumers who prepared the scented oils and pomades for the anointing of his body, the kohl for blackening his eyelids, the *rouge* for spreading on his lips and cheeks.[3] His wardrobe required a whole troop of shoemakers,[4] belt-makers, and tailors, some of whom had the care of stuffs in the piece, others presided over the body-linen, while others took charge of his garments, comprising long or short, transparent or thick petticoats, fitting tightly to the hips or cut with ample fulness, draped mantles and flowing pelisses.[5] Side by side with these officials, the laundresses plied their trade, which was an important one among a people devoted to white, and in whose estimation want of cleanliness in dress entailed religious impurity. Like the fellahîn of the present time, they took their linen daily to wash in the river; they rinsed, starched, smoothed, and pleated it without intermission to supply the incessant demands of Pharaoh and his family.[6] The task of those set over the jewels was no easy one, when we consider the enormous variety of necklaces, bracelets, rings, earrings, and sceptres of rich workmanship which ceremonial costume required for particular times and occasions. The guardianship of the crowns almost approached to the dignity of the priesthood; for was not the uræus, which ornamented each one, a living goddess? The queen required numerous waiting-women, and the same ample number of attendants were to be encountered in the establishments of the other ladies of the harem. Troops of musicians, singers, dancers, and *almehs* whiled away the tedious hours, supplemented by buffoons and dwarfs.[7] The great Egyptian lords evinced

[1] Manofir was "inspector of the king's wig-makers" under Tatkerî of the Vth dynasty (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 446, 447), and Phtahnimâît discharged the duties of the same office under Nofiririkerî (*id.*, *ibid.*, p. 250). Khâfrîônkhû was "director of the king's wig-makers" under one of the Pharaohs of the IVth dynasty (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Égypte*, p. lx.).

[2] Râânkhûmâi was "director of those who dress the king's nails" under a Pharaoh of the Vth dynasty (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 283, 284); Khâbiûphtah combined this office with that of "director of the wig-makers" under Sahûrî and under Nofiririkerî of the Vth dynasty (*id.*, *ibid.*, p. 295).

[3] Mihtinofir was inspector for Pharaoh and "director of the perfumed oils of the king and queen" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 298), as also was Phtahnofiririrîtû (*id.*, *ibid.*, p. 322); these two persons also exercised important functions in connection with the royal linen.

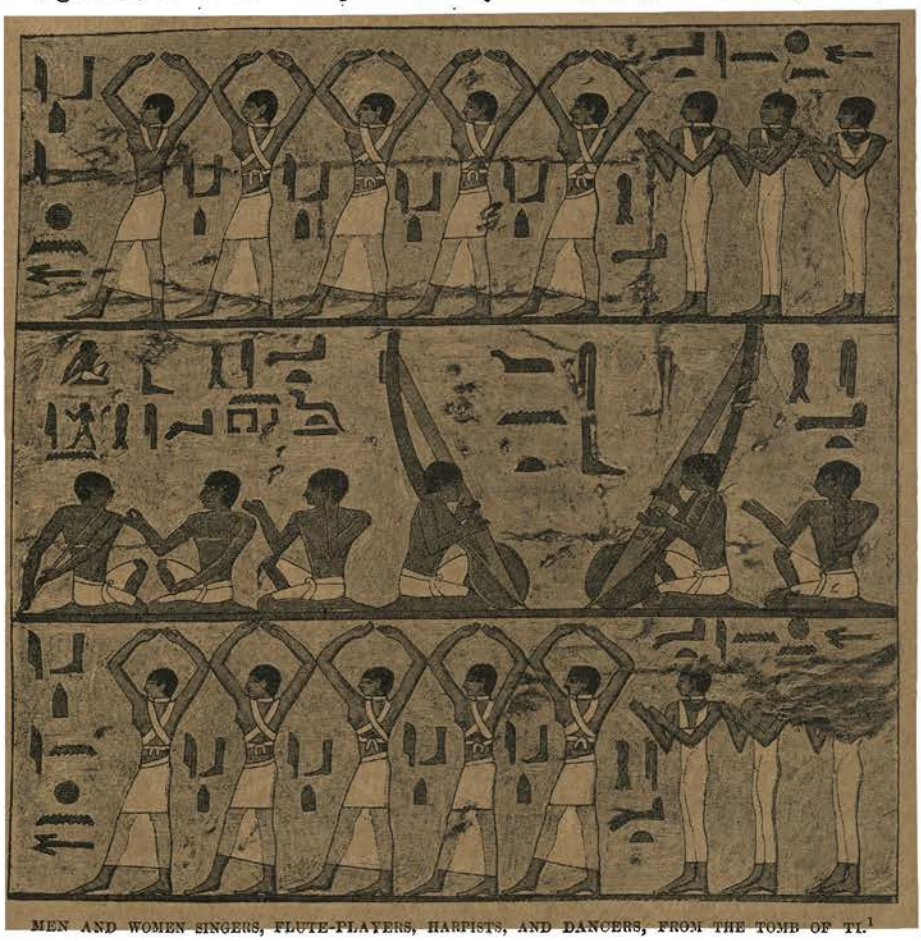
[4] The "royal bootmakers" are mentioned in the Hood Papyrus (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 11): the stelæ of Abydos mention several others in the time of the Ramesides.

[5] Khonû was "director of the king's stuffs" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 185), as was also Ankhaftûka (*id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 307, 308, cf. E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. lxxxiii.); Sakhemphtah was "director of the white linen" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 252), as also Tapûmônkhû (*id.*, *ibid.*, p. 198), and the two personages Mihtinofir and Phtahnofiririrîtû, mentioned above in note 3. At the beginning of the XIIth dynasty, we find Hâpizaûfi of Siût installed as "primate of all the dresses of the king" (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. cclxxxiii.), *i.e.* grand-master of the wardrobe, and this title often occurs in the preamble of the princes of Hermopolis.

[6] The "royal laundrymen" and their chiefs are mentioned in the *Conte des deux frères* under the XIXth dynasty, as well as their laundries on the banks of the Nile (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 2).

[7] Râhonem was "directress of the female players on the tabour and of the female singers" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 138, et seq.); Snofrûinofir (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions recueillies*

a curious liking for these unfortunate beings, and amused themselves by getting together the ugliest and most deformed creatures. They are often represented on the tombs beside their masters in company with his pet dog, or a gazelle, or with a monkey which they sometimes hold in leash, or some-



MEN AND WOMEN SINGERS, FLUTE-PLAYERS, HARPISTS, AND DANCERS, FROM THE TOMB OF TI.[1]

times are engaged in teasing.[2] Sometimes the Pharaoh bestowed his friendship on his dwarfs and confided to them occupations in his household. One of them, Khnûmhotpû, died superintendent of the royal linen. The staff of servants required for supplying the table exceeded all the others in number. It could scarcely be otherwise if we consider that the master had to provide food, not only for his regular servants,[3] but for all those of his

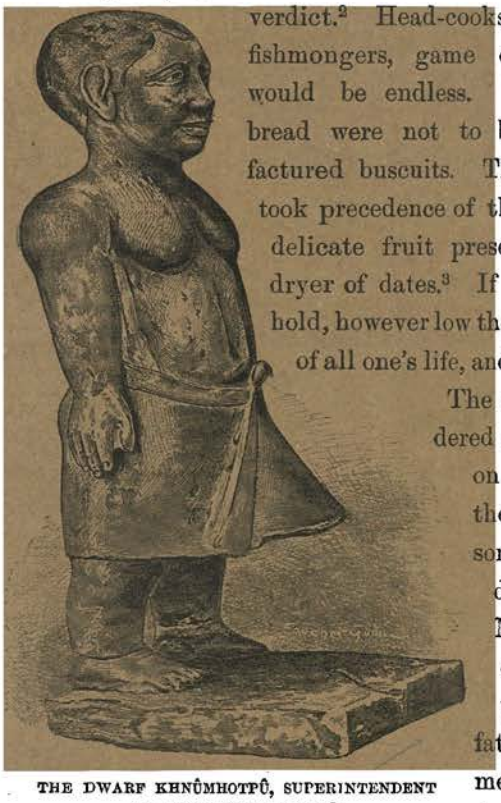
en Égypte, pls. iii., iv.) and Râmiriphtah (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 154, 155) were heads of the musicians and organizers of the king's pastimes.

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a squeeze taken at Saqqâra in 1878 by Mariette.

[2] The figure of a female dwarf appears among the female singers in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii., 36; others on the tombs of Khnûmhotpû and Amenemhâît at Beni-Hasan (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. cccxcvii. 4; GRIFFITH-NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pl. xii.), with several male dwarfs of a different type (*id.*, pl. cccLxxxi. *bis*, 3).

[3] Even after death they remained inscribed on the registers of the palace, and had rations served

employés and subjects whose business brought them to the royal residence:[1] even those poor wretches who came to complain to him of some more or less imaginary grievance were fed at his expense while awaiting his judicial verdict.[2] Head-cooks, butlers, pantlers, butchers, pastrycooks, fishmongers, game or fruit dealers—if all enumerated, would be endless. The bakers who baked the ordinary bread were not to be confounded with those who manufactured buscuits. The makers of pancakes and dough-nuts took precedence of the cake-bakers, and those who concocted delicate fruit preserves ranked higher than the common dryer of dates.[3] If one had held a post in the royal household, however low the occupation, it was something to be proud of all one's life, and after death to boast of in one's epitaph. The chiefs to whom this army of servants rendered obedience, at times rose from the ranks;[4] on some occasion their master had noticed them in the crowd, and had transferred them, some by a single promotion, others by slow degrees, to the highest offices of the state. Many among them, however, belonged to old families, and held positions in the palace which their fathers and grandfathers had occupied before them, some were members of the provincial nobility, distant descendants of former royal princes and princesses, more or less nearly related to the reigning sovereign.[6] They had been sought out to be the companions of his education and of his pastimes, while he was still living an obscure life in the "House of the Children;" he had



THE DWARF KHNÛMHOTPÛ, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ROYAL LINEN.[5]

out to them every day as funerary offerings (DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. vii.; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. iii.; MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 279, 414).

[1] Cf. on this point the *Conte de Khoufoui* (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 76) and that of Sinûhît (*id.*, p. 128). The register of a queen of the XIth dynasty (MARIETTE, *Papyrus du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. ii. pls. xiv.–lv.) contains a list of expenses of this kind (L. BORCHARDT, *Ein Rechnungsbuch des Königlichen Hofes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxviii. p. 68, et seq.). Sabû was granted the right of replenishing his stores at the royal expense during his travels (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 112, 113).

[2] *E.g.* the peasant whose story is told us in the *Berlin Papyrus n°* 2 (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 48); the king made him an allowance of a loaf and two pots of beer per day.

[3] See the list of persons, in hierarchical order, on the second page of the *Hood Papyrus* (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 10, 11, 61, 63; cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 219–221).

[4] M. DE ROUGÉ believes this to have been so in the case of Ti, whose tomb is still famous (*Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 96), and in the case of Snozmûhît, surnamed Mihi (*id.*, pp. 103, 104).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; the original is at Gizeh.

[6] It was the former who, I believe, formed the class of *rokhû sûton* so often mentioned on the monuments. This title is generally supposed to have been a mark of relationship with the royal family (ERMAN, *Ægypten*, p. 118). M. de Rougé proved long ago that this was not so (*Recherches*, p. 90), and that functionaries might bear this title even though they were not blood relations of the

grown up with them and had kept them about his person as his "sole friends" and counsellors.[1] He lavished titles and offices upon them by the dozen, according to the confidence he felt in their capacity or to the amount of faithfulness with which he credited them. A few of the most favoured were called "Masters of the Secret of the Royal House;" they knew all the innermost recesses of the palace, all the passwords needed in going from one part of it to another, the place where the royal treasures were kept, and the modes of access to it.[2] Several of them were "Masters of the Secret of all the Royal Words," and had authority over the high courtiers of the palace, which gave them the power of banishing whom they pleased from the person of the sovereign.[3] Upon others devolved the task of arranging his amusements; they rejoiced the heart of his Majesty by pleasant songs,[4] while the chiefs of the sailors and soldiers kept watch over his safety.[5] To these active services were attached honorary privileges which were highly esteemed, such as the right to retain their sandals in the palace,[6] while the general crowd of courtiers could only enter unshod; that of kissing the knees and not the feet of the "good god,"[7] and that of wearing the panther's skin.[8] Among those who enjoyed these distinctions were the physicians of the king,[9] chaplains, and men of the roll—"khri-habi." The latter did not confine themselves to the task of guiding Pharaoh through the intricacies of ritual, nor to that of prompting him with the necessary formulæ needed to make the sacrifice efficacious; they were styled "Masters of the Secrets of Heaven," those who see what is in the firmament, on the earth and in Hades, those who know all the charms of the soothsayers, prophets, or magicians.[10] The laws

Pharaohs. It seems to me to have been used to indicate a class of courtiers whom the king condescended to "know" (*rokhû*) directly, without the intermediary of a chamberlain, the "persons known by the king;" the others were only his "friends" (*samirû*).

[1] This was so in the case of Shopsisûphtah (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 66) and of Khontemsete (ERMAN, *Ægypten*, p. 118). Under a king of the Xth dynasty, Khîti, Prince of Siût, recalled with pride the fact that he had been brought up in the palace, and had learnt to swim with the children of the king (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. lxix. *d*; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. cclxxxix.; GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. xv. l. 23). Cf. LEFÉBURE, *Sur différents mots et noms Égyptiens*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1890-91, pp. 466-468.

[2] Api (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 96), and many others. To translate the title as "Royal Secretary" is too literal and too narrow a rendering, as shown by E. DE ROUGÉ (*Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 69).

[3] For example, Ûsirnûtir (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 173, 174). Ankhûmâka *id.*, pp. 217, 218); Kai combined this title with that of "Director of the Arsenal" (*id.*, pp. 228, 229).

[4] Râmiriphtah (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 154, 155), Rânikaû (*id.*, p. 313), Snofrûinofir (*id.*, pp. 395-398), whom I have already had occasion to mention in connection with the lady Râhonem, on p. 278, note 7.

[5] Prince Assiônkhû held a command in the infantry and in the flotilla of the Nile (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 191); so did Ji (*id.*, p. 162) and Kamtininîr (*id.*, p. 188).

[6] This was the favour obtained by Ûni from Pharaoh Mirirî-Papi I., according to E. de Rougé (*Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 128), whose explanation seems to me an excellent one.

[7] Shopsisûphtah received this favour (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, p. 68).

[8] This is the meaning which I assign to the somewhat rare title of Oirû bûsît, "Grandee of the Panther's Skin," borne, among others, by Zaûfiû (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 252-254) and Rakapû (*id.*, pp. 275, 278). See also p. 53, note 8, of this volume.

[9] Api (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 96) and Sokhîtniônkhû (*id.*, pp. 202-205) were Pharaoh's physicians.

[10] The most complete form of their title which, up to the present, I have been able to find under

relating to the government of the seasons and the stars presented no mysteries to them, neither were they ignorant of the months, days, or hours propitious to the undertakings of everyday life or the starting out on an expedition, nor of those times during which any action was dangerous. They drew their inspirations from the books of magic written by Thot, which taught them the art of interpreting dreams or of curing the sick, or of invoking and obliging the gods to assist them, and of arresting or hastening the progress of the sun on the celestial ocean.[1] Some are mentioned as being able to divide the waters at their will, and to cause them to return to their natural place, merely by means of a short formula.[2] An image of a man or animal made by them out of enchanted wax, was imbued with life at their command, and became an irresistible instrument of their wrath.[3] Popular stories reveal them to us at work. "Is it true," said Kheops to one of them, "that thou canst replace a head which has been cut off?" On his admitting that he could do so, Pharaoh immediately desired to test his power. "Bring me a prisoner from prison and let him be slain." The magician, at this proposal, exclaimed: "Nay, nay, not a man, sire my master; do not command that this sin should be committed; a fine animal will suffice!" A goose was brought, "its head was cut off and the body was placed on the right side, and the head of the goose on the left side of the hall: he recited what he recited from his book of magic, the goose began to hop forward, the head moved on to it, and, when both were united, the goose began to cackle. A pelican was produced, and underwent the same process. His Majesty then caused a bull to be brought forward, and its head was smitten to the ground: the magician recited what he recited from his book of magic, the bull at once arose, and he replaced on it what had fallen to the earth."[4] The great lords themselves deigned to become initiated into the occult sciences, and were invested with these formidable powers. A prince who practised magic would enjoy amongst us nowadays but small esteem: in Egypt sorcery was not considered incompatible with royalty, and the magicians of Pharaoh often took Pharaoh himself as their pupil.[5]

the Ancient Empire, is on the Tomb of Tenti (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 149); this personage was "a chief man of the roll . . . superior of the secrets of heaven, who sees the secret of heaven." Cf. p. 127 of the present work.

[1] See the story of Satni-Khâmoîs (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. 175) for a description of the virtues attributed to one of the books of Thot.

[2] The "man of the roll" Zazamônkh, in the story of Khûfûi (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. 67), performs this miracle in order to enable a lady who was in the royal barge to recover a jewel which she had accidentally dropped into the waters of the lake.

[3] The "man of the roll" Ûbaû-Anir, in the story of Khûfûi (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 60–63), models and calls into life a crocodile who carries off his wife's lover to the bottom of the river. In the story of Satni Khâmoîs (*id.*, pp. 180, 181), Satni constructs a vessel and its crew, imbues the latter with life, and sends them off in search of the magic book of Thot.

[4] ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, pl. viii. ll. 12–26; cf. MASPERO, *Contes populaires*, p. 73.

[5] We know the reputation, extending even to the classical writers of antiquity, of the Pharaohs Nechepso and Nectanebo for their skill in magic. Arab writers have, moreover, collected a number of traditions concerning the marvels which the sorcerers of Egypt were in the habit of performing; as an

Such were the king's household, the people about his person, and those attached to the service of his family. His capital sheltered a still greater number of officials and functionaries who were charged with the administration of his fortune—that is to say, what he possessed in Egypt.[1] In theory it was always supposed that the whole of the soil belonged to him, but that he and his predecessors had diverted and parcelled off such an amount of it for the benefit of their favourites, or for the hereditary lords, that only half of the actual territory remained under his immediate control. He governed most of the nomes of the Delta in person:[2] beyond the Fayûm, he merely retained isolated lands, enclosed in the middle of feudal principalities and often at considerable distance from each other. The extent of the royal domain varied with different dynasties, and even from reign to reign: if it sometimes decreased, owing to too frequently repeated concessions,[3] its losses were generally amply compensated by the confiscation of certain fiefs, or by their lapsing to the crown. The domain was always of sufficient extent to oblige the Pharaoh to confide the larger portion of it to officials of various kinds, and to farm merely a small remainder by means of the "royal slaves:"[4] in the latter case, he reserved for himself all the profits, but at the expense of all the annoyance and all the outlay; in the former case, he obtained without any risk the annual dues, the amount of which was fixed on the spot, according to the resources of the nome. In order to understand the manner in which the government of Egypt was conducted, we should never forget that the world was still ignorant of the use of money, and that gold, silver, and copper, however abundant we may suppose them to have been, were mere articles of exchange, like the most common products of Egyptian soil. Pharaoh was not then, as the State is with us, a treasurer who calculates the total of his receipts and expenses in ready money, banks his revenue in specie occupying but little space, and settles

instance, I may quote the description given by Makrîzî of one of their meetings, which is probably taken from some earlier writer (MALAN, *A Short Story of the Copts and of their Church*, pp. 13, 14).

[1] They were frequently distinguished from their provincial or manorial colleagues by the addition of the word *khonû* to their titles, a term which indicates, in a general manner, the royal residence. They formed what we should nowadays call the departmental staff of the public officers, and might be deputed to act, at least temporarily, in the provinces, or in the service of one of the feudal princes, without thereby losing their status as functionaries of the *khonû* or central administration.

[2] This seems, at any rate, an obvious inference from the almost total absence of feudal titles on the most ancient monuments of the Delta. Erman, who was struck by this fact, attributed it to a different degree of civilization in the two halves of Egypt (*Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 128; cf. ED. MEYER, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 46); I attribute it to a difference in government. Feudal titles naturally predominate in the South, royal administrative titles in the North.

[3] We find, at different periods, persons who call themselves masters of *new* domains or strongholds—Pahûrnofir, under the IIIrd dynasty (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 259); several princes of Hermopolis, under the VIth and VIIth (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 112 *b*, *c*); Khnûmhotpû at the beginning of the XIIth (*Grande Inscription de Béni-Hassan*, l. 69). In connection with the last named, we shall have occasion, later on, to show in what manner and with what rapidity one of these great *new* fiefs was formed.

[4] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 107, where we find the "royal slaves" working at the harvest in conjunction with the serfs attached to the tomb of Khûnas, prince of the Gazelle nome, under a king of the VIth dynasty.

his accounts from the same source. His fiscal receipts were in kind, and it was in kind that he remunerated his servants for their labour: cattle, cereals, fermented drinks, oils, stuffs, common or precious metals,—"all that the heavens give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from its mysterious sources," [1]—constituted the coinage in which his subjects paid him their contributions, and which he passed on to his vassals by way of salary. One room, a few feet square, and, if need be, one safe, would easily contain the entire revenue of one of our modern empires: the largest of our emporiums would not always have sufficed to hold the mass of incongruous objects which represented the returns of a single Egyptian province. As the products in which the tax was paid took various forms, it was necessary to have an infinite variety of special agents and suitable places to receive it; herdsmen and sheds for the oxen, measurers and granaries for the grain, butlers and cellarers for the wine, beer, and oils. The product of the tax, while awaiting redistribution, could only be kept from deteriorating in value by incessant labour, in which a score of different classes of clerks and workmen in the service of the treasury all took part, according to their trades. If the tax were received in oxen, it was led to pasturage, or at times, when a murrain threatened to destroy it, to the slaughter-house and the currier; if it were in corn, it was bolted, ground to flour, and made into bread and pastry; if it were in stuffs, it was washed, ironed, and folded, to be retailed as garments or in the piece. The royal treasury partook of the character of the farm, the warehouse, and the manufactory.

Each of the departments which helped to swell its contents, occupied within the palace enclosure a building, or group of buildings, which was called its "house," or, as we should say, its storehouse.[2] There was the "White Storehouse," where the stuffs and jewels were kept, and at times the wine; [3] the "Storehouse of the Oxen," [4] the "Gold Storehouse," [5] the "Storehouse for Preserved Fruits," [6] the "Storehouse for Grain," [7] the "Storehouse for Liquors," [8]

[1] This was the most usual formula for the offering on the funerary stelæ, and sums up more completely than any other the nature of the tax paid to the gods by the living, and consequently the nature of that paid to the king; here, as elsewhere, the domain of the gods is modelled on that of the Pharaohs.

[2] PIRÛ, PI: this is an employment of the word similar to that of Dâr, which was in use among the Fatimite Caliphs and the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt in the Middle Ages. The DÂR succeeded without interruption the PI and the AÎT, of which we shall hear more later on (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 126, et seq.).

[3] PI-HAZÛ, in MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 249, 250. It derived its name from the fact that its exterior was painted white, as is usual with most of the public buildings of modern Egypt.

[4] This is the PI-EHEÛ, which we meet everywhere from the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties onwards.

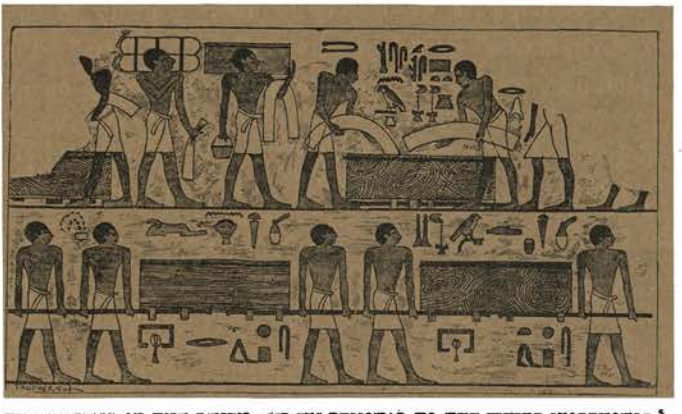
[5] PI-NÛBÛ, in E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, p. 104; cf. MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 254, 355, 502, etc.

[6] PI-ASHDÛ, of which the meaning was recognized by DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. vii.; cf. E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques recueilles en Égypte*, pl. iii.; MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 279, 414.

[7] PA-HABÛ, BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique et Démotique Supplément*, pp. 749, 750, s. v. *Ari*.

[8] PI-ARPÛ (?) "The Wine Storehouse," possibly that mentioned by MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 306.

and ten other storehouses of the application of which we are not always sure.[1] In the "Storehouse of Weapons" (or Armoury)[2] were ranged thousands of clubs, maces, pikes, daggers, bows, and bundles of arrows, which Pharaoh distributed to his recruits whenever a war forced him to call out his army, and which were again warehoused after the campaign.[3] The "storehouses" were further subdivided into rooms or store-chambers,[4] each reserved for its own category of objects. It would be difficult to enumerate the number of store-chambers in the outbuildings of the "Storehouse of Provisions"—store-chambers for butcher's meat, for fruits, for beer, bread, and wine, in which were deposited as much of each article of food as would be required by the court for some days, or at most for a few weeks. They were brought there from the larger storehouses, the wines from vaults,[6] the oxen from their stalls,[7] the corn from the granaries.[8] The latter were vast brick-built receptacles, ten or more in a row, circular in shape and surmounted by cupolas, but having no communication with each other. They had only two openings, one at the top for pouring in the grain, another on the ground level for drawing it out; a notice posted up outside, often on the shutter which closed the chamber, indicated the character



THE PACKING OF THE LINEN AND ITS REMOVAL TO THE WHITE STOREHOUSE.[5]

[1] For example, the PI-ÂZÛ (?) (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 258, 259), possibly the tallow storehouse.

[2] PI-AHÛÛ, the *Khaznat-ed-darak* of the Egyptian caliphs (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 91, 101, 104; MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 217, 218, 228, 259, 296, etc.).

[3] At Medinet-Habû we see the distribution of arms to the soldiers of Ramses III. (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. ccxviii.; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Reali*, pl. cxxv.); a similar operation seems to be referred to in a passage in the Ûni inscription which records the raising of an army under the VIth dynasty.

[4] AÎT, ÂÎ. Lefébure has collected a number of passages in which these storehouses are mentioned, in his notes *Sur différents mots et noms Égyptiens* (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1890–91, p. 447, et seq.). In many of the cases which he quotes, and in which he recognizes an office of the State, I believe reference to be made to a trade: many of the ARI ÂÎT-AFÛ, "people of the store-chambers for meat," were probably butchers; many of the ARI ÂÎT-HIQÎTÛ, "people of the store-chamber for beer," were probably keepers of drink-shops, trading on their own account in the town of Abydos, and not *employés* attached to the exchequer of Pharaoh or of the ruler of Thinis.

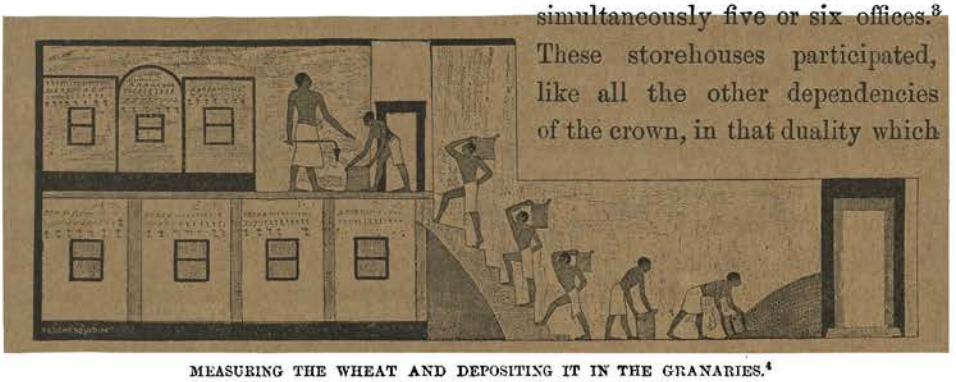
[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a chromolithograph in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 96.

[6] ASÛI, a word which was used to denote warehouses (usually vaulted and built in pairs) in which articles of a heterogeneous nature were stored (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 125, 223, 230, 243, etc.).

[7] The term AHÛ, which later on came to be used of horses as well as oxen, has not, so far as I know, yet been met with on any of the monuments of the Ancient Empire.

[8] SHONÛÎTI, which, in the form "*shûneh*," has passed into use among the French-speaking peoples of the Levant through the Arabic. For a representation of the storehouses for grain and fruit of the Memphite epoch, see MASPERO, *Quatre Années de Fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. pl. iii.

and quantity of the cereals within. For the security and management of these, there were employed troops of porters, store-keepers, accountants, "primates" who superintended the works,[1] record-keepers, and directors.[2] Great nobles coveted the administration of the "storehouses," and even the sons of kings did not think it derogatory to their dignity to be entitled "Directors of the Granaries," or "Directors of the Armoury." There was no law against pluralists, and more than one of them boasts on his tomb of having held simultaneously five or six offices.[3] These storehouses participated, like all the other dependencies of the crown, in that duality which



MEASURING THE WHEAT AND DEPOSITING IT IN THE GRANARIES.[4]

characterized the person of the Pharaoh. They would be called in common parlance, the Storehouse or the Double White Storehouse, the Storehouse or the Double Gold Storehouse, the Double Warehouse, the Double Granary. The large towns, as well as the capital, possessed their double storehouses and their store-chambers, into which were gathered the products of the neighbourhood, but where a complete staff of *employés* was not always required: in such towns we meet with "localities"[5] in which the commodities were housed merely temporarily. The least perishable part of the provincial dues was forwarded by boat to the royal residence,[6] and swelled the central treasury. The remainder was used on the spot for paying workman's wages, and for the needs of the

[1] KHORPÛ; the word "primate" is a literal translation of the Egyptian term; for the special class of functions which it is used to indicate, cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182.

[2] MIRÛ is translated with sufficient exactness by the word "director" (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182).

[3] To mention only a single instance, Kai combined the office of director of the high court of the palace with that of director of the double granary, of "the double white house," of six large storehouses, and three different vaults (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 125).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a scene on the tomb of Amoni at Beni-Hasan; cf. ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xxxiv. 2; GRIFFITH-NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pl. xiii. On the right, near the door, is a heap of grain, from which the measurer fills his measure in order to empty it into the sack which one of the porters holds open. In the centre is a train of slaves ascending the stairs which lead to the loft above the granaries; one of them empties his sack into a hole above the granary in the presence of the overseer. The inscriptions in ink on the outer wall of the receptacles, which have already been filled, indicate the number of measures which each one of them contains.

[5] ISÎTÛ we may translate "localities" for want of a better word (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 128, et seq.).

[6] The boats employed for this purpose formed a flotilla, and their commanders constituted a regularly organized transport corps, who are frequently to be found represented on the monuments of the New Empire, carrying tribute to the residence of the king or of the prince, whose retainers they were. An excellent example may be seen on the tomb of Pihiri, at El-Kab

Administration. We see from the inscriptions, that the staffs of officials who administered affairs in the provinces was similar to that in the royal city. Starting from the top, and going down to the bottom of the scale, each functionary supervised those beneath him, while, as a body, they were all responsible for their depôt. Any irregularity in the entries entailed the bastinado;

PLAN OF A PRINCELY STOREHOUSE FOR PROVISIONS.[1]

peculators were punished by imprisonment, mutilation, or death, according to the gravity of the offence. Those whom illness or old age rendered unfit for work, were pensioned for the remainder of their life.[2]

The writer,[3] or, as we call him, the scribe, was the mainspring of all this

(CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cxli.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cx. 1, 2; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 11 *a*).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 95. The illustration is taken from one of the tombs at Tel el-Amarna. The storehouse consists of four blocks, isolated by two avenues planted with trees, which intersect each other in the form of a cross. Behind the entrance gate, in a small courtyard, is a kiosque, in which the master sat for the purpose of receiving the stores or of superintending their distribution; two of the arms of the cross are lined by porticoes, under which are the entrances to the "chambers" (*âit*) for the stores, which are filled with jars of wine, linen-chests, dried fish, and other articles.

[2] For an instance of an *employé* pensioned off on account of infirmities, see the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. iv., under the XIXth dynasty (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 8, in the *Proceedings*, 1890–91, pp. 423–426).

[3] SASHAI was the common title of the ordinary scribe; ÂNÛ seems to have been used only of scribes of high rank, at any rate under the Memphite empire, if we are to credit E. DE ROUGÉ

machinery. We come across him in all grades of the staff: an insignificant registrar of oxen, a clerk of the Double White Storehouse, ragged, humble, and badly paid, was a scribe just as much as the noble, the priest, or the king's son.[1] Thus the title of scribe was of no value in itself, and did not designate, as one might naturally think, a savant educated in a school of high culture, or a man of the world, versed in the sciences and the literature of his time;[2] every one was a scribe who knew how to read, write, and cipher, was fairly proficient in wording the administrative formulas, and could easily apply the elementary rules of book-keeping. There was no public school in which the scribe could be prepared for his future career; but as soon as a child had acquired the first rudiments of letters with some old pedagogue, his father took him with him to his office, or entrusted him to some friend who agreed to undertake his education. The apprentice observed what went on around him, imitated the mode of procedure of the *employés*, copied in his spare time old papers, letters, bills, flowerily-worded petitions, reports, complimentary addresses to his superiors or to the Pharaoh, all of which his patron examined and corrected, noting on the margin letters or words imperfectly written, improving the style, and recasting or completing the incorrect expressions.[3] As soon as he could put together a certain number of sentences or figures without a mistake, he was allowed to draw up bills, or to have the sole superintendence of some department of the treasury, his work being gradually increased in amount and difficulty; when he was considered to be sufficiently *au courant* with the ordinary business, his education was declared to be finished, and a situation was found for him either in the place where he had begun his probation, or in some neighbouring office.[4]

(*Cours du Collége de France*, 1869); later on this distinction was less observed, and the word *ânu* disappeared before *sakhû* (*sakh* derived from *sashai*).

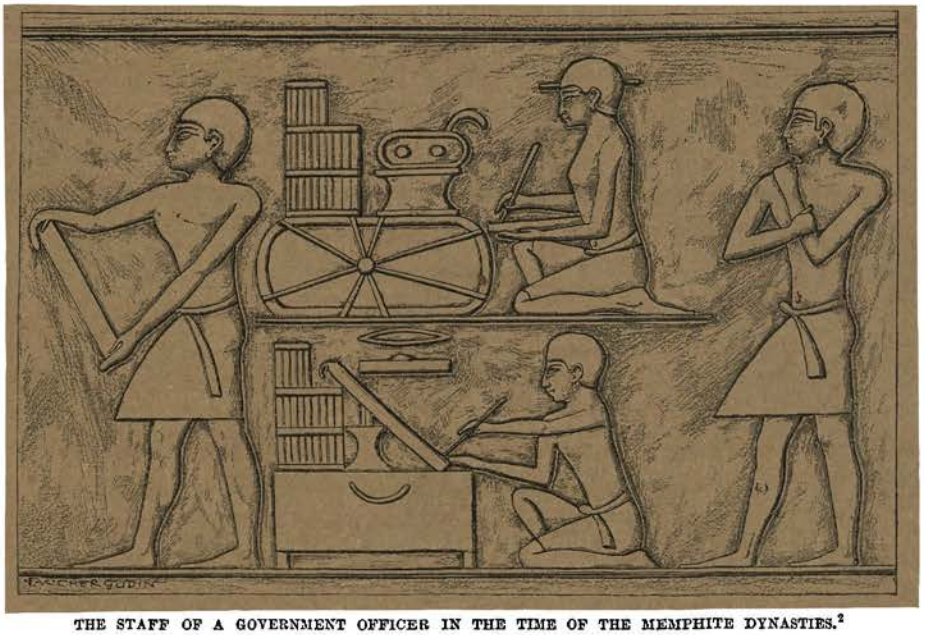
[1] The three sons of Kâfrîônkhû, grandchildren of the king, are represented exercising their functions as scribes in the presence of their father, their tablets in the left hand, the reed behind the ear (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 11): similarly the eldest son of Ankhaftûka, "friend, commanding the palace" under the first kings of the Vth dynasty (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 305–309); so, too the brother of Tapûmonkhû (*id.*, p. 193), and several of the sons of Sakhemphtah (*id.*, p. 253), about the same period.

[2] This is the type which we find most frequently represented in modern works on Egypt, in the romance of G. Ebers, for instance, *e.g.* the Pentaur and the Nefersekhet of *Uarda;* it is also the type most easily realized from a study of the literary papyri of the XIXth and XXth dynasties, in which the profession of scribe is exalted at the expense of other professions (cf. the panegyric of the scribe in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. i., pls. i.–xiii.; CHABAS, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 31–47).

[3] We still possess school exercises of the XIXth and XXth dynasties, *e.g.* the *Papyrus Anastasi n° IV.*, and the *Anastasi Papyrus n° V.*, in which we find a whole string of pieces of every possible style and description—business letters, requests for leave of absence, complimentary verses addressed to a superior, all probably a collection of exercises compiled by some professor, and copied by his pupils in order to complete their education as scribes; the master's corrections are made at the top and bottom of the pages in a bold and skilful hand, very different from that of the pupil, though the writing of the latter is generally more legible to our modern eyes (*Select Papyri*, vol. i. pls. lxxxiii.–cxxi.).

[4] Evidence of this state of things seems to be furnished by all the biographies of scribes with which we are acquainted, *e.g.* that of Amten; it is, moreover, what took place regularly throughout the whole of Egypt, down to the latest times, and what probably still occurs in those parts of the country where European ideas have not yet made any deep impression (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 123–126).

Thus equipped, the young man ended usually by succeeding his father or his patron: in most of the government administrations, we find whole dynasties of scribes on a small scale, whose members inherited the same post for several centuries.[1] The position was an insignificant one, and the salary poor, but the means of existence were assured, the occupant was exempted from forced labour and from military service, and he exercised a certain authority in the narrow



THE STAFF OF A GOVERNMENT OFFICER IN THE TIME OF THE MEMPHITE DYNASTIES.[2]

world in which he lived: it sufficed to make him think himself happy, and in fact to be so. "One has only to be a scribe," said the wise man, "for the scribe takes the lead of all."[3] Sometimes, however, one of these contented officials, more intelligent or ambitious than his fellows, succeeded in rising above the common mediocrity: his fine handwriting, the happy choice of his sentences, his activity, his obliging manner, his honesty—perhaps also his discreet dishonesty—attracted the attention of his superiors and were the cause of his promotion. The son of a peasant or of some poor wretch, who had begun

[1] This statement may be easily verified by a reference to MARIETTE'S *Catalogue général des Monuments d'Abydos*. The number of instances would be still larger, had not Mariette, in order to keep the size of his book within limits, suppressed the titles and functions of the majority of the persons who are mentioned by the dozen on the votive stelæ in the Gîzeh Museum.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a wall-painting on the tomb of Khûnas (cf. ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. XXXV. 4; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 107). Two scribes are writing on tablets. Before the scribe in the upper part of the picture we see a palette, with two saucers, on a vessel which serves as an ink-bottle, and a packet of tablets tied together, the whole supported by a bundle of archives. The scribe in the lower part rests his tablet against an ink-bottle, a box for archives being placed before him. Behind them a *nakht-khrôû* announces the delivery of a tablet covered with figures which the third scribe is presenting to the master.

[3] This is the refrain which occurs constantly in all the exercises for style given to scholars under the New Empire (MASPERO, *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 28, 35, 38, 40, 49, 50, 66, 72, etc.).

life by keeping a register of the bread and vegetables in some provincial government office, had been often known to crown his long and successful career by exercising a kind of vice-regency over the half of Egypt. His granaries overflowed with corn, his storehouses were always full of gold, fine stuffs, and precious vases, his stalls "multiplied the backs" of his oxen;[1] the sons of his early patrons, having now become in turn his *protégés*, did not venture to approach him except with bowed head and bended knee.

No doubt the Amten whose tomb was removed to Berlin by Lepsius, and

THE CRIER ANNOUNCES THE ARRIVAL OF FIVE REGISTRARS OF THE TEMPLE OF KING ÛSIRNIRÎ, OF THE Vth DYNASTY.[2]

put together piece by piece in the museum, was a *parvenu* of this kind.[3] He was born rather more than four thousand years before our era, under one of the last kings of the IIIrd dynasty, and he lived until the reign of the first king of the IVth dynasty, Snofrûi. He probably came from the Nome of the Bull, if not from Xoïs itself, in the heart of the Delta. His father, the scribe Anûpûmonkhû, held, in addition to his office, several landed estates, producing large returns; but his mother, Nibsonît, who appears to have been merely a concubine, had no personal fortune, and would have been unable even to give her child an education. Anûpûmonkhû made himself entirely responsible for the necessary expenses, "giving him all the necessities of life, at a time when he had not as yet either corn, barley, income, house, men or women servants, or troops of asses, pigs, or oxen."[4] As soon as he was in a condition to provide for himself, his

[1] The expression is borrowed from one of the letters in the *Anastasi Papyrus*, No. iv., pl. ix. l. 1.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a picture in the tomb of Shopsisûrî (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 63). The *nakht-khrôû*, the crier, is on the spectator's left; four registrars of the funerary temple of Ûsirnirî advance in a crawling posture towards the master, the fifth has just risen and holds himself in a stooping attitude, while an usher introduces him and transmits to him an order to send in his accounts.

[3] It has been published in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 4–7. Its texts have been analysed in a more or less summary fashion by E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 39, 40; by BIRCH, in BUNSEN, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v. pp. 723, 724; by PIERRET, *Explication des Monuments de l'Égypte*, pp. 9–11; by ERMAN, *Ægypten*, pp. 126–128; they have been translated and commented on by MASPERO, *La Carrière administrative de deux hauts fonctionnaires égyptiens*, in the *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 113–272. It is from this last source that I have borrowed, in a condensed form, the principal features in the biography of Amten.

[4] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 5, l. 1; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 120, et seq.

father obtained for him, in his native Nome, the post of chief scribe attached

THE FUNERAL STELE OF THE TOMB OF AMTEN.[1]

to one of the "localities" which belonged to the Administration of Provisions. On behalf of the Pharaoh, the young man received, registered, and distributed

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 3. Amten is portrayed standing upright in the recess and on the doorposts of the false door, as well as on the wall; to right and left he bears a mace and a long staff in his hands; on the right a slave serves the funeral banquet; on the left a jerboa, a hare, a porcupine, a weasel, and another quadruped of undecided shape represent the

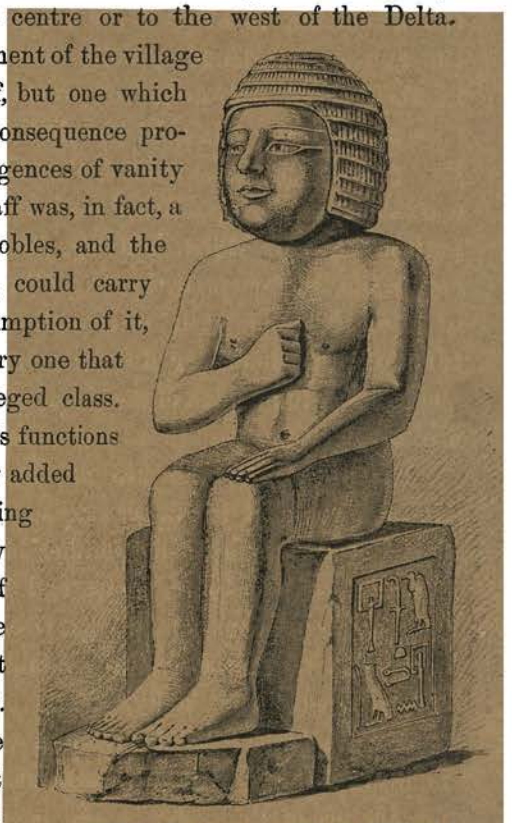
the meat, cakes, fruits, and fresh vegetables which constituted the taxes, all on his own responsibility, except that he had to give an account of them to the "Director of the Storehouse" who was nearest to him. We are not told how long he remained in this occupation; we see merely that he was raised successively to posts of an analogous kind, but of increasing importance. The provincial offices comprised a small staff of *employés*, consisting always of the same officials:—a chief, whose ordinary function was "Director of the Storehouse;" a few scribes to keep the accounts, one or two of whom added to his ordinary calling that of keeper of the archives; paid ushers to introduce clients, and, if need be, to bastinado them summarily at the order of the "director;" lastly, the "strong of voice," the criers, who superintended the incomings and outgoings, and proclaimed the account of them to the scribes to be noted down forthwith.[1] A vigilant and honest crier was a man of great value. He obliged the taxpayer not only to deliver the exact number of measures prescribed as his quota, but also compelled him to deliver good measure in each case; a dishonest crier, on the contrary, could easily favour cheating, provided that he shared in the spoil. Amten was at once "crier" and "taxer of the colonists" to the civil administrator of the Xoïte nome: he announced the names of the peasants and the payments they made, then estimated the amount of the local tax which each, according to his income, had to pay. He distinguished himself so pre-eminently in these delicate duties, that the civil administrator of Xoïs made him one of his subordinates. He became "Chief of the Ushers," afterwards "Master Crier," then "Director of all the King's flax" in the Xoïte nome—an office which entailed on him the supervision of the culture, cutting, and general preparation of flax for the manufacture which was carried on in Pharaoh's own domain. It was one of the highest offices in the Provincial Administration, and Amten must have congratulated himself on his appointment.

From that moment his career became a great one, and he advanced quickly. Up to that time he had been confined in offices; he now left them to perform more active service. The Pharaohs, extremely jealous of their own authority, usually avoided placing at the head of the nomes in their domain, a single

animals which he was wont to pursue in the Libyan desert in his capacity of Grand Huntsman. In the upper part of the picture he is seated, and once more partakes of the funeral repast. The lengthy inscription in short columns, which occupies the upper part of the wall, enumerates his principal titles, his estates in the Delta, and mentions some of the honours conferred on him by his sovereign in the course of his long career.

[1] With regard to these criers—called in Egyptian *nakht-khrôû*—see MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 135, 139. Representations of Offices will be found in the tomb of Shopsisûrû, at Saqqâra (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii., 62, 63, 64), in the tomb of Phtahhotpû (*id.*, pl. 103 *a*), and in several others (*id.*, pl. 71 *a*, 74, etc.); cf. an administrative office in the nome of the Gazelle, under the VIth dynasty, p. 289 of the present work.

ruler, who would have appeared too much like a prince; they preferred having in each centre of civil administration, governors of the town or province, as well as military commanders who were jealous of one another, supervised one another, counterbalanced one another, and did not remain long enough in office to become dangerous. Amten held all these posts successively in most of the nomes situated in the centre or to the west of the Delta. His first appointment was to the government of the village of Pidosû, an unimportant post in itself, but one which entitled him to a staff of office, and in consequence procured for him one of the greatest indulgences of vanity that an Egyptian could enjoy.[1] The staff was, in fact, a symbol of command which only the nobles, and the officials associated with the nobility, could carry without transgressing custom; the assumption of it, as that of the sword with us, showed every one that the bearer was a member of a privileged class. Amten was no sooner ennobled, than his functions began to extend; villages were rapidly added to villages, then towns to towns, including such an important one as Bûto, and finally the nomes of the Harpoon, of the Bull, of the Silurus, the western half of the Saïte nome, the nome of the Haunch, and a part of the Fayûm came within his jurisdiction. The western half of the Saïte nome, where he long resided, corresponded with what was called later the Libyan nome. It reached nearly from the apex of the Delta to the sea, and was bounded on one side by the Canopic branch of the Nile, on the other by the Libyan range; a part of the desert as well as the Oases fell under its rule. It included among its population, as did many of the provinces of Upper Egypt, regiments composed of nomad hunters, who were compelled to pay their tribute in living or dead game. Amten was metamorphosed into Chief Huntsman, scoured the mountains with his men, and thereupon became one of the most important personages in the defence of the country. The Pharaohs had built fortified stations, and had from time to time constructed walls at certain points where the roads entered the valley—at Syene, at Coptos, and at the entrance to the Wady Tûmilât.



STATUE OF AMTEN, FOUND IN HIS TOMB.[2]

[1] MASPERO, *Etudes Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 165, 166.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 120 *a*; the original is in the Berlin Museum.

Amten having been proclaimed "Primate of the Western Gate," that is, governor of the Libyan marches, undertook to protect the frontier against the wandering Bedouin from the other side of Lake Mareotis. His duties as Chief Huntsman had been the best preparation he could have had for this arduous task. They had forced him to make incessant expeditions among the mountains, to explore the gorges and ravines, to be acquainted with the routes marked out by wells which the marauders were obliged to follow in their incursions, and the pathways and passes by which they could descend into the plain of the Delta; in running the game to earth, he had gained all the knowledge needful for repulsing the enemy.[1] Such a combination of capabilities made Amten the most important noble in this part of Egypt. When old age at last prevented him from leading an active life, he accepted, by way of a pension, the governorship of the nome of the Haunch: with civil authority, military command, local priestly functions, and honorary distinctions, he lacked only one thing to make him the equal of the nobles of ancient family, and that was permission to bequeath without restriction his towns and offices to his children.

His private fortune was not as great as we might be led to think. He inherited from his father only one estate,[2] but had acquired twelve others in the nomes of the Delta whither his successive appointments had led him —namely, in the Saïte, Xoïte, and Letopolite nomes.[3] He received subsequently, as a reward for his services, two hundred portions of cultivated land, with numerous peasants, both male and female, and an income of one hundred loaves daily, a first charge upon the funeral provision of Queen Hâpûnimâit.[4] He took advantage of this windfall to endow his family suitably. His only son was already provided for, thanks to the munificence of Pharaoh; he had begun his administrative career by holding the same post of scribe, in addition to the office of provision registrar, which his father had held, and over and above these he received by royal grant, four portions of cornland with their population and stock.[5] Amten gave twelve portions to his other children and fifty to his mother Nibsonît, by means of which she lived comfortably in her old age, and left an annuity for maintaining worship at her tomb.[6] He built upon the remainder of the land a magnificent villa, of which he has considerately left us the

[1] MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 177–181, 188–191.

[2] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 7 *a*, l. 5; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 238–241.

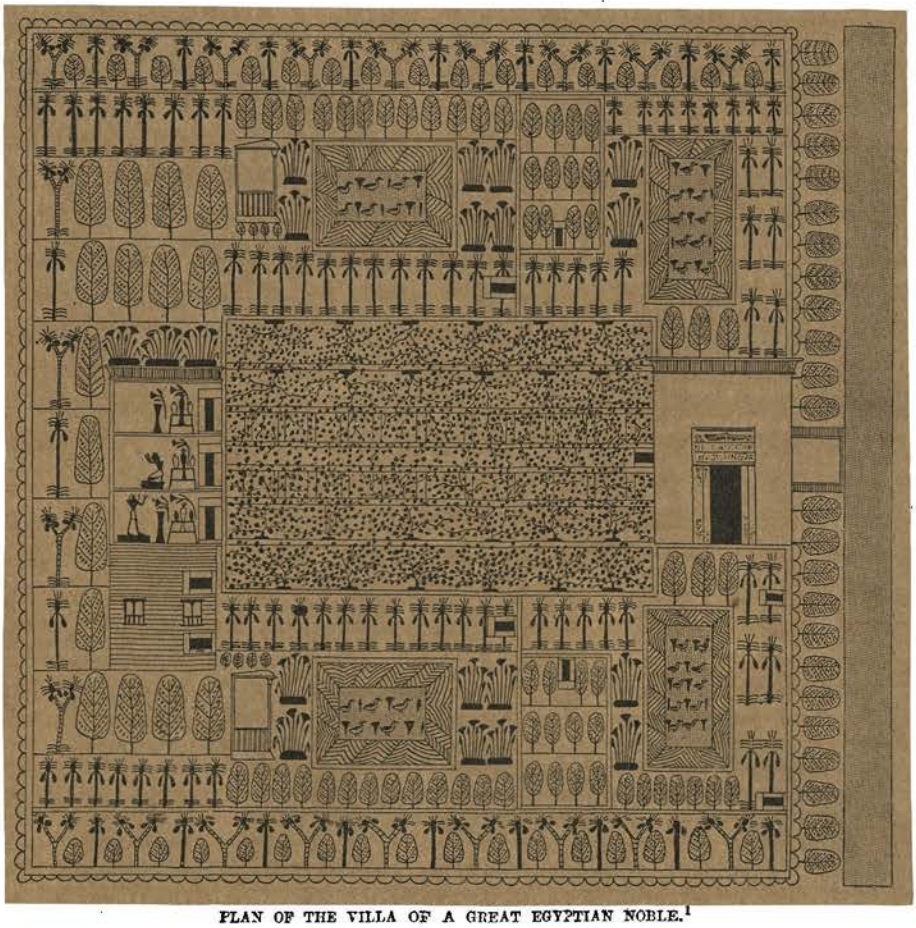
[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 6, l. 4; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 217–219.

[4] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 6, ll. 5, 6; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 220, 226. Queen Hapûnimâît seems to have been the mother of Snofrûi, the first Pharaoh of the IVth dynasty of Manetho.

[5] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 6, l. 2; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 213–217.

[6] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 3, ll. 13–18; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 226–230. The area of these portions of land is given, but the interpretation of the measures is still open to dispute.

description. The boundary wall formed a square of 350 feet on each face, and consequently contained a superficies of 122,500 square feet. The well-built dwelling-house, completely furnished with all the necessities of life, was surrounded by ornamental and fruit-bearing trees,—the common palm, the



PLAN OF THE VILLA OF A GREAT EGYPTIAN NOBLE.[1]

nebbek, fig trees, and acacias; several ponds, neatly bordered with greenery, afforded a habitat for aquatic birds; trellised vines, according to custom, ran in front of the house, and two plots of ground, planted with vines in full bearing, amply supplied the owner with wine every year.[2] It was there, doubtless, that Amten ended his days in peace and quietude of mind. The tableland whereon the Sphinx has watched for so many centuries was then crowned by no pyramids, but mastabas of fine white stone rose

[1] This plan is taken from a Theban tomb of the XVIIIth dynasty (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cclxi.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. lxix.; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 877); but it corresponds exactly with the description which Amten has left us of his villa.

[2] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 7 *b*; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 230–238.

here and there from out of the sand: that in which the mummy of Amten was to be enclosed was situated not far from the modern village of Abûsîr, on the confines of the nome of the Haunch, and almost in sight of the mansion in which his declining years were spent.[1]

The number of persons of obscure origin, who in this manner had risen in a few years to the highest honours, and died governors of provinces or ministers of Pharaoh, must have been considerable. Their descendants followed in their fathers' footsteps, until the day came when royal favour or an advantageous marriage secured them the possession of an hereditary fief, and transformed the son or grandson of a prosperous scribe into a feudal lord. It was from people of this class, and from the children of the Pharaoh, that the nobility was mostly recruited. In the Delta, where the authority of the Pharaoh was almost everywhere directly felt, the power of the nobility was weakened and much curtailed; in Middle Egypt it gained ground, and became stronger and stronger in proportion as one advanced southward. The nobles held the principalities of the Gazelle,[2] of the Hare,[3] of the Serpent Mountain,[4] of Akhmîm,[5] of Thinis,[6] of Qasr-es-Sayad,[7] of El-Kab,[8] of Aswân,[9] and doubtless others of which we shall some day discover the monuments. They accepted without difficulty the fiction according to which Pharaoh claimed to be absolute master of the soil, and ceded to his subjects only the usufruct of their fiefs; but apart from the admission of the principle, each lord proclaimed himself sovereign in his own

[1] The site of Amten's manorial mansion is nowhere mentioned in the inscriptions; but the custom of the Egyptians to construct their tombs as near as possible to the places where they resided, leads me to consider it as almost certain that we ought to look for its site in the Memphite plain, in the vicinity of the town of Abûsîr, but in a northern direction, so as to keep within the territory of the Letopolite nome, where Amten governed in the name of the king.

[2] Tomb of Khûnas, prince of the Gazelle nome, at Zawyet-el-Meiyetîn (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypt et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 441–454; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 105, 106); we find in the same locality, and at Sheîkh-Saîd, the semi-ruinous tombs of other princes of this same nome, contemporaries for the most part of the VIth and VIIIth dynasties (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 110, 111).

[3] Tombs of the princes of the Hare at Sheîkh-Saîd and at Bersheh (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 112, 113).

[4] Tomb of Zaû I., prince of Thinis and of the Serpent Mountain, in SAYCE, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt* (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 65–67); cf. for an interpretation of the text published by Sayce, MASPERO, *Sur l'inscription de Zâou*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 68–71.

[5] Tombs of the princes of Akhmîm, in MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. xxi. *b*, p. 6, of the text, and in E. SCHIAPARELLI, *Chemmis-Achmîm e la sua antica necropoli* (in the *Études Archéologiques dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans*, pp. 85–88).

[6] Tombs of the princes of Thinis at Mesheîkh, opposite Girgeh (SAYCE, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 63, 64; NESTOR L'HÔTE, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiii. pp. 71, 72); many others may be met with further north, towards Beni-Mohammed-el-Kûfûr (SAYCE, *ibid.*, p. 67).

[7] Tombs of the princes of Qasr-es-Sayad, partly copied by Nestor L'hôte, incompletely published in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 113, 114, and in VILLIERS-STUART, *Nile Gleanings*, pp. 305–307, pls. xxxvi.–xxxviii.

[8] Several princes of El-Kab are mentioned in the *graffiti* collected and published by L. STERN, *Die Cultusstätte der Lucina*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 65, et seq.

[9] The tombs of the princes of Aswân, excavated between 1886 and 1892, have been published by U. Bouriant (*Les Tombeaux d'Assouân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. p. 182, et seq.) and by Budge (*Excavations made at Aswân*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1887–88, p. 4, et seq.).

domain, and exercised in it, on a small scale, complete royal authority. Everything within the limits of this petty state belonged to him—woods, canals, fields, even the desert-sand:[1] after the example of the Pharaoh, he farmed a part himself, and let out the remainder, either in farms or as fiefs, to those of his followers who had gained his confidence or his friendship. After the example of Pharaoh, also, he was a priest, and exercised priestly functions

HUNTING WITH THE BOOMERANG AND FISHING WITH THE DOUBLE HARPOON IN A MARSH OR POOL.[2]

in relation to all the gods—that is, not of all Egypt, but of all the deities of the nome. He was an administrator of civil and criminal law, received the complaints of his vassals and serfs at the gate of his palace, and against his decisions there was no appeal. He kept up a flotilla, and raised on his estate a small army, of which he was commander-in-chief by hereditary right. He inhabited a fortified mansion, situated sometimes

[1] *Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan*, ll. 46–53. The extent of the feudal power and organization of the nomes were defined for the first time by MASPERO in *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan* (*Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 179–181; cf. ERMAN, *Ægypten*, p. 135, et seq.; ED. MEYER, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 156, et seq.).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Gayet; cf. MASPERO, *Le Tombeau de Nakhti*, in the *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission française du Caire*, vol. v. p. 480.

within the capital of the principality itself, sometimes in its neighbourhood, and in which the arrangements of the royal city[1] were reproduced on a smaller scale. Side by side with the reception halls was the harem, where the legitimate wife, often a princess of solar rank, played the *rôle* of queen, surrounded by concubines, dancers, and slaves. The offices of the various departments were crowded into the enclosure, with their directors, governors, scribes of all ranks, custodians, and workmen, who

PRINCE API, BORNE IN A PALANQUIN, INSPECTS HIS FUNERARY DOMAIN.[2]

bore the same titles as the corresponding *employés* in the departments of the State: their White Storehouse, their Gold Storehouse, their Granary, were at times called the Double White Storehouse, the Double Gold Storehouse, the Double Granary, as were those of the Pharaoh. Amusements at the court of the vassal did not differ from those at that of the sovereign: hunting in the desert and the marshes, fishing, inspection of agricultural works, military exercises, games, songs, dancing, doubtless the recital of long stories, and exhibitions of magic, even down to the contortions of the court

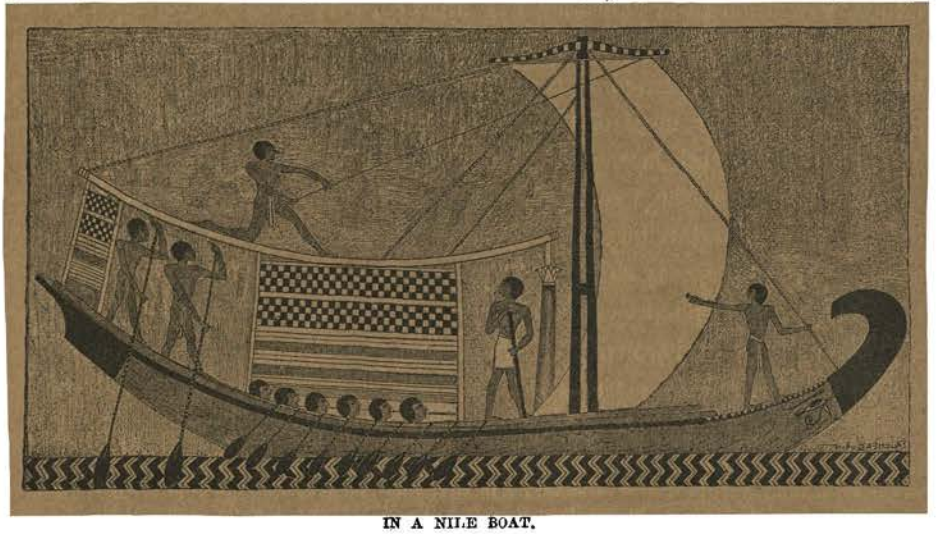
[1] MASPERO, *Sur le sens des mots Nouît et Hâît*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xii., 1889-90, p. 252, et seq.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Émil Brugsch-Bey. The tomb of Api was discovered at Saqqâra in 1884. It had been pulled down in ancient times, and a new tomb built on its ruins about the time of the XIIth dynasty; all that remains of it is now in the museum at Gîzeh.

buffoon and the grimaces of the dwarfs. It amused the prince to see one of these wretched favourites leading to him by the paw a cynocephalus larger than himself, while a mischievous monkey slyly pulled a tame and

A DWARF PLAYING WITH CYNOCEPHALI AND A TAME IBIS.[1]

stately ibis by the tail. From time to time the great lord proceeded to inspect his domain: on these occasions he travelled in a kind of sedan chair, supported by two mules yoked together; or he was borne in a palanquin by some thirty men, while fanned by large flabella; or possibly



IN A NILE BOAT.

he went up the Nile and the canals in his beautiful painted barge. The life of the Egyptian lords may be aptly described as in every respect an exact reproduction of the life of the Pharaoh on a smaller scale.[2]

Inheritance in a direct or indirect line was the rule, but in every case of transmission the new lord had to receive the investiture of the sovereign either

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a chromolithograph in FLINDERS PETRIE'S *Medûm*, pl. xxiv.

The tombs of Beni-Hassan, which belong to the latter end of the XIth and early part of the XIIth dynasties, furnish us with the most complete picture of this feudal life (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 334–436; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 123, et seq.). All the features of which it was composed, are to be found singly on monuments of the Memphite epoch.

by letter or in person.[1] The duties enforced by the feudal state do not appear to have been onerous. In the first place, there was the regular payment of a tribute, proportionate to the extent and resources of the fief. In the next place, there was military service: the vassal agreed to supply, when called upon, a fixed number of armed men, whom he himself commanded, unless he could offer a reasonable excuse such as illness or senile incapacity.[2] Attendance at court was not obligatory: we notice, however, many nobles about the person of Pharaoh, and there are numerous examples of princes, with whose lives we are familiar, filling offices which appear to have demanded at least a temporary residence in the palace, as, for instance, the charge of the royal wardrobe.[3] When the king travelled, the great vassals were compelled to entertain him and his suite, and to escort him to the frontier of their domain.[4] On the occasion of such visits, the king would often take away with him one of their sons to be brought up with his own children: an act which they on their part considered a great honour, while the king on his had a guarantee of their fidelity in the person of these hostages.[5] Such of these young people as returned to their fathers' roof when their education was finished, were usually most loyal to the reigning dynasty. They often brought back with them some maiden born in the purple, who consented to share their little provincial sovereignty,[6] while in exchange one or more of their sisters entered the harem of the Pharaoh. Marriages made and marred in their turn the fortunes of the great feudal houses.[7] Whether she were a princess or not, each woman received as her dowry a portion of territory, and enlarged by that amount her husband's little state; but the property she brought might, in a few years, be taken by her daughters as portions and enrich other houses. The fief seldom could bear up against such dismemberment; it fell away piecemeal, and by the third or fourth

[1] For instance, this was so in the case of the princes of the Gazelle nome, as is shown by various passages in the *Great Inscription of Beni-Hasan*, ll. 13–24, 24–36, 54–62, 71–79.

[2] Prince Amoni, of the Gazelle nome, led a body of four hundred men and another body of six hundred, levied in his principality, into Ethiopia under these conditions; the first time that he served in the royal army, was as a substitute for his father, who had grown too old (MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil*, vol. i. pp. 171–173). Similarly, under the XVIIIth dynasty, Âhmosis of El-Kab commanded the war-ship, the *Calf*, in place of his father (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, 12 *a*, ll. 5, 6). The Ûni inscription furnishes us with an instance of a general levy of the feudal contingents in the time of the VIth dynasty (l. 14, et seq.).

[3] *E.g.* Thothotpû, prince of the Hare nome, under the XIIth dynasty (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. pl. 135), and Papinakhti, lord of Abydos, towards the end of the VIth (MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, p. 191, No. 531).

[4] An indication of this fact is furnished by the texts referring to the course of the dead sun in Hades (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45).

[5] Khîti I., prince of Siût, was taken when quite young and brought up with the "royal children" at the court of an Heracleopolitan Pharaoh of the Xth dynasty (MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1889, vol. ii. pp. 414, 415).

[6] Prince Zaûti of Qasr-es-Sayad had married a princess of the Papi family (VILLIERS-STUART, *Nile Gleanings*, pl. xxxviii.); so, too, had a prince of Girgeh (NESTOR L'HÔTE, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiii. p. 72).

[7] The history of the Gazelle nome furnishes us with a striking example of the rapid growth of a principality through the marriages of its rulers (MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 170, et seq.). I shall have occasion to tell it in detail in Chap. VI. of the present work.

generation had disappeared. Sometimes, however, it gained more than it lost in this matrimonial game, and extended its borders till they encroached on neighbouring nomes or else completely absorbed them. There were always in the course of each reign several great principalities formed, or in the process of formation, whose chiefs might be said to hold in their hands the destinies of the country. Pharaoh himself was obliged to treat them with deference, and he purchased their allegiance by renewed and ever-increasing concessions. Their ambition was never satisfied; when they were loaded with favours, and did not venture to ask for more for themselves, they impudently demanded them for such of their children as they thought were poorly provided for. Their eldest son "knew not the high favours which came from the king. Other princes were his privy counsellers, his chosen friends, or foremost among his friends!" he had no share in all this.[1] Pharaoh took good care not to reject a petition presented so humbly: he proceeded to lavish appointments, titles, and estates on the son in question; if necessity required it, he would even seek out a wife for him, who might give him, together with her hand, a property equal to that of his father. The majority of these great vassals secretly aspired to the crown: they frequently had reason to believe that they had some right to it, either through their mother or one of their ancestors. Had they combined against the reigning house, they could easily have gained the upper hand, but their mutual jealousies prevented this, and the overthrow of a dynasty to which they owed so much would, for the most part, have profited them but little: as soon as one of them revolted, the remainder took arms in Pharaoh's defence, led his armies and fought his battles.[2] If at times their ambition and greed harassed their suzerain, at least their power was at his service, and their self-interested allegiance was often the means of delaying the downfall of his house.

Two things were specially needful both for them and for Pharaoh in order to maintain or increase their authority—the protection of the gods, and a military organization which enabled them to mobilize the whole of their forces at the first signal. The celestial world was the faithful image of our own; it had its empires and its feudal organization, the arrangement of which corresponded to that of the terrestrial world.[3] The gods who inhabited it were dependent upon the gifts of mortals, and the resources of each

[1] *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan*, ll. 148–160. These are the identical words used by Khnûmhotpû, lord of the Gazelle nome, when trying to obtain an office or a grant of land on behalf of his son Nakhti. We learn from the context that Ûsirtasen II. at once granted his request.

[2] Tefabi, Prince of Siût, and his immediate successors, did so on behalf of the Pharaohs of the Xth Heracleopolitan dynasty, against the first Theban Pharaohs of the Antûf family (MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1889, vol. ii. pp. 415–419). On the other hand, it appears that the neighbouring family of Khnûmhotpû, in the nome of the Gazelle, took the part of the Thebans, and owned their subsequent greatness to them.

[3] Cf. p. 98 of the present work, for what has been said on the nature and origin of the feudal system of the Egyptian gods.

individual deity, and consequently his power, depended on the wealth and number of his worshippers; anything influencing one had an immediate effect on the other. The gods dispensed happiness, health, and vigour;[1] to those who made them large offerings and instituted pious foundations, they lent their own weapons, and inspired them with needful strength to overcome their enemies.[2] They even came down to assist in battle, and every great encounter of armies involved an invisible struggle among the immortals.[3] The gods of the side which was victorious shared with it in the triumph, and received a tithe of the spoil as the price of their help; the gods of the vanquished were so much the poorer, their priests and their statues were reduced to slavery, and the destruction of their people entailed their own downfall. It was, therefore, to the special interest of every one in Egypt, from the Pharaoh to the humblest of his vassals, to maintain the good will and power of the gods, so that their protection might be effectively ensured in the hour of danger. Pains were taken to embellish their temples with obelisks, colossi, altars, and bas-reliefs; new buildings were added to the old; the parts threatened with ruin were restored or entirely rebuilt; daily gifts were brought of every kind—animals which were sacrificed on the spot, bread, flowers, fruit, drinks, as well as perfumes, stuffs, vases, jewels, bricks or bars of gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, which were all heaped up in the treasury within the recesses of the crypts.[4] If a dignitary of high rank wished to perpetuate the remembrance of his honours or his services, and at the same time to procure for his double the benefit of endless prayers and sacrifices, he placed "by special permission"[5] a statue of himself on a votive stele in the part of the temple reserved for this purpose,—in a courtyard, chamber, encircling passage, as at Karnak,[6] or on the staircase of Osiris as in that leading up to the terrace in the

[1] I may here remind my readers of the numberless bas-reliefs and stelæ on which the king is represented as making an offering to a god, who replies in some such formula as the following: "I give thee health and strength;" or, "I give thee joy and life for millions of years."

[2] See, for instance, at Medinet-Habû, Amon and other gods handing to Ramses III. the great curved sword, the "khopshû" (DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. i. pls. vii., xi., xii., xiii., xvi., xvii.).

[3] In the "Poem of Pentaûîrît," Amon comes from Hermonthis in the Thebaid to Qodshû in the heart of Syria, in order to help Ramses II. in battle, and rescue him from the peril into which he had been plunged by the desertion of his supporters (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Le Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. v. pp. 158, 159).

[4] See the "Poem of Pentaûîrît" (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. v. p. 157 et seq.) for the grounds on which Ramses II. bases his imperative appeal to Amon for help: "Have I not made thee numerous offerings? I have filled thy temple with my prisoners. I have built thee an everlasting temple, and have not spared my wealth in endowing it for thee; I lay the whole world under contribution in order to stock thy domain. . . . I have built thee whole pylons in stone, and have myself reared the flagstaffs which adorn them; I have brought thee obelisks from Elephantinê."

[5] The majority of the votive statues were lodged in a temple "by special favour of a king"—EM HOSÎTÛ NTI KHÎR SÛTON—as a recompense for services rendered (MARIETTE, *Catalogue des principaux monuments du Musée de Boulaq*, 1864, p. 65; and *Karnak*, text, p. 42, et seq.). Some only of the stelæ bear an inscription to the above effect (MARIETTE, *Catalogue des principaux monuments*, 1864, p. 65); no authorization from the king was required for the consecration of a stele in a temple.

[6] It was in the encircling passage of the limestone temple built by the kings of the XIIth

sanctuary of Abydos;[1] he then sealed a formal agreement with the priests, by which the latter engaged to perform a service in his name, in front of this commemorative monument, a stated number of times in the year, on the days fixed by universal observance or by local custom.[2] For this purpose he assigned to them annuities in kind, charges on his patrimonial estates, or in some cases, if he were a great lord, on the revenues of his fief,[3]—such as a fixed quantity of loaves and drinks for each of the celebrants, a fourth part of the sacrificial victim, a garment, frequently also lands with their cattle, serfs, existing buildings, farming implements and produce, along with the conditions of service with which the lands were burdened. These gifts to the god—"nutir hotpûû"—were, it appears, effected by agreements analogous to those dealing with property in mortmain in modern Egypt; in each nome they constituted, in addition to the original temporalities of the temple, a considerable domain, constantly enlarged by fresh endowments. The gods had no daughters for whom to provide, nor sons among whom to divide their inheritance; all that fell to them remained theirs for ever, and in the contracts were inserted imprecations threatening with terrible ills, in this world and the next, those who should abstract the smallest portion from them.[4] Such menaces did not always prevent the king or the lords from laying hands on the temple revenues: had this not been the case, Egypt would soon have become a sacerdotal country from one end to the other. Even when reduced by periodic usurpations, the domain of the gods formed, at all periods, about one-third of the whole country.[5]

Its administration was not vested in a single body of Priests, representing

dynasty, and now completely destroyed, that all the Karnak votive statues were discovered (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, text, p. 42, et seq.). Some of them still rest on the stone ledge on which they were placed by the priests of the god at the moment of consecration.

[1] The majority of the stelæ collected in the temple of Osiris at Abydos were supposed to have come from "the staircase of the great god." In reference to this staircase, the tomb of Osiris to which it led, and the fruitless efforts made by Mariette to discover it, see MASPERO'S remarks in the *Revue Critique*, 1881, vol. i. p. 83, and *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 128, 129. See p. 508 of this vol.

[2] The great Siût inscription, translated by MASPERO (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 53–75) and by ERMAN (*Zehn Verträge aus dem mittleren Reich*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 159–184), has preserved for us in its entirety one of these contracts between a prince and the priest of Ûapûaîtû.

[3] This is proved by the passages in the Siût inscription (ll. 24, 28, 41, 43, 53), in which Hâpizaûfi draws a distinction between the revenues which he assigns to the priests "on the house of his father," *i.e.* on his patrimonial estates, and those revenues which he grants "on the house of the prince" or on his princely fief.

[4] The foundation stele of the temple at Deîr-el-Medineh is half filled with imprecations of this kind (S. BIRCH, *Sur une Stèle Hiératique*, in CHABAS' *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 2nd series, pp. 324–343, and *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl. xxix.). We possess two fragments of similar inscriptions belonging to the time of the Ancient Empire, but in such a mutilated state as to defy translation (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 318; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. i.).

[5] The tradition handed down by Diodorus (i. § 21) tells us that the goddess Isis assigned a third of the country to the priests; the whole of Egypt is said to have been divided into three equal parts, the first of which belonged to the priests, the second to the kings, and the third to the warrior class (*ib.*, § 73). When we read, in the great Harris Papyrus, the list of the property possessed by the temple of the Theban Amon alone, all over Egypt, under Ramses III., we can readily believe that the tradition of the Greek epoch in no way exaggerated matters.

the whole of Egypt and recruited or ruled everywhere in the same fashion. There were as many bodies of priests as there were temples, and every temple preserved its independent constitution with which the clergy of the neighbouring temples had nothing to do: the only master they acknowledged was the lord of the territory on which the temple was built, either Pharaoh or one of his nobles. The tradition which made Pharaoh the head of the different worships in Egypt prevailed everywhere, but Pharaoh soared too far above this world to confine himself to the functions of any one particular order of priests:[1] he officiated before all the gods without being specially the minister of any, and only exerted his supremacy in order to make appointments to important sacerdotal posts in his domain.[2] He reserved the high priesthood of the Memphite Phtah and that of Râ of Heliopolis either for the princes of his own family or more often for his most faithful servants;[3] they were the docile instruments of his will, through whom he exerted the influence of the gods, and disposed of their property without having the trouble of administrating it. The feudal lords, less removed from mortal affairs than the Pharaoh, did not disdain to combine the priesthood of the temples dependent on them with the general supervision of the different worships practised on their lands. The princes of the Gazelle nome, for instance, bore the title of "Directors of the Prophets of all the Gods," but were, correctly speaking, prophets of Horus, of Khnûmû master of Haoîrît, and of Pakhît mistress of the Speos-Artemidos.[4] The religious suzerainty of such princes was the complement of their civil and military power, and their ordinary income was augmented by some portion at least of the revenues which the lands in mortmain furnished annually. The subordinate sacerdotal functions were filled by professional priests whose status varied according to the gods they served and

[1] The only exception to this rule was in the case of the Theban kings of the XXIst dynasty, and even here the exception is more apparent than real. As a matter of fact, these kings, Hrihor and Pinozmû, began by being high priests of Amon before ascending the throne; they were pontiffs who became Pharaohs, not Pharaohs who created themselves pontiffs. Possibly we ought to place Smonkharî of the XIVth dynasty in the same category, if, as Brugsch assures us (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 181, et seq.; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 267), his name, Mîr-mâshâû, is identical with the title of the high priest of Osiris at Mendes, thus proving that he was pontiff of Osiris in that town before he became king.

[2] Among other instances, we have that of the king of the XXIst Tanite dynasty, who appointed Mankhopirrî, high priest of the Theban Amon (BRUGSCH, *Recueil de monuments*, vol. i. pl. xxii., the stele is now in the Louvre), and that of the last king of the same dynasty, Psûsennes II., who conferred the same office on prince Aûpûti, son of Sheshonqû (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deîr-el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 730, et seq.). The king's right of nomination harmonized very well with the hereditary transmission of the priestly office through members of the same family, as we shall have occasion to show later on.

[3] A list, as yet very incomplete, of the high priests of Phtah at Memphis, was drawn up by E. Schiaparelli in his Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum at Florence (pp. 201-203). One of them, Shopsisûphtah I., married the eldest daughter of Pharaoh Shopsiskaf of the IVth dynasty (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, pp. 67-71); Khamoîsît, one of the favourite sons of Ramses II., was also high priest of the Memphite Phtah during the greater part of his father's reign.

[4] See their titles collected in MASPERO'S *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan* (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 179, 180); the sacerdotal titles borne by the princes and princesses of Thebes under the XXth dynasty will be found in MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Deîr-el-Bahari*.

the provinces in which they were located.[1] Although between the mere priest and the chief prophet there were a number of grades to which the majority never attained, still the temples attracted many people from divers sources, who, once established in this calling of life, not only never left it, but never rested until they had introduced into it the members of their families. The offices they filled were not necessarily hereditary, but the children, born and bred in the shelter of the sanctuary, almost always succeeded to the positions of their fathers, and certain families thus continuing in the same occupation for generations, at last came to be established as a sort of sacerdotal nobility.[2] The sacrifices supplied them with daily meat and drink; the temple buildings provided them with their lodging, and its revenues furnished them with a salary proportionate to their position. They were exempted from the ordinary taxes, from military service, and from forced labour; it is not surprising, therefore, that those who were not actually members of the priestly families strove to have at least a share in their advantages. The servitors, the workmen and the *employés* who congregated about them and constituted the temple corporation,[3] the scribes attached to the administration of the domains, and to the receipt of offerings, shared *de facto* if not *de jure* in the immunity of the priesthood; as a body they formed a separate religious society, side by side, but distinct from, the civil population, and freed from most of the burdens which weighed so heavily on the latter.[4]

The soldiers were far from possessing the wealth and influence of the clergy. Military service in Egypt was not universally compulsory, but rather the profession and privilege of a special class of whose origin but little is known.[5] Perhaps originally it comprised only the descendants of the conquering race, but in historic times it was not exclusively confined to the latter, and recruits were

[1] The only hierarchy of which we have any knowledge is that of the Theban Amon, at Karnak, thanks to the inscription in which Bokûnikhonsû has told us of the advance in his career under Seti I. and Ramses I. from the rank of priest to that of "First Prophet," *i.e.* of High Priest of Amon (TH. DÉVÉRIA, *Le Monument biographique de Bakenkhonsou*, pp. 12-14; cf. A. BAILLET, *De l'Élection du Grand Prêtre d'Ammon*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, 1862, vol. iii.).

[2] We possess the coffins of the priests of the Theban Montû for nearly thirty generations, viz. from the XXVth dynasty to the time of the Ptolemies. The inscriptions give us their genealogies, as well as their intermarriages, and show us that they belonged almost exclusively to two or three important families who intermarried with one another or took their wives from the families of the priests of Amon.

[3] These were the *Qonbâtiû*, who are so frequently mentioned in the great inscription of Siût (MASPERO, *Egyptian Documents*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vii. p. 14); we have already seen *Qonbâtiû* as forming part of the *entourage* of kings (see p. 277, note 3).

[4] We know what the organization of the temples during the Ptolemaic epoch was, and its main features are set forth summarily in LUMBROSO'S *Économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, pp. 270-274. A study of the information which we glean here and there from the monuments of a previous epoch, shows us that it was very nearly identical with the organization of the Pharaonic temples; the only difference being that there was more regularity and precision in the distribution of the priests into classes.

[5] This class was called *Monfitû* in Ancient Egypt (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36; cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 232, 233). The Greek historians, from the time of Herodotus onwards, generally designated them by the term μάχιμοι (HERODOTUS, ii. 164, 168; DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 28, 73, 74; cf. *Papyrus No. LXIII. du Louvre*, in LETRONNE, *Les Papyrus Grecs du Louvre*, p. 360, et seq.).

raised everywhere among the fellahs,[1] the Bedouin of the neighbourhood, the negroes,[2] the Nubians,[3] and even from among the prisoners of war, or adventurers from beyond the sea.[4] This motley collection of foreign mercenaries composed ordinarily the body-guard of the king or of his barons, the permanent nucleus round which in times of war the levies of native recruits were rallied. Every Egyptian soldier received from the chief to whom he was attached, a holding of land for the maintenance of himself and his family. In the fifth century B.C. twelve *aruræ* of arable land was estimated as ample pay for each man,[5] and tradition attributes to the fabulous Sesostris[6] the law which fixed the pay at this rate. The soldiers were not taxed, and were exempt from forced labour during the time that they were away from home on active service; with this exception they were liable to the same charges as the rest of the population. Many among them possessed no other income, and lived the precarious life of the fellah,—tilling, reaping, drawing water, and pasturing their cattle,—in the interval between two musters.[7] Others possessed of private fortunes let their holdings out at a moderate rental, which formed an addition to their patrimonial income.[8] Lest they should forget the conditions upon which they possessed this

[1] This is shown, *inter alia*, by the real or suppositious letters in which the master-scribe endeavours to deter his pupil from adopting a military career (MASPERO, *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 40-44; cf. ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 721, 722), recommending that of a scribe in preference.

[2] Ûni, under Papi I., recruited his army from among the inhabitants of the whole of Egypt, from Elephantinê to Letopolis at the mouth of the Delta, and as far as the Mediterranean, from among the Bedouin of Libya and of the Isthmus, and even from the six negro races of Nubia (*Inscription d'Ouni*, ll. 14-19).

[3] The Nubian tribe of the Mâzaiû, afterwards known as the Libyan tribe of the Mâshaûasha, furnished troops to the Egyptian kings and princes for centuries; indeed, the Mâzaiû formed such an integral part of the Egyptian armies that their name came to be used in Coptic as a synonym for soldier, under the form "matoï."

[4] Later on we shall come across the Shardana of the Royal Guard under Ramses II. (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Extrait d'un mémoire sur les attaques*, p. 5); later still, the Ionians, Carians, and Greek mercenaries will be found to play a decisive part in the history of the Saïte dynasties.

[5] HERODOTUS, ii. 168. The arura being equal to 27·82 ares [an are = 100 square metres], the military fief contained 27·82 × 12 = 333·84 ares. [The "arura," according to F. L. GRIFFITH, was a square of 100 Egyptian cubits, making about ⅔ of an acre, or 2600 square metres (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vols. xiv., xv.).—TRS.] The *chifliks* created by Mohammed-Ali, with a view to bringing the abandoned districts into cultivation, allotted to each labourer who offered to reclaim it, a plot of land varying from one to three feddans, *i.e.* from 4200·83 square metres to 12602·49 square metres, according to the nature of the soil and the necessities of each family (CHÉLU, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, p. 210). The military fiefs of ancient Egypt were, therefore, nearly three times as great in extent as these *abadiyehs*, which were considered, in modern Egypt, sufficient to supply the wants of a whole family of peasants; they must, therefore, have secured not merely a bare subsistence, but ample provision for their proprietors.

[6] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 54, 73, 93; cf. ARISTOTLE, *Polit.*, vii. 9. No Egyptian monument contains any reference to the passing of such a law. The passage in the "Poem of Pentaûrît," which has been quoted in this connection (REVILLOUT, *La Caste Militaire organisée par Ramsès II. d'après Diodore de Sicile et le Poème de Pentaour*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. iii. pp. 101-104), does not contain any statement to this effect. It merely makes a general allusion to the favours with which the king loaded his generals and soldiers.

[7] This follows from the expressions used in *Papyrus No. LXIII. du Louvre*, and from the recommendations addressed by the ministers of the Ptolemies to the royal administrators in regard to soldiers who had sunk into pauperism.

[8] Diodorus Siculus says in so many words (i. 74) that "the farmers spent their life in cultivating lands which had been let to them at a moderate rent by the king, by the priests, and *by the warriors*."

military holding, and should regard themselves as absolute masters of it, they were seldom left long in possession of the same place: Herodotus asserts that their allotments were taken away yearly and replaced by others of equal extent.[1] It is difficult to say if this law of perpetual change was always in force; at any rate, it did not prevent the soldiers from forming themselves in time into a kind of aristocracy, which even kings and barons of highest rank could not ignore. They were enrolled in special registers, with the indication of the holding which

SOME OF THE MILITARY ATHLETIC EXERCISES.[2]

was temporarily assigned to them. A military scribe kept this register in every royal nome or principality. He superintended the redistribution of the lands, the registration of privileges, and in addition to his administrative functions, he had in time of war the command of the troops furnished by his own district; in which case he was assisted by a "lieutenant," who as opportunity offered acted as his substitute in the office or on the battle-field.[3] Military service was not hereditary, but its advantages, however trifling they may appear to us, seemed in the eyes of the fellahs so great, that for the most part those who were engaged in it had their children also enrolled. While still young the latter were taken to the barracks, where they were taught not only the use of the bow, the battle-axe, the mace, the lance, and the shield, but were all instructed in such exercises as rendered the body supple, and prepared them for manœuvring, regimental marching, running, jumping, and wrestling either with closed or open hand.[4] They prepared themselves for battle by a regular war-dance, pirouetting, leaping, and brandishing their bows and quivers in the

[1] HERODOTUS, ii. 168; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 578–580.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a scene in the tomb of Amoni-Amenemhâît at Beni-Hasan (cf. GRIFFITH and NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pl. xvi.).

[3] This organization was first defined by G. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 34, et seq. While the name of the class liable to be called on for military service was *Monfitû*, later *aûû*, the soldiers collected into troops, the men on active service were called *mâshaû*, the "marchers" or "foot soldiers."

[4] See, on the subject of military education, the curious passages in the *Anastasi Papyrus III.* (pl. v. l. 5, pl. vi.), and *Anastasi IV.* (pl. ix. l. 4, et seq.), translated in MASPERO'S *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 40–44; cf. ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 721, 722. The exercises are represented on several tombs at Beni-Hasan (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccIxiv., and *Texte*, vol. ii. p. 348, et seq.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. cxi. et seq.).

air. Their training being finished, they were incorporated into local companies, and invested with their privileges. When they were required for service, part or the whole of the class was mustered; arms kept in the arsenal were distributed among them, and they were conveyed in boats to the scene of action. The Egyptians were not martial by temperament; they became soldiers rather from interest than inclination.[1]

The power of Pharaoh and his barons rested entirely upon these two classes, the priests and the soldiers; the remainder, the commonalty and the peasantry, were, in their hands, merely an inert mass, to be taxed and subjected to forced labour at will. The slaves were probably regarded as of little importance; the bulk of the people consisted of free families who were at liberty to dispose of themselves and their goods. Every fellah and townsman in the service of the king, or of one of his great nobles, could leave his work and his village when he pleased, could pass from the domain in which he was born into a different one, and could traverse the country from one end to the other, as the Egyptians of to-day still do.[2] His absence entailed neither loss of goods, nor persecution of the relatives he left behind, and he himself had punishment to fear only when he left the Nile Valley without permission, to reside for some time in a foreign land.[3] But although this independence and liberty were in accordance with the laws and customs of the land, yet they gave rise to inconveniences from which it was difficult to escape in practical life. Every Egyptian, the King excepted, was obliged, in order to get on in life, to depend on one more powerful than himself, whom he called his master. The feudal lord was proud

[1] With regard to the unwarlike character of the Egyptians, see what STRABO says, lib. xvii. § 53, p. 819. DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 73, expressly states that fiefs were given to the fighting-men "in order that the possession of this landed property might render them more zealous in risking their lives on behalf of their country."

[2] In the "Instructions of Khîti, son of Dûaûf, to his son Papi" (MASPERO, *Du Style épistolaire*, p. 48, et seq.; LAUTH, *Die altägyptische Hochschule zu Chennu*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Munich, 1872, i. p. 37, et seq.), the scribe shows us the working classes as being always on the move; first of all the boatman (§ vii.), then the husbandman (§ xii.), the armourer (§ xiv.), the courier (§ xv.). I may mention here those wandering priests of Isis or Osiris, who, in the second century of our era, hawked about their tabernacles and catch-penny oracles all over the provinces of the Roman Empire, and whose traces are found even so far afield as the remote parts of the Island of Britain.

[3] The treaty between Ramses and the Prince of Khîti contains a formal extradition clause in reference to Egyptians or Hittites, who had quitted their native country, of course without the permission of their sovereign (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Traité entre Ramsès II. et le prince de Khet*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 268, and in EGGER, *Études sur les traités publics*, pp. 243, 252; CHABAS, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 332, et seq.). The two contracting parties expressly stipulate that persons extradited on one side or the other shall not be punished for having emigrated, that their property is not to be confiscated, nor are their families to be held responsible for their flight (ll. 22–36, in the edition of BOURIANT's *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 156–158, and vol. xiv. pp. 68, 69). From this clause it follows that in ordinary times unauthorized emigration brought upon the culprit corporal punishment and the confiscation of his goods, as well as various penalties on his family. The way in which Sinûhît makes excuses for his flight, the fact of his asking pardon before returning to Egypt (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 109, et seq.), the very terms of the letter in which the king recalls him and assures him of impunity, show us that the laws against emigration were in full force under the XIIth dynasty.

to recognize Pharaoh as his master, and he himself was master of the soldiers and priests in his own petty state.[1] From the top to the bottom of the social scale every free man acknowledged a master, who secured to him justice and protection in exchange for his obedience and fealty. The moment an Egyptian tried to withdraw himself from this subjection, the peace of his life was at an end; he became a man without a master, and therefore without a recognized protector.[2] Any one might stop him on the way, steal his cattle, merchandise, or property on the most trivial pretext, and if he attempted to protest, might

WAR-DANCE PERFORMED BY EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS BEFORE A BATTLE.[3]

beat him with almost certain impunity. The only resource of the victim was to sit at the gate of the palace, waiting to appeal for justice till the lord or the king should appear. If by chance, after many rebuffs, his humble petition were granted, it was only the beginning of fresh troubles. Even if the justice of the cause were indisputable, the fact that he was a man without home or master inspired his judges with an obstinate mistrust, and delayed the satisfaction of his claims. In vain he followed his judges with his complaints and flatteries, chanting their virtues in every key: "Thou art the father of the unfortunate, the husband of the widow, the brother of the orphan, the clothing of the motherless: enable me to proclaim thy name as a law throughout the land. Good lord, guide without caprice, great without littleness, thou who destroyest falsehood and causest truth to be, come at the words of my mouth; I speak, listen and do justice. O generous one, generous of the generous, destroy the cause of my trouble; here I am, uplift me; judge

[1] The expressions which bear witness to this fact are very numerous: MIRI NÎBÛF = "He who loves his master;" AQÛ HÂÎTI NI NÎBÛF = "He who enters into the heart of his master," etc. They recur so frequently in the texts in the case of persons of all ranks, that it was thought no importance ought to be attached to them. But the constant repetition of the word NIB, "master," shows that we must alter this view, and give these phrases their full meaning.

[2] The expression, "a man without a master," occurs several times in the *Berlin Papyrus*, No. ii. For instance, the peasant who is the hero of the story, says of the lord Mirûitensi, that he is "the rudder of heaven, the guide of the earth, the balance which carries the offerings, the buttress of tottering walls, the support of that which falls, *the great master who takes whoever is without a master* to lavish on him the goods of his house, a jug of beer and three loaves" each day (ll. 90–95).

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the tomb of Khîti at Beni-Hasan (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, cccIxiv. 2; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. cxvii. 2). These are soldiers of the nome of the Gazelle.

me, for behold me a suppliant before thee."[1] If he were an eloquent speaker and the judge were inclined to listen, he was willingly heard, but his cause made no progress, and delays, counted on by his adversary, effected his ruin. The religious law, no doubt, prescribed equitable treatment for all devotees of Osiris, and condemned the slightest departure from justice as one of the gravest sins, even in the case of a great noble, or in that of the king himself;[2] but how could impartiality be shown when the one was the recognized protector, the "master" of the culprit, while the plaintiff was a vagabond, attached to no one, "a man without a master"![3]

The population of the towns included many privileged persons other than the soldiers, priests, or those engaged in the service of the temples. Those employed in royal or feudal administration, from the "superintendent of the storehouse" to the humblest scribe, though perhaps not entirely exempt from forced labour, had but a small part of it to bear.[4] These *employés* constituted a middle class of several grades, and enjoyed a fixed income and regular employment: they were fairly well educated, very self-satisfied, and always ready to declare loudly their superiority over any who were obliged to gain their living by manual labour. Each class of workmen recognized one or more chiefs,—the shoemakers, their master-shoemakers, the masons, their master-masons, the blacksmiths, their master-blacksmiths,—who looked after their interests and represented them before the local authorities.[5] It was said among the Greeks, that even robbers were united in a corporation like the others, and maintained an accredited superior as their representative with the police, to discuss the somewhat delicate questions which the practice of their trade gave occasion to. When the members of the association

[1] MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. 46.

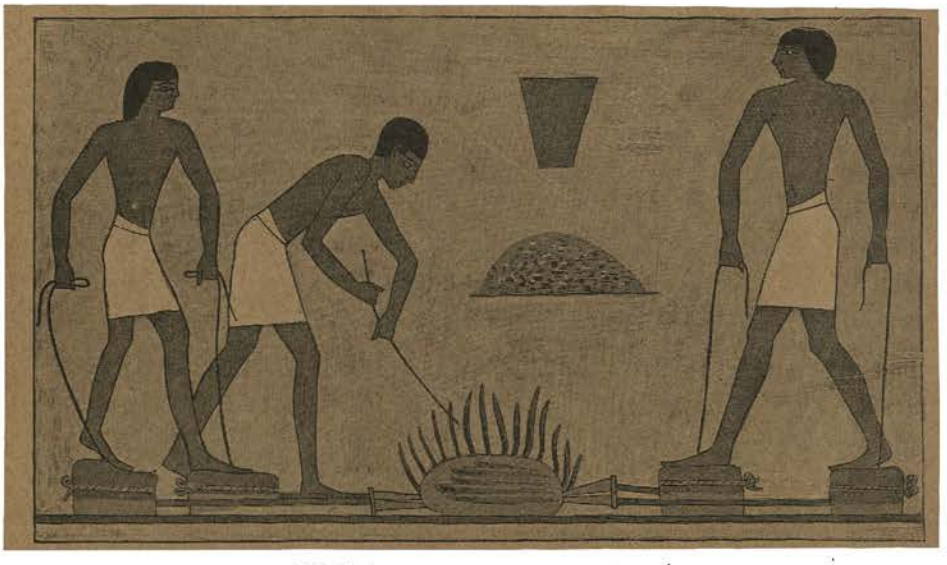
[2] See, on this point, the "Negative Confession" in chap. CXXV. of the *Book of the Dead*, a complete translation of which has been given on pp. 188–191 of the present work.

[3] The whole of this picture is taken from the "History of the Peasant," which has been preserved to us in the *Berlin Papyrus*, No. ii. (CHABAS, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin*, p. 5, et seq.; GOODWIN in CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 2nd series, p. 249, et seq.; MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 33, et seq.). The Egyptian writer has placed the time of his story under a king of the Heracleopolitan dynasties, the IXth and the Xth; but what is true of that epoch is equally true of the Ancient Empire, as may be proved by comparing what he says with the data which can be gleaned from an examination of the paintings on the Memphite tombs.

[4] This is a fair inference from the indirect testimony of the Letters: the writer, in enumerating the liabilities of the various professions, implies by contrast that the scribe (*i.e.* the *employé* in general) is not subject to them, or is subject to a less onerous share of them than others. The beginning and end of the instructions of Khîti would in themselves be sufficient to show us the advantages which the middle classes under the XIIth dynasty believed they could derive from adopting the profession of scribe (MASPERO, *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 49, 50, 66, et seq.).

[5] The stelæ of Abydos are very useful to those who desire to study the populations of a small town. They give us the names of the head-men of trades of all kinds: the head-mason Didiû (MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, p. 129, Nos. 593 and 339, No. 947), the master-mason Aa (*id.*, p. 161, No. 640), the master-shoemaker Kahikhonti (BOURIANT, *Petits Monuments et petits Textes*, in the *Recueil*, vol. vii. p. 127, No. 19), the head-smiths Ûsirtasen-Ûati, Hotpû, Hotpûrekhsû (MARIETTE, *Catalogue général*, p. 287, No. 856), etc.

had stolen any object of value, it was to this superior that the person robbed resorted, in order to regain possession of it: it was he who fixed the amount required for its redemption, and returned it without fail, upon the payment of this sum.[1] Most of the workmen who formed a state corporation, lodged, or at least all of them had their stalls, in the same quarter or street, under the direction of their chief.[2] Besides the poll and the house tax,[3] they were subject



TWO BLACKSMITHS WORKING THE BELLOWS.[4]

to a special toll, a trade licence which they paid in products of their commerce or industry.[5] Their lot was a hard one, if we are to believe the description which ancient writers have handed down to us: "I have never seen a blacksmith on an embassy—nor a smelter sent on a mission—but what I have seen is the metal worker at his toil,—at the mouth of the furnace of his forge,—his fingers as rugged as the crocodile,—and stinking more than fish-spawn.—

[1] DIODORUS SICULUS, i 80; cf. AULUS GELLIUS, xi. cap. xviii. § 16, according to the testimony of the *jurisconsultus* Aristo, *haudquaquam indocti viri*. According to DE PAUW, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Égyptiens et sur les Chinois* (Berlin, 1734), vol. ii. pt. 4, p. 93, et seq., the regulations in regard to theft and thieves were merely a treaty concluded with the Bedouin, in order to obtain from them, on payment of a ransom, the restoration of objects which they had carried off in the course of their raids.

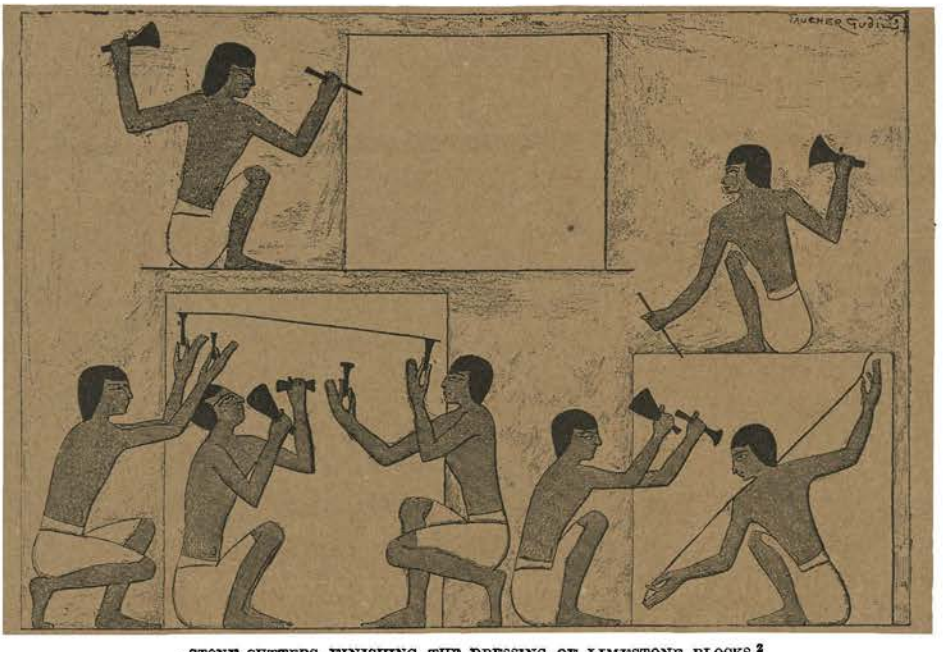
[2] A. BAILLET, *Divisions et Administration d'une Ville Égyptienne*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. pp. 34–36.

[3] These two taxes are expressly mentioned under Amenôthes III. (BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 297–299). Allusion is made to it in several inscriptions of the Middle Empire.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. 2 *a*; cf. VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française du Caire*, vol. v. pls. xiii., xiv.

[5] The registers (for the most part unpublished) which are contained in European museums show us that fishermen paid in fish, gardeners in flowers and vegetables, etc.; the taxes or tribute which they owed to their lords. For the Greek period, see what LUMBROSO says in his *Économie politique de l'Égypte*, p. 297, et seq. In the great inscription of Abydos (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pl. viii. l. 88) the weavers attached to the temple of Seti I. are stated to have paid their tribute in stuffs.

The artisan of any kind who handles the chisel,—does not employ so much movement as he who handles the hoe;[1]—but for him his fields are the timber, his business is the metal,—and at night when the other is free,—he, he works with his hands over and above what he has already done,—for at night, he works at home by the lamp.—The stone-cutter who seeks his living by working in all kinds of durable stone,—when at last he has earned something—and his two arms are worn out, he stops;—but if at sunrise he remain



STONE-CUTTERS FINISHING THE DRESSING OF LIMESTONE BLOCKS.[2]

sitting,—his legs are tied to his back.[3]—The barber who shaves until the evening,—when he falls to and eats, it is without sitting down[4]—while running from street to street to seek custom;—if he is constant [at work] his two arms fill his belly—as the bee eats in proportion to its toil.—Shall I tell thee of the mason—how he endures misery?—Exposed to all the winds—while he builds without any garment but a belt—and while the bunch of lotus-flowers [which

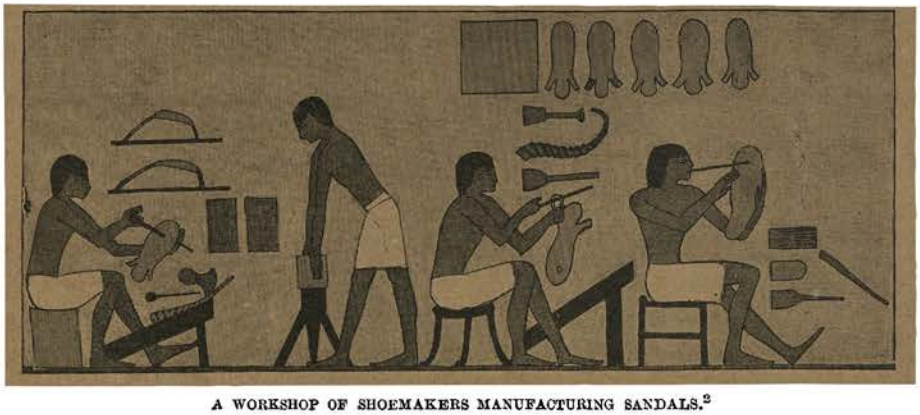
[1] The literal translation would be, "The artisan of all kinds who handles the chisel is more motionless than he who handles the hoe." Both here, and in several other passages of this little satiric poem, I have been obliged to paraphrase the text in order to render it intelligible to the modern reader.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Rosellini, *Monumenti civili*, pl. xlviii. 2.

[3] This is an allusion to the cruel manner in which the Egyptians were accustomed to bind their prisoners, as it were in a bundle, with the legs bent backward along the back and attached to the arms. The working-day commenced then, as now, at sunrise, and lasted till sunset, with a short interval of one or two hours at midday for the workmen's dinner and siesta.

[4] Literally, "He places himself on his elbow." The metaphor seems to me to be taken from the practice of the trade itself: the barber keeps his elbow raised when shaving and lowers it when he is eating.

is fixed] on the [completed] houses—is still far out of his reach,[1]—his two arms are worn out with work; his provisions are placed higgledy piggledy amongst his refuse,—he consumes himself, for he has no other bread than his fingers—and he becomes wearied all at once.—He is much and dreadfully exhausted—for there is [always] a block [to be dragged] in this or that building,—a block of ten cubits by six,—there is [always] a block [to be dragged] in this or that month [as far as the] scaffolding poles [to which is fixed] the bunch of lotus-flowers on the [completed] houses.—When the



A WORKSHOP OF SHOEMAKERS MANUFACTURING SANDALS.[2]

work is quite finished,—if he has bread, he returns home,—and his children have been beaten unmercifully [during his absence].[3]—The weaver within doors is worse off there than a woman;—squatting, his knees against his chest,—he does not breathe.—If during the day he slackens weaving,—he is bound fast as the lotuses of the lake;—and it is by giving bread to the doorkeeper, that the latter permits him to see the light.[4]—The dyer, his fingers reeking—and their smell is that of fish-spawn;—his two eyes are oppressed with fatigue,—his hand does not stop,—and, as he spends his time in cutting out rags—he has a hatred of garments.[5]—The shoemaker is very unfortunate;—he moans ceaselessly,—his health is the health of the spawning

[1] This passage is conjecturally translated. I suppose that the Egyptian masons had a custom analogous to that of our own, and attached a bunch of lotus to the highest part of a building they had just finished: nothing, however, has come to light to confirm this conjecture.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from CHAMPOLLION'S *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. clxvi. 3; cf. ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. lxiv. 1; VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, in the *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission du Caire*, vol. v. pls. xiii., xv. This picture belongs to the XVIIIth dynasty; but the sandals figured in it are, however, quite like those to be seen on more ancient monuments.

[3] *Sallier Papyrus n° II.*, pl. iv. l. 6, pl. v. l. 5; cf. MASPERO, *Du Genre Épistolaire chez les Anciens Égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*, pp. 50, 51; LAUTH, *Die Altägyptische Hochschule zu Chennu*, in the *Comptes Rendus* of the Academy of Sciences of Munich, 1872, vol. i. p. 37, et seq.

[4] *Sallier Papyrus n° II.*, pl. vi. ll. 1–5; cf. MASPERO, *Du Genre Épistolaire*, pp. 53, 55, and CHABAS, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIXe dynastie égyptienne*, pp. 144, 145.

[5] *Sallier Papyrus n° II.*, pl. vii. ll. 2, 3.

fish,—and he gnaws the leather.[1]—The baker makes dough,—subjects the loaves to the fire;—while his head is inside the oven,—his son holds him by the legs;—if he slips from the hands of his son,—he falls there into the flames."[2] These are the miseries inherent to the trades themselves: the levying of the tax added to the catalogue a long sequel of vexations and annoyances, which were renewed several times in the year at regular intervals. Even at the present day, the fellah does not pay his contributions except under protest and by compulsion, but the determination not to meet obligations except beneath the stick, was proverbial from ancient times: whoever paid his dues before he had received a merciless beating would be overwhelmed with reproaches by his family, and jeered at without pity by his neighbours.[4] The time when the tax fell due, came upon the nomes as a terrible crisis which affected the whole population. For several days there was nothing to be heard but protestations, threats, beating, cries of pain from the tax-payers, and piercing lamentations from women and children. The performance over, calm was re-established, and the good people, binding up their wounds, resumed their round of daily life until the next tax-gathering.

THE BAKER MAKING HIS BREAD AND PLACING IT IN THE OVEN.[3]

The towns of this period presented nearly the same confined and mysterious appearance as those of the present day.[5] They were grouped around one or more temples, each of which was surrounded by its own brick enclosing wall, with its enormous gateways: the gods dwelt there in real castles, or, if

[1] *Sallier Papyrus n° II.*, pl. vii. l. 9, pl. viii. l. 2.

[2] *Anastasi Papyrus n° II.*, pl. vii. ll. 3–5, with a duplicate of the same passage in the *Sallier Papyrus n° I.*, pl. vii. ll. 7–9; cf. MASPERO, *du Genre Épistolaire chez les Anciens Égyptiens*, p. 35.

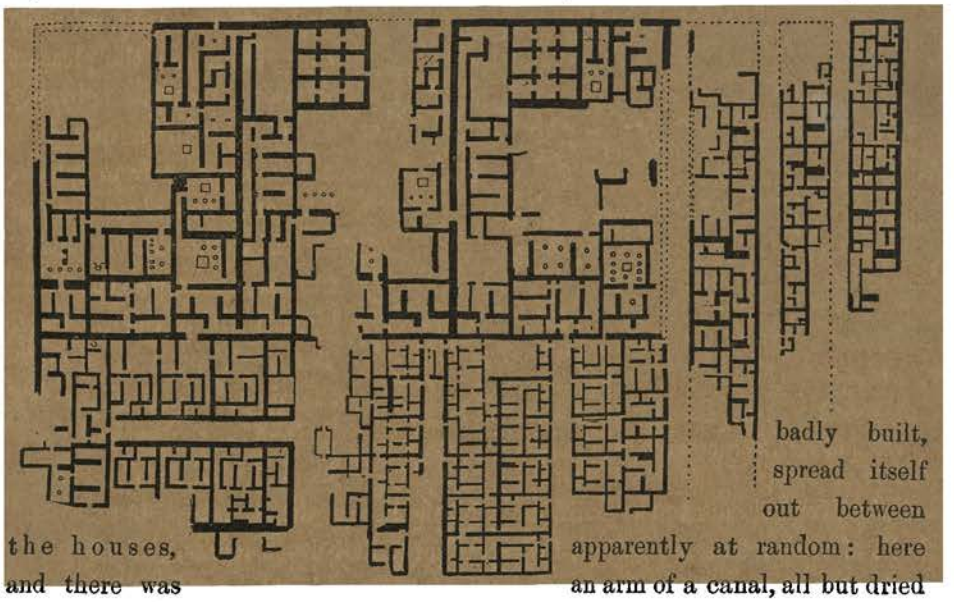
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the painted picture in one of the small antechambers of the tomb of Ramses III., at Bab-el-Molûk (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. lxxxvi. 8).

[4] AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, bk. xxii. chap. 16, § 23: "Erubescit apud eos, si quis non infitiando tributa, plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat;" cf. ÆLIAN, *Var. Hist.*, vii. 18. For modern times, read the curious account given by WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 306, 307.

[5] I have had occasion to make "soundings" or excavations at various points in very ancient towns and villages, at Thebes, Abydos and Mataniyeh, and I give here a *résumé* of my observations. Professor Petrie has brought to light and regularly explored several cities of the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties, situated at the entrance to the Fayûm. I have borrowed many points in my description from the various works which he has published on the subject, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 1890; and *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, 1891.

this word appears too ambitious, redouts, in which the population could take refuge in cases of sudden attack, and where they could be in safety.[1] The towns, which had all been built at one period by some king or prince, were on a tolerably regular ground plan; the streets were paved and fairly wide; they crossed each other at right angles, and were bordered with buildings on the same line of frontage. The cities of ancient origin, which had increased with the chance growth of centuries, presented a totally different aspect. A network of lanes and blind alleys, narrow, dark, damp, and badly built, spread itself out between the houses, and there was apparently at random: here up, or a muddy an arm of a canal, all but dried drink, and from pool where the cattle came to which the women fetched the water for their households; then followed an open space of irregular shape, shaded

THE HOUSE OF A GREAT EGYPTIAN LORD.[2]



PLAN OF A PART OF THE ANCIENT TOWN OF KAHUN.[3]

[1] For the description of the castles of princes and governors of nomes, see MASPERO, *Sur le sens des mots Nouît et Hâît*, p. 13, et seq. (extracted from the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, 1889–90); for that of the houses, see *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 13, 14.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a water-colour by BOUSSAC, *Le Tombeau d'Anna*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*. The house was situated at Thebes, and belonged to the XVIIIth dynasty. The remains of the houses brought to light by Mariette at Abydos belong to the same type, and date back to the XIIth dynasty. By means of these, Mariette was enabled to reconstruct an ancient Egyptian house at the Paris Exhibition of 1877. The picture of the tomb of Anna reproduces in most respects, we may therefore assume, the appearance of a nobleman's dwelling at all periods. At the side of the main building we see two corn granaries with conical roofs, and a great storehouse for provisions.

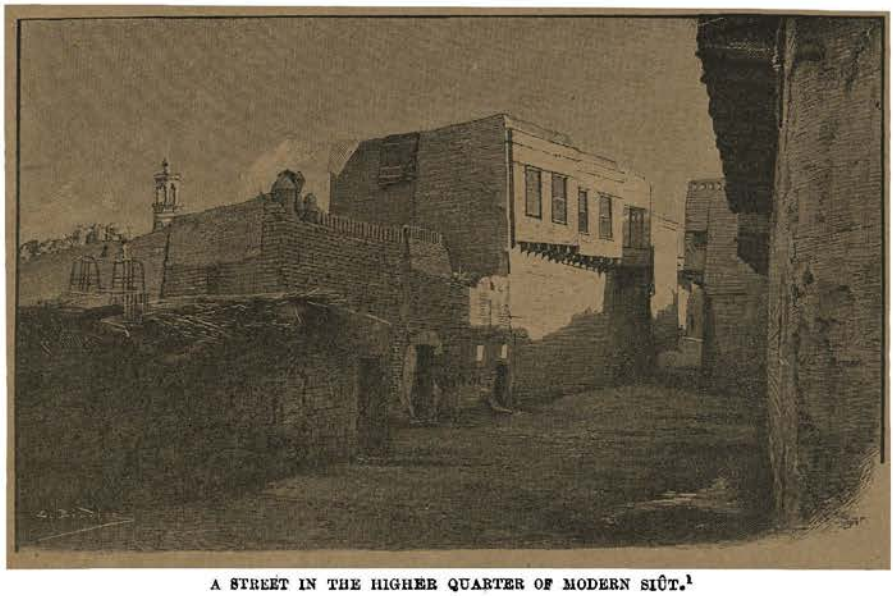
[3] From a plan made and published by Professor FLINDERS PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. xiv.

by acacias or sycamores, where the country-folk of the suburbs held their market on certain days, twice or thrice a month; then came waste ground covered with filth and refuse, over which the dogs of the neighbourhood fought with hawks and vultures. The residence of the prince or royal governor, and the houses of rich private persons, covered a considerable area, and generally presented to the street a long extent of bare walls, crenellated like those of a fortress: the only ornament admitted on them, consisted of angular grooves, each surmounted by two open lotus flowers having their stems intertwined. Within these walls domestic life was entirely secluded, and as it were confined to its own resources; the pleasure of watching passers-by was sacrificed to the advantage of not being seen from outside. The entrance alone denoted at times the importance of the great man who concealed himself within the enclosure. Two or three steps led up to the door, which sometimes had a columned portico, ornamented with statues, lending an air of importance to the building. The houses of the citizens were small, and built of brick; they contained, however, some half-dozen rooms, either vaulted, or having flat roofs, and communicating with each other usually by arched doorways. A few houses boasted of two or three stories; all possessed a terrace, on which the Egyptians of old, like those of to-day, passed most of their time, attending to household cares or gossiping with their neighbours over the party wall or across the street. The hearth was hollowed out in the ground, usually against a wall, and the smoke escaped through a hole in the ceiling: they made their fires of sticks, wood charcoal, and the dung of oxen and asses. In the houses of the rich we meet with state apartments, lighted in the centre by a square opening, and supported by rows of wooden columns;

STELE OF SÎTÛ, REPRESENTING THE FRONT OF A HOUSE.[1]

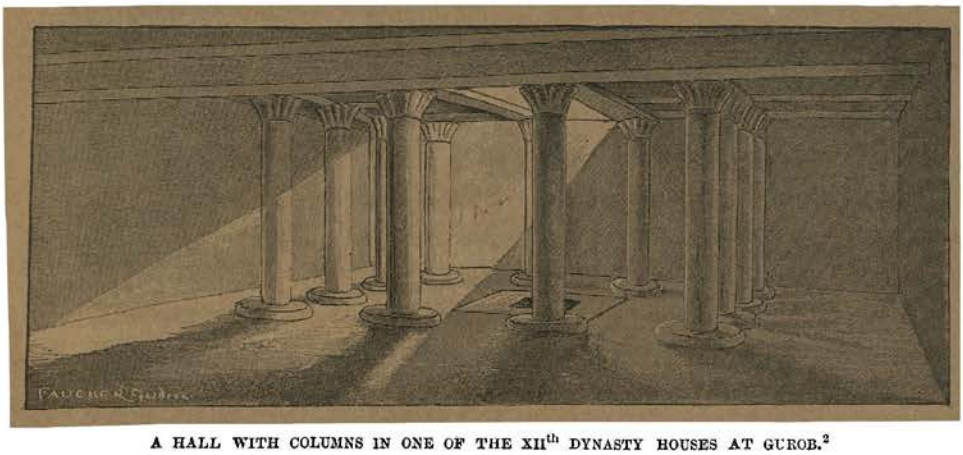
[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. The monument is the stele of Sîtû (IVth dynasty), in the Gîzeh Museum (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 33, 208, 114, No. 1043).

the shafts, which were octagonal, measured ten inches in diameter, and were fixed into flat circular stone bases.



A STREET IN THE HIGHER QUARTER OF MODERN SIÛT.[1]

The family crowded themselves together into two or three rooms in winter, and slept on the roof in the open air in summer, in spite of risk from



A HALL WITH COLUMNS IN ONE OF THE XIIth DYNASTY HOUSES AT GUROB.[2]

affections of the stomach and eyes; the remainder of the dwelling was used for stables or warehouses. The store-chambers were often built in pairs;

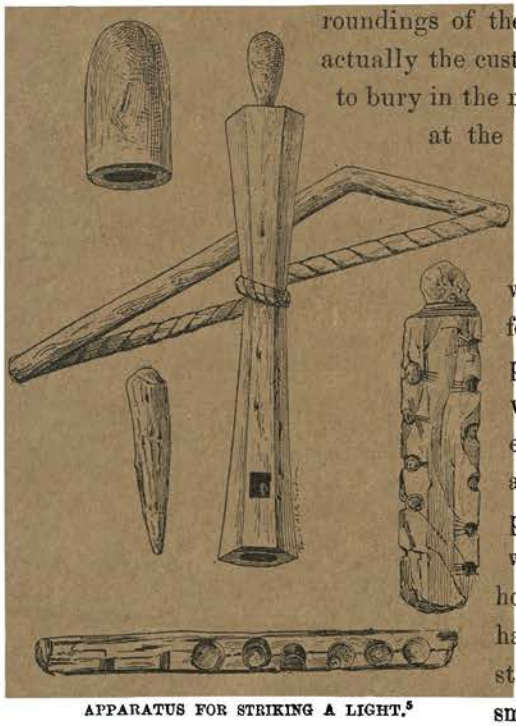
[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph, taken in 1884, by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by Professor PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. xvi. 3.

they were of brick, carefully limewashed internally, and usually assumed the form of an elongated cone, in imitation of the Government storehouses.[1] For the valuables which constituted the wealth of each household—wedges of gold or silver, precious stones, ornaments for men or women—there were places of concealment, in which the possessors attempted to hide them from robbers or from the tax-collectors. But the latter, accustomed to the craft of the citizens, evinced a peculiar aptitude for ferreting out the hoard: they tapped the walls, lifted and pierced the roofs, dug down into the soil below the foundations, and often brought to light, not only the treasure of the owner, but all the surroundings of the grave and human corruption. It was actually the custom, among the lower and middle classes, to bury in the middle of the house children who had died at the breast. The little body was placed in an old tool or linen box, without any attempt at embalming, and its favourite playthings and amulets were buried with it: two or three infants are often found occupying the same coffin.[4] The playthings were of an artless but very varied character; dolls of limestone, enamelled pottery or wood, with movable arms and wigs of artificial hair; pigs, crocodiles, ducks, and pigeons on wheels, pottery boats, miniature sets of household furniture, skin balls filled with hay, marbles, and stone bowls. However strange it may appear, we have to fancy the small boys of ancient Egypt as playing at

WOODEN HEAD-REST.[2]

PIGEON ON WHEELS.[3]



APPARATUS FOR STRIKING A LIGHT.[5]

[1] Fl. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pp. 23, 24; and *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 6–8. An instance of twin storehouses may be seen to the right of the house of Anna on p. 315 of this History.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a head-rest in my possession obtained at Gebelên (XIth dynasty): the foot of the head-rest is usually solid, and cut out of a single piece of wood.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pl. xiii. 21. The original, of rough wood, is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[4] Fl. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Illahun*, p. 24.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch published in Fl. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. vii. The bow is represented in the centre; on the left, at the top, is the nut; below it the

bowls like ours, or impudently whipping their tops along the streets without respect for the legs of the passers-by.[1]

Some care was employed upon the decoration of the chambers. The rough-casting of mud often preserves its original grey colour; sometimes, however, it was limewashed, and coloured red or yellow, or decorated with pictures of jars, provisions, and the interiors as well as the exteriors of houses.[2] The bed was not on legs, but consisted of a low framework, like

MURAL PAINTINGS IN THE RUINS OF AN ANCIENT HOUSE AT KAHUN.[3]

the "angarebs" of the modern Nubians, or of mats which were folded up in the daytime, but upon which they lay in their clothes during the night, the head being supported by a head-rest of pottery, limestone, or wood: the remaining articles of furniture consisted of one or two roughly hewn seats of stone, a few lion-legged chairs or stools, boxes and trunks of varying sizes for linen and implements,[4] kohl, or perfume, pots of alabaster or porcelain,[5] and lastly, the fire-stick with the bow by which it was set in motion,[6] and some roughly

fire-stick, which was attached to the end of the stock: at the bottom and right, two pieces of wood with round carbonized holes, which took fire from the friction of the rapidly rotating stick.

[1] Fl. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Illahun*, pp. 24, 30, and 31; *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pp. 11, 12.

[2] Fl. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Illahun*, p. 24; and *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 7, and pl. xvi. 4, 5, 6. The front of the house is represented on the lower part, the interior on the upper part of the picture.

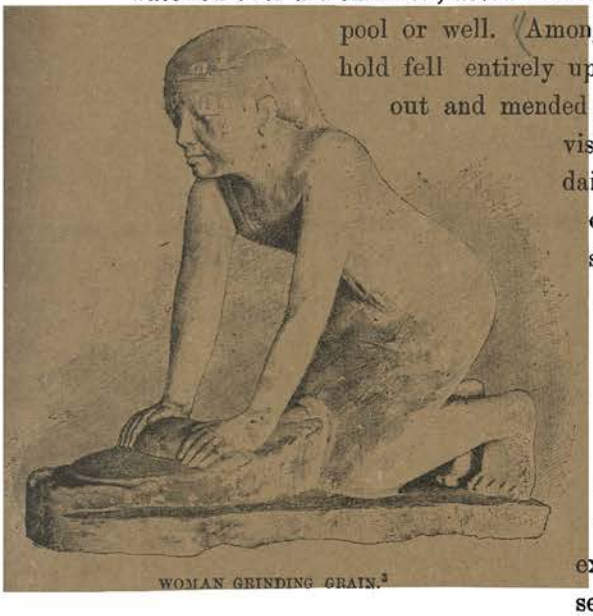
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the facsimile in Petrie's *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. xvi. 6.

[4] Fl. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 24; and *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 8–11, 12, 13.

[5] Fl. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pp. 29, 30.

[6] Fl. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 29, pl. ix. *b*; and *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 12, pl. vii. 24, 25, 26. I found several of these fire-sticks at Thebes, in the ruins of the ancient city.

made pots and pans of clay or bronze.[1] Men rarely entered their houses except to eat and sleep; their employments or handicrafts were such as to require them for the most part to work out-of-doors. The middle-class families owned, almost always, one or two slaves—either purchased or born in the house—who did all the hard work: they looked after the cattle, watched over the children, acted as cooks, and fetched water from the nearest pool or well. Among the poor the drudgery of the household fell entirely upon the woman. She spun, wove, cut out and mended garments, fetched fresh water and provisions, cooked the dinner, and made the daily bread. She spread some handfuls of grain upon an oblong slab of stone, slightly hollowed on its upper surface, and proceeded to crush them with a smaller stone like a painter's muller, which she moistened from time to time. For an hour and more she laboured with her arms, shoulders, loins, in fact, all her body; but an indifferent result followed from the great exertion. The flour, made to undergo several grindings in this rustic mortar, was coarse, uneven, mixed with bran, or whole grains, which had escaped the pestle, and contaminated with dust and abraded particles of the stone. She kneaded it with a little water, blended with it, as a sort of yeast, a piece of stale dough of the day before, and made from the mass round cakes, about half an inch thick and some four inches in diameter, which she placed upon a flat flint, covering them with hot ashes. The bread, imperfectly raised, often badly cooked, borrowed, from the organic fuel under which it was buried, a special odour, and a taste to which strangers did not readily accustom themselves. The impurities which it contained were sufficient in the long run to ruin the strongest teeth; eating it was an action of grinding rather than chewing, and old men were not unfrequently met with whose teeth had been gradually worn away to the level of the gums, like those of an aged ass or ox.[3]



WOMAN GRINDING GRAIN.[2]

[1] Fl. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pp. 24–26; and *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 8–11, 12, 13. Earthen pots are more common than those of bronze.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Béchard (cf. Mariette, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20; Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 220, Nos. 1012, 1013).

[3] The description of the woman grinding grain and kneading dough is founded on statues in the Gizeh Museum (Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments*, 1864, p. 202, Nos. 30–35, and *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20; Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 220, Nos. 1012, 1013).

Movement and animation were not lacking at certain hours of the day, particularly during the morning, in the markets and in the neighbourhood of the temples and government buildings: there was but little traffic anywhere else; the streets were silent, and the town dull and sleepy. It woke up completely only three or four times a year, at seasons of solemn assemblies "of heaven and earth:" the houses were then opened and their inhabitants

TWO WOMEN WEAVING LINEN AT A HORIZONTAL LOOM.[1]

streamed forth, the lively crowd thronging the squares and crossways. To begin with, there was New Year's Day, quickly followed by the Festival of the Dead, the "Ûagaît." On the night of the 17th of Thot, the priests kindled before the statues in the sanctuaries and sepulchral chapels, the fire for the use of the gods and doubles during the twelve ensuing months. Almost at the same moment the whole country was lit up from one end to

All the European museums possess numerous specimens of the bread in question (CHAMPOLLION, *Notice descriptive des monuments du Musée Égyptien*, 1827, p. 97), and the effect which it produces in the long run on the teeth of those who habitually used it as an article of diet, has been observed in mummies of the most important personages (MASPERO, *Les Momies royales de Déir el Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. i. p. 581).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a picture on the tomb of Khnûmhotpû at Beni-Hasan (cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccIxxxi. *bis*, 4; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. xli. 6; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 126). This is the loom which was reconstructed in 1889 for the Paris Exhibition, and which is now to be seen in the galleries of the Trocadero.

the other: there was scarcely a family, however poor, who did not place in front of their door a new lamp in which burned an oil saturated with salt, and who did not spend the whole night in feasting and gossiping.[1] The festivals of the living gods attracted considerable crowds, who came not only from the nearest nomes, but also from great distances in caravans and in boats laden with merchandise, for religious sentiment did not exclude commercial interests, and the pilgrimage ended in a fair. For several days the people occupied themselves solely in prayers, sacrifices, and processions, in which the faithful, clad in white, with palms in their hands, chanted hymns as they escorted the priests on their way. "The gods of heaven exclaim 'Ah! ah!' in satisfaction, the inhabitants of the earth are full of gladness, the Hâthors beat their tabors, the great ladies wave their mystic whips, all those who are gathered together in the town are drunk with wine and crowned with flowers; the tradespeople of the place walk joyously about, their heads scented with perfumed oils, all the children rejoice in honour of the goddess, from the rising to the setting of the sun."[2] The nights were as noisy as the days: for a few hours, they made up energetically for long months of torpor and monotonous existence. The god having re-entered the temple and the pilgrims taken their departure, the regular routine was resumed and dragged on its tedious course, interrupted only by the weekly market. At an early hour on that day, the peasant folk came in from the surrounding country in an interminable stream, and installed themselves in some open space, reserved from time immemorial for their use. The sheep, geese, goats, and large-horned cattle were grouped in the centre, awaiting purchasers. Market-gardeners, fishermen, fowlers and gazelle-hunters, potters, and small tradesmen, squatted on the roadsides or against the houses, and offered their wares for the inspection of their customers, heaped up in reed baskets, or piled on low round tables: vegetables and fruits, loaves or cakes baked during the night, meat either raw or cooked in various ways, stuffs, perfumes, ornaments,—all the necessities and luxuries of daily life. It was a good opportunity for the workpeople, as well as for the townsfolk, to lay in a store of provisions at a cheaper rate than from the ordinary shops; and they took advantage of it, each according to his means.

[1] The night of the 17th Thot—which, according to our computation, would be the night of the 16th to the 17th—was, as may be seen from the Great Inscription of Siût (l. 36, et seq.), appointed for the ceremony of "lighting the fire" before the statues of the dead and of the gods. As at the "Feast of Lamps" mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 62), the religious ceremony was accompanied by a general illumination which lasted all the night; the object of this, probably, was to facilitate the visit which the souls of the dead were supposed to pay at this time to the family residence.

[2] DÜMICHEN, *Dendera*, pl. xxxviii. ll. 15-19. The people of Dendera crudely enough called this the "Feast of Drunkenness." From what we know of the earlier epochs, we are justified in making this description a general one, and in applying it, as I have done here, to the festivals of other towns besides Dendera.

Business was mostly carried on by barter.[1] The purchasers brought with them some product of their toil—a new tool, a pair of shoes, a reed mat, pots of unguents or cordials; often, too, rows of cowries and a small box full of rings, each weighing a "tabnû," made of copper, silver, or even gold, all destined to be bartered for such things as they needed.[2] When it came to be a question of some large animal or of objects of considerable value, the discussions which arose were keen and stormy: it was necessary to be agreed not only as to the amount, but as to the nature of the payment to be made, and to draw up a sort of invoice, or in fact an inventory, in which beds, sticks, honey, oil, pick-axes, and garments, all figure as equivalents for a bull or a she-ass.[3] Smaller retail bargains did not demand so many or such complicated calculations. Two townsfolk stop for a moment in front of a fellah who offers onions and corn in a basket for sale. The first appears to possess no other circulating medium than two necklaces made of glass beads or many-coloured enamelled terra-cotta; the other flourishes about a circular fan with a wooden handle, and one of those triangular contrivances used by cooks for blowing up the fire. "Here is a fine necklace which will suit you," cries the former, "it is just what you are wanting;" while the other breaks in with: "Here is a fan and a ventilator." The fellah, however, does not let himself be disconcerted by this double attack, and proceeding methodically, he takes one of the necklaces to examine it at his leisure: "Give it to me to look at, that I may fix the price." The one asks too much, the other offers too little; after many concessions, they at last come to an agreement, and settle on the number of onions or the quantity of grain which corresponds exactly with the value of the necklace or the fan. A little further on, a customer wishes to get some perfumes in exchange for a pair of sandals, and conscientiously praises his wares: "Here," says he, "is a strong pair of shoes." But the merchant has no wish to be shod just then,

[1] The scenes of market life here described are borrowed from a tomb at Saqqâra (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 96). Attention was drawn to them in my lectures at the College of France in 1876, and they were reproduced among the pictures of Egyptian customs collected by Mariette for the Paris Exhibition of 1878 (MARIETTE, *La Galerie de l'Égypte ancienne à l'Exposition rétrospective du Trocadéro*, p. 41); I published them about the same time in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, p. 97, et seq. M. Chabas had, indeed, recognized in them scenes of market life (*Recherches sur les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies des Anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 15, 16), but did not fully understand their detail and composition.

[2] The name deciphered as *ûtnû*, "ten," since the researches of Chabas must now be read *tabnû* (W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die Lesung des Gewichtes Tabnû*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 145, 146). The observations of Chabas (*Note sur un Poids égyptien de la collection de M. Harris d'Alexandrie*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 12, et seq.; *Détermination métrique de deux Mesures égyptiennes de capacité*, 1857; *Recherches sur les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies des Anciens Égyptiens*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Savants étrangers*, vol. xxvii.) have established the fact that the average weight of the tabnû varied from 91 to 92 grammes [about 3¼ ozs. avoirdupois.—TRS.]; these results have been confirmed with but trifling differences by the tests of Professor Flinders Petrie.

[3] Several invoices of this nature will be found translated in CHABAS, *Recherches sur les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies des Anciens Égyptiens*, p. 17, et seq. They are all of the XXth dynasty, and are in the possession of the British Museum (S. BIRCH, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl.

and demands a row of cowries for his little pots: "You have merely to take a few drops of this to see how delicious it is," he urges in a persuasive tone. A seated customer has two jars thrust under his nose by a woman—they probably contain some kind of unguent: "Here is something which smells good enough to tempt you." Behind this group two men are discussing the relative merits of a bracelet and a bundle of fish-hooks; a woman, with a small box in her hand, is having an argument with a merchant selling necklaces; another woman seeks to obtain a reduction in the price of a fish which is being scraped in front of her. Exchanging commodities for metal necessitated two or three operations not required in ordinary barter. The rings or thin bent strips of metal which formed the "tabnû" and its multiples,[1] did not always contain the regulation amount of gold or silver, and were often of light weight. They had to be weighed at every fresh transaction in order to estimate their true value, and the interested parties never missed this excellent opportunity for a heated discussion: after having declared for a quarter of an hour that the scales were out of order, that the weighing had been carelessly performed, and that it should be done over again, they at last came to terms, exhausted with wrangling, and then went their way fairly satisfied with one another.[3] It sometimes happened that a

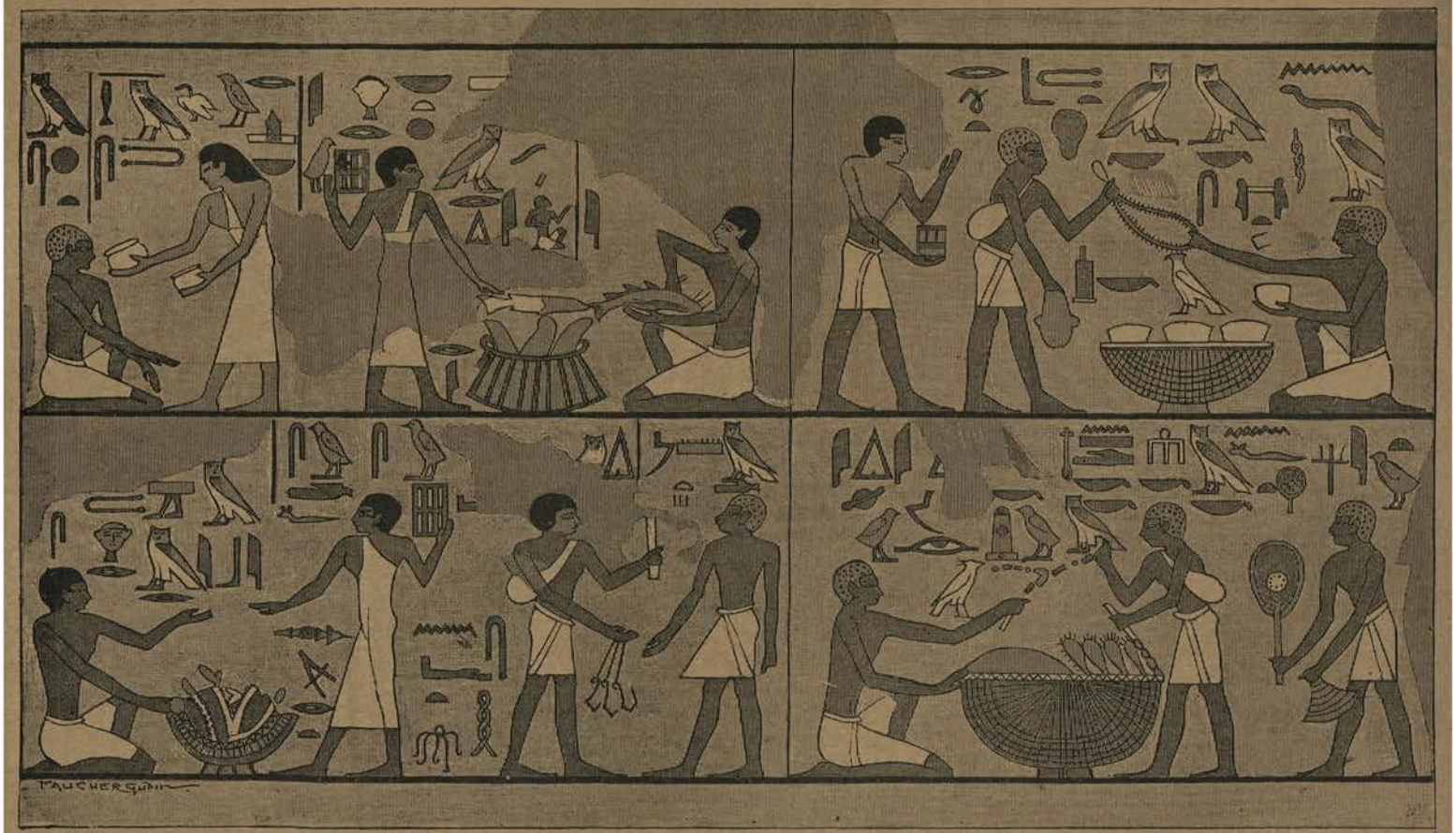
ONE OF THE FORMS OF EGYPTIAN SCALES.[2]

xvi., Nos. 5633, 5636). The invoice of the bull (BIRCH, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl. xv., No. 5649) has been translated and commented on by CHABAS, in his *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. p. 217, et seq. The invoice of the she-ass is preserved on the Berlin ostracon, No. 6241; it has been referred to by ERMAN, *Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben in Altertum*, pp. 657, 658.

[1] The rings of gold in the Museum at Leyden (LEEMANS, *Monuments Égyptiens*, vol. ii. pl. xli., No. 296), which were used as a basis of exchange (BRANDIS, *Das Münz- Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorder-Asien*, p. 82), are made on the Chaldæo-Babylonian pattern, and belong to the Asiatic system (FR. LENORMANT, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 103, 104). We must, perhaps, agree with Fr. Lenormant (*op cit.*, pp. 104, 105), in his conclusion that the only kind of national metal of exchange in use in Egypt was a copper wire or plate bent thus , , this being the sign invariably used in the hieroglyphics in writing the word *tabnû*.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after a sketch by ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. lii. 1. As to the construction of the Egyptian scales, and the working of their various parts, see FLINDERS PETRIE'S remarks in *A Season in Egypt*, p. 42, and the drawings which he has brought together on pl. xx. of the same work.

[3] The weighing of rings is often represented on the monuments from the XVIIIth dynasty onwards (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 10 *a*, 39 *a*, *d*, etc.). I am not acquainted with any instance of this on the bas-reliefs of the Ancient Empire. The giving of false weight is alluded to in the paragraph in the "Negative Confession," in which the dead man declares that he has not interfered with the beam of the scales (cf. p. 189 of the present work).



SCENES IN A BAZAAR.

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a chromolithograph by LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 96.

clever and unscrupulous dealer would alloy the rings, and mix with the precious metal as much of a baser sort as would be possible without danger of detection. The honest merchant who thought he was receiving in payment for some article, say eight tabnû of fine gold, and who had handed to him eight tabnû of some alloy resembling gold, but containing one-third of silver, lost in a single transaction, without suspecting it, almost one-third of his goods. The fear of such counterfeits was instrumental in restraining the use of tabnû for a long time among the people, and restricted the buying and selling in the markets to exchange in natural products or manufactured objects.

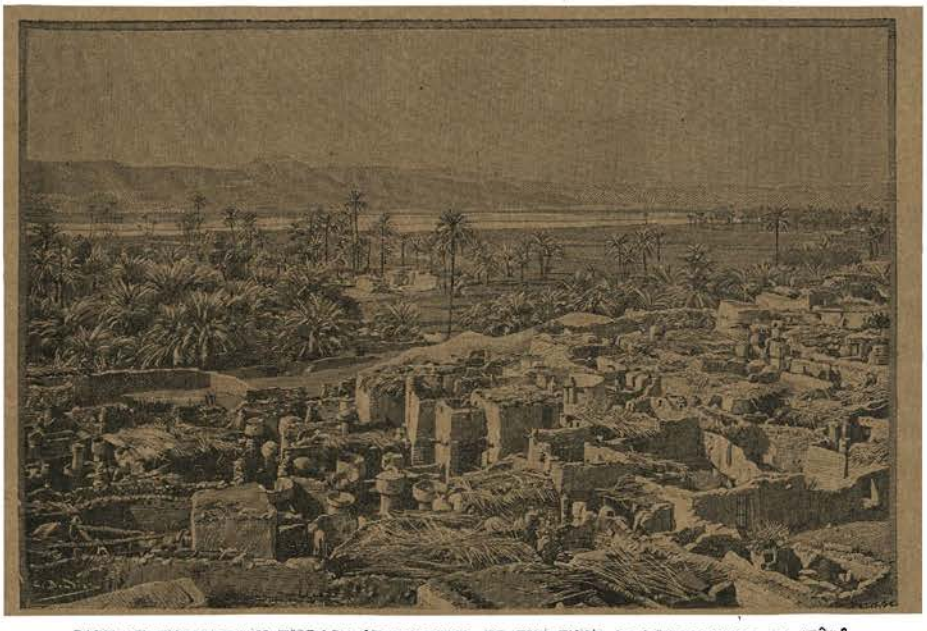
The present rural population of Egypt scarcely ever live in isolated and scattered farms; they are almost all concentrated in hamlets and villages of considerable extent, divided into quarters often at some distance from each other.[1] The same state of things existed in ancient times, and those who would realize what a village in the past was like, have only to visit any one of the modern market towns scattered at intervals along the valley of the Nile:—half a dozen fairly built houses, inhabited by the principal people of the place; groups of brick or clay cottages thatched with durra stalks, so low that a man standing upright almost touches the roof with his head; courtyards filled with tall circular mud-built sheds, in which the corn and durra for the household is carefully stored, and wherever we turn, pigeons, ducks, geese, and animals all living higgledy-piggledy with the family. The majority of the peasantry were of the lower class, but they were not everywhere subjected to the same degree of servitude. The slaves, properly so called, came from other countries; they had been bought from foreign merchants, or they had been seized in a raid and had lost their liberty by the fortune of war.[2] Their master removed them from place to place, sold them, used them as he pleased, pursued them if they succeeded in escaping, and had the right of recapturing them as soon as he received information of their whereabouts. They worked for him under his overseer's orders, receiving no regular wages, and with no hope of recovering their liberty.[3] Many chose concubines from their own class, or intermarried

[1] MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 164, 172.

[2] The first allusion to prisoners of war brought back to Egypt, is found in the biography of Ûni (ll. 26, 27). The method in which they were distributed among the officers and soldiers is indicated in several inscriptions of the New Empire, in that of Âhmosis Pannekhabît (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. xiv. *a*, ll. 5, 7, 10; cf. PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. ix., and especially MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 77, 78, where a complete text is given), in that of Âhmosis si-Abîna (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 12, where one of the inscriptions contains a list of slaves, some of whom are foreigners), in that of Amenemhabi (EBERS, *Zeit und Thaten Tutmes III.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 1–9 and 63, et seq.). We may form some idea of the number of slaves in Egypt from the fact that in thirty years Ramses III. presented 113,433 of them to the temples alone (BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 264, 265; ERMAN, *Ægypten*, p. 406). The "Directors of the Royal Slaves," at all periods, occupied an important position at the court of the Pharaohs (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 39).

[3] A scene reproduced by Lepsius (*Denkm.*, ii. 107) shows us, about the time of the VIth dynasty,

with the natives and had families: at the end of two or three generations their descendants became assimilated with the indigenous race, and were neither more nor less than actual serfs attached to the soil, who were made over or exchanged with it.[1] The landed proprietors, lords, kings, or gods,



PART OF THE MODERN VILLAGE OF KARNAK, TO THE WEST OF THE TEMPLE OF APÎT.[2]

accommodated this population either in the outbuildings belonging to their residences, or in villages built for the purpose, where everything belonged to them, both houses and people.[3] The condition of the free agricultural labourer was in many respects analogous to that of the modern fellah. Some of them possessed no other property than a mud cabin, just large enough for a man and his wife, and hired themselves out by the day or the year as farm

the harvest gathered by the "royal slaves" in concert with the tenants of the dead man (MASPERO, *Etudes Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 86). One of the petty princes defeated by the Ethiopian Piônkhi Miamûn proclaims himself to be "one of the *royal slaves* who pay tribute in kind to the royal treasury" (E. DE ROUGÉ, *La Stèle du roi éthiopien Piânkhi-Meriamen*, p. 31, l. 8). Amten repeatedly mentions slaves of this kind, "sûtiû" (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 168, l. 13; p. 211, l. 4).

[1] This is the status of serfs, or *miritiû*, as shown in the texts of every period. They are mentioned along with the fields or cattle attached to a temple or belonging to a noble. Ramses II. granted to the temple of Abydos "an appanage in cultivated lands, in serfs (*miritiû*), in cattle" (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pl. vii. l. 72). The scribe Anna sees in his tomb "stalls of bulls, of oxen, of calves, of milch cows, as well as serfs, in the mortmain of Amon" (BRUGSCH, *Recueil de Monuments*, vol. i. pl. xxxvi. 2, ll. 1, 2). Ptolemy I. returned to the temple at Bûto "the domains, the boroughs, the serfs, the tillage, the water supply, the cattle, the geese, the flocks, all the things" which Xerxes had taken away from Kabbisha (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. xiii. ll. 13, 14). The expression passed into the language, as a word used to express the condition of a subject race: 'I cause," said Thûtmosis III., "Egypt to be a sovereign (*hirît*) to whom all the earth is a slave" (*miritû*) (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Hiér.*, pp. 672, 673).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato, taken in 1886.

[3] The *ârritû*, so frequently mentioned in the texts, and the *pi-habû* acted as *ergastuli*, and included, among others, the slaves of the kings and of the gods (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Hiér.*, pp. 749, 750; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30, and the *Hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, p. 26).

servants.[1] Others were emboldened to lease land from the lord or from a soldier in the neighbourhood.[2] The most fortunate acquired some domain of which they were supposed to receive only the product, the freehold of the property remaining primarily in the hands of the Pharaoh, and secondarily in that of lay or religious feudatories who held it of the sovereign: they could, moreover, bequeath, give, or sell these lands and buy fresh ones without any opposition.[3] They paid, besides the capitation tax, a ground rent proportionate to the extent of their property, and to the kind of land of which it consisted.[4] It was not without reason that all the ancients attributed the invention of geometry to the Egyptians.[5] The perpetual encroachments of the Nile and the displacements it occasioned, the facility with which it effaced the boundaries of the fields, and in one summer modified the whole face of a nome, had forced them from early times to measure with the greatest exactitude the ground to which they owed their sustenance.[6] The territory belonging to each town and nome was subjected to repeated surveys made and co-ordinated by the Royal Administration, thus enabling Pharaoh to know the exact area of his estates. The unit of measurement was the arura; that is to say, a square of a hundred cubits, comprising in round numbers twenty-eight ares.* A considerable staff of scribes and surveyors was continually occupied in verifying the old measurements or in making fresh ones, and in recording in the State registers any changes which might have taken place.[7] Each estate

[1] They are mentioned in the *Sallier Papyrus n° II.* p. 5, ll. 7–9; cf. MASPERO, *Le Genre Épistolaire*, p. 52.

[2] DIODORUS, i. 74. As to the letting of royal or other lands during the Ptolemaic period, see the remarks of LUMBROSO, *Recherches sur l'Économie politique de l'Égypte*, pp. 94, 95.

[3] Amten had inherited a domain from his father (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 238, 239) He gave fifty *aruræ* to his mother (*id.*, pp. 228–230), and other lands to his children (cf. p. 294 of the present work). It was to these proprietors that Amoni, Prince of Mihît, alluded, when he said that "the *masters of the fields* were becoming *masters of all kinds of property*," i.e. were becoming rich, thanks to their good management (MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil*, vol. i. p. 174).

[4] The capitation tax, the ground rent, and the house duty of the time of the Ptolemies, already existed under the rule of the native Pharaohs. Brugsch (*Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 297–299) has shown that these taxes are mentioned in an inscription of the time of Amenôthes III. (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. xxxvii. l. 31).

[5] HERODOTUS, ii. 109; according to Plato (*Phædrus*, § lix., DIDOT'S edition, vol. i. p. 733), Thot was supposed to have been the inventor of the art of surveying; JAMBLICHUS (*Life of Pythagoras*, § 29) traces the discovery back to the time of the gods.

[6] SERVIUS, *Ad Virgilii Eclog.*, iii. 41: "Inventa enim hæc ars est tempore quo Nilus, plus æquo crescens, confudit terminos possessionum, ad quos innovandos adhibiti sunt philosophi, qui lineis diviserunt agros; inde geometria dicitur."

[* One "are" equals 100 square metres.—TR.]

[7] A series of inscriptions of Edfû, published and explained by Lepsius (*Ueber eine hieroglyphische Inschrift am Tempel von Edfu, Apollinopolis Magna, in welcher der Besitz dieses Tempels an Ländereien unter der Regierung Ptolemæus VI Alexander I verzeichnet ist*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Science de Berlin*, 1855, p. 69, et seq.), and more recently by Brugsch (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, iii. pp. 531–607), shows what these Registers of Surveys must have been like. Some information as to the organization of this department and its staff may be found on p. 592, et seq. of Brugsch's *Thesaurus*. We learn from the expressions employed in the great inscription of Beni-Hasan (ll. 13—58, 131–148) that the cadastral survey had existed from the very earliest times; there are references in it to previous surveys. We find a surveying scene on the tomb of Zosirkerîsonbû at Thebes, under the XVIIIth dynasty. Two persons are measuring a field of wheat by means of a cord; a third notes down the result of their work (SCHEIL, *Le Tombeau de Raserkasenb*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v.).

had its boundaries marked out by a line of stelæ which frequently bore the name of the tenant at the time, and the date when the landmarks were last fixed.[1] Once set up, the stele received a name which gave it, as it were, a living and independent personality.[2] It sometimes recorded the nature of the soil, its situation, or some characteristic which made it remarkable—the "Lake of the South,"[3] the "Eastern Meadow,"[4] the "Green Island,"[5] the "Fisher's Pool,"[6] the "Willow Plot," the "Vineyard,"[7] the "Vine Arbour,"[8] the "Sycamore;"[9] sometimes also it bore the name of the first master or the Pharaoh under whom it had been erected—the "Nurse-Phtahhotpû,"[10] the "Verdure-Kheops,"[11] the "Meadow-Didifrî,"[12] the "Abundance-Sahûri,"[13] "Khafri-Great-among-the Doubles."[14] Once given, the name clung to it for centuries, and neither sales, nor redistributions, nor revolutions, nor changes of dynasty, could cause it to be forgotten.[15] The officers of the survey inscribed it in their books, together with the name of the proprietor, those of the

A BOUNDARY STELE.[16]

[1] The great inscription of Beni-Hasan tells us of the stelæ which bounded the principality of the Gazelle on the North and South (ll. 21–24, 32, 33, 47–49), and of those in the plain which marked the northern boundary of the nome of the Jackal (l. 139); we also possess three other stelæ which were used by Amenôthes IV. to indicate the extreme limits of his new city of Khûtniaton (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pls. xiii.-xv.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 91 *a*, 119 *b*; DARESSY, *Tombeaux et stèles-limites de Hagi-Kandîl*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 36–62). In addition to the above stele, we also know of two others belonging to the XIIth dynasty which marked the boundaries of a private estate, and which are reproduced, one on plate 106, the other in the text of *Monuments divers*, p. 30; also the stele of Bûhani under Thûtmosis IV. (CRUM, *Stelæ from Wady Halfa*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. xvi., 1893–94. pp. 18, 19).

[2] As to the constitution of these domains, see MASPERO, *Sur le sens des mots Nouît et Hâit*, p. 2, et seq. (extracted from the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1889-90, vol. xii. p. 236, et seq.).

[3] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 317, under Ûsirkaf, on the tomb of Sannûônkhû.

[4] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 300, under Sahûri, on the tomb of Pirsenû.

MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 474, under Ûsirkaf, on the tomb of Sannûônkhû.

[6] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 317, on the tomb of Nofirmâît at Mêdûm, under Snofrûi, about the close of the IIIrd or beginning of the IVth Memphite dynasty.

[7] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 181, 186, on the tombs of Kamrî and Khonû.

[8] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 61, on the tomb of Shopsisûrî.

[9] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 46, 47; MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 186, 276, 325.

[10] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 353, under Assi, on the tomb of Phtahhotpû.

[11] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 23, under Khephren, on the tomb of Safkhîtâbûihotpû.

[12] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 300, under Sahûri, in the tomb of Pirsenû.

[13] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 80; MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 306.

[14] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 12, on the tomb of Nibûmkhûît, under Khephren.

[15] MASPERO, *Sur le sens des mots Nouît et Hâit*, pp. 11, 12 (in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology of London*, vol. xii., 1889-90, pp. 246, 247, from which this nomenclature is taken).

[16] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph given by MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 47 *a*. The stele marked the boundary of the estate given to a priest of the Theban Amon by Pharaoh Thûtmosis IV. of the XVIIIth dynasty. The original is now in the Museum at Gîzeh.

owners of adjoining lands, and the area and nature of the ground. They noted down, to within a few cubits, the extent of the sand, marshland, pools, canals, groups of palms, gardens or orchards, vineyards and cornfields,[1] which it contained. The cornland in its turn was divided into several classes, according to whether it was regularly inundated, or situated above the highest rise of the water, and consequently dependent on a more or less costly system of artificial irrigation. All this was so much information of which the scribes took advantage in regulating the assessment of the land-tax.

Everything tends to make us believe that this tax represented one-tenth of the gross produce, but the amount of the latter varied.[2] It depended on the annual rise of the Nile, and it followed the course of it with almost mathematical exactitude: if there were too much or too little water, it was immediately lessened, and might even be reduced to nothing in extreme cases. The king in his capital and the great lords in their fiefs had set up nilometers, by means of which, in the critical weeks, the height of the rising or subsiding flood was taken daily. Messengers carried the news of it over the country: the people, kept regularly informed of what was happening, soon knew what kind of season to expect, and they could calculate to within very little what they would have to pay.[3] In theory, the collecting of the tax was based on the actual amount of land covered by the water, and the produce of it was constantly varying. In practice, it was regulated by taking the average of preceding years, and deducting from that a fixed sum, which was never departed from except in extraordinary circumstances.[4] The year would have to be a very bad one before the authorities would lower the ordinary rate: the State in ancient times was not more willing to deduct anything from its revenue than the modern State would be.[5] The payment of taxes

[1] See in the great inscription of Beni-Hasan the passage in which are enumerated at full length, in a legal document, the constituent parts of the principality of the Gazelle, "its watercourses, its fields, its trees, its sands, from the river to the mountain of the West" (ll. 46–53).

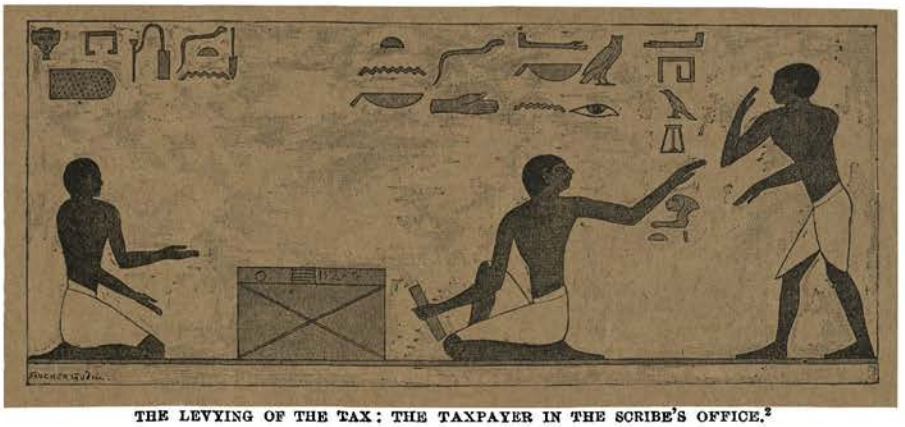
[2] The tithe is referred to in the Philæ inscription (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iv. 27 *b*) during the Ptolemaic period (BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 266–277), and all the evidence seems to point to its having already been in existence under the earliest Pharaohs (LUMBROSO, *Recherches sur l'Économie politique*, p. 288, et seq.).

[3] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 36; STRABO, lib. xvii. p. 817, who mentions the two nilometers of Memphis and Elephantinê; HELIODORUS, *Æthiopica*, lib. ix., speaks of the nilometer which had been described by Strabo, but which he places at Syene. On the subject of nilometers, cf. GIRARD, *Mémoire sur le Nilomètre d'Éléphantine et les Mesures Égyptiennes* (in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 1–96), and MARCEL, *Mémoire sur le Meqyas de l'île de Roudah* (in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xiv. pp. 1–135, 387–582). Every temple had its well which served as a nilometer; the well of the temple of Edfû was employed for this purpose.

[4] We know that this was so, in so far as the Roman period is concerned, from a passage in the edict of Tiberius Alexander (ll. 55, 56). The practice was such a natural one, that I have no hesitation in tracing it back to the time of the Ancient Empire; repeatedly condemned as a piece of bad administration, it reappeared continually. At Beni-Hasan, the nomarch Amoni (l. 21) boasts that, "when there had been abundant Niles, and the owners of wheat and barley crops had thriven, he had not increased the rate of the land-tax," which seems to indicate that, so far as he was concerned, he had fixed the tax on land at a permanent figure, based on the average of good and bad harvests.

The two decrees of Rosetta (ll. 12, 13, 28, 29) and of Canopus (ll. 13–17), however, mention reductions granted by the Ptolemies after an insufficient rise of the Nile.

was exacted in wheat, durra, beans, and field produce, which were stored in the granaries of the nome.[1] It would seem that the previous deduction of one-tenth of the gross amount of the harvest could not be a heavy burden, and that the wretched fellah ought to have been in a position to pay his dues without difficulty. It was not so, however, and the same writers who have given us such a lamentable picture of the condition of the workmen in the towns, have painted for us in even darker colours the miseries which overwhelmed the country people. "Dost thou not recall the picture of the farmer, when the tenth of his grain is levied?



THE LEVYING OF THE TAX: THE TAXPAYER IN THE SCRIBE'S OFFICE.[2]

Worms have destroyed half of the wheat, and the hippopotami have eaten the rest; there are swarms of rats in the fields, the grasshoppers alight there, the cattle devour, the little birds pilfer, and if the farmer lose sight for an instant of what remains upon the ground, it is carried off by robbers;[3] the thongs, moreover, which bind the iron and the hoe are worn out, and the team has died at the plough. It is then that the scribe steps out of the boat at the landing-place to levy the tithe, and there come the keepers of the doors of the granary with cudgels and the negroes with ribs of palm-leaves, who come crying: 'Come now, corn!' There is none, and they throw the cultivator full length upon the ground; bound, dragged to the canal, they fling him in head first;[4] his wife is bound with

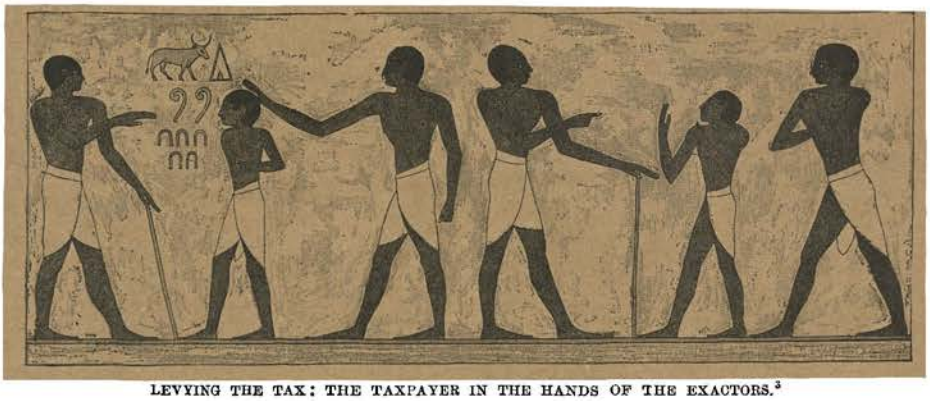
[1] The inscription of Rosetta represents the tax as being paid in wheat, in linen, or in wine (ll. 11, 14, 15, 28-31), even in the time of the Ptolemies, when the use of money had become general in Egypt. See in Wilcken (*Die Griechischen Ostraka*, in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden in Rheinland*, vol. lxxxvi. pp. 240-245) receipts of the Roman period in which the tax is paid in wheat and barley.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a picture at Beni-Hasan (cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, cccxc. 4, cccxci. 1; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. cxxiv. A). This picture and those which follow it represent a census in the principality of the Gazelle under the XIIth dynasty as well as the collection of a tax.

[3] This last danger survives even to the present day. During part of the year the fellahîn spend the night in their fields; if they did not see to it, their neighbours would not hesitate to come and cut their wheat before the harvest, or root up their vegetables while still immature.

[4] The same kind of torture is mentioned in the decree of Harmhabi (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. p. 44, l. 26), in which the lawless soldiery are represented as "running from house to house, dealing blows right and left with their sticks, ducking the fellahîn head downwards in the water, and not leaving one of them with a whole skin" (BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 87). This treatment was still resorted to in Egypt not long ago, in order to extract money from those taxpayers whom beatings had failed to bring to reason.

him, his children are put into chains; the neighbours, in the mean time, leave him and fly to save their grain." [1] One might be tempted to declare that the picture is too dark a one to be true, did one not know from other sources of the brutal ways of filling the treasury which Egypt has retained even to the present day.[2] In the same way as in the town, the stick facilitated the operations of the tax-collector in the country: it quickly opened the granaries of the rich, it revealed resources to the poor of which he had been ignorant, and it only failed in the case of those



LEVYING THE TAX: THE TAXPAYER IN THE HANDS OF THE EXACTORS.[3]

who had really nothing to give. Those who were insolvent were not let off even when they had been more than half killed: they and their families were sent to prison, and they had to work out in forced labour the amount which they had failed to pay in current merchandise.[4] The collection of the taxes was usually terminated by a rapid revision of the survey. The scribe once more recorded the dimensions and character of the domain lands in order to determine afresh the amount of the tax which should be imposed upon them. It often happened, indeed, that, owing to some freak of the Nile, a tract of ground which had been fertile enough the preceding year would be buried under a gravel bed, or transformed into a marsh. The owners who thus suffered were allowed an equivalent deduction; as for the farmers, no deductions of the burden were permitted in their case, but a tract equalling in value that of the part they had lost was granted to them out of the royal or seignorial domain, and their property was thus made up to its original worth.[5]

[1] *Sallier Papyrus n° I*, pl. vi. ll. 2–8; *Anastasi Papyrus v.*, pl. xv. l. 8, xvii. l. 2; cf. GOODWIN-CHABAS, *Sur les Papyrus hieratiques* (2nd article), pp. 10–19; MASPERO, *Du Genre Épistolaire chez les Anciens Égyptiens*, pp. 38–40; ERMAN, *Ægypten*, pp. 590, 591; BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 86.

[2] See the picture, drawn by CHARLES-EDMOND, *Zéphyrin Cazavan en Égypte*, p. 395, et seq., of the collection of taxes in Egypt forty years ago, under Abbas-Pasha, which, though apparently fictitious, is really a sober relation of facts.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a picture on the tomb of Khîti at Beni-Hasan (cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. cccxc. 4; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. cxxiv. B).

[4] This is evident from a passage in the *Sallier Papyrus n° I*, quoted above, in which we see the taxpayer in fetters, dragged out to clean the canals, his whole family, wife and children, accompanying him in bonds.

[5] HERODOTUS, ii. 109, who attributes the establishment of this regulation to the inevitable legendary Sesostris.

What the collection of the taxes had begun was almost always brought to a climax by the *corvées.* However numerous the royal and seignorial slaves might have been, they were insufficient for the cultivation of all the lands of the domains, and a part of Egypt must always have lain fallow, had not the number of workers been augmented by the addition of those who were in the position of freemen. This excess of cultivable land was subdivided into portions of equal dimensions, which were distributed among the inhabitants of neighbouring villages by the officers of a "regent" nominated for that purpose.[1] Those dispensed from agri-

LEVYING THE TAX: THE BASTINADO.[2]

cultural service were—the destitute, soldiers on service and their families, certain *employés* of the public works, and servitors of the temple;[3] all other country-folk without exception had to submit to it, and one or more portions were allotted to each, according to his capabilities.[4] Orders issued at fixed periods called them together, themselves, their servants and their beasts of burden, to dig, sow, keep watch in the fields while the harvest was proceeding, to cut and to carry the crops, the whole work being done at their own expense and to the detriment of their own interests.[5] As a sort of indemnity, a few allotments were left uncultivated

[1] These lots are the AHÛÎT, so often mentioned in the texts, and the persons requisitioned to work them are the AHÛÎTIÛ, a name applied by extension to non-proprietary farmers. The "regents"—HIQÛ AHÛÎTIÛ—are frequently referred to on the monuments of the Ancient Empire, and Amten, whose history I have already recounted (cf. pp. 290–296 of the present work), was "regent;" or, to use the almost equivalent language of Arabian Egypt, "multezîm" of royal lands cultivated by enforced labour (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 173–177).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a picture on the tomb of Khîti at Beni-Hasan (cf. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. cccxc. 4; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. cxxiv. A-B).

[3] That the scribes, *i.e.* the employés of the royal or princely government, were exempt from enforced labour, is manifest from the contrast drawn by the letter-writers of the Sallier and Anastasi Papyri between themselves and the peasants, or persons belonging to other professions who were liable to it. The circular of Dorion defines the classes of soldiers who were either temporarily or permanently exempt under the Greek kings (LUMBROSO, *Del Papiro Greco LXIII del Louvre sulla Seminatura delle terre regie in Egitto*, p. 10, et seq. Extract from the *Atti* of the Academy of Sciences of Turin, vol. v., 1869).

[4] Several fragments of the Turin papyri contain memoranda of enforced labour performed on behalf of the temples, and of lists of persons liable to be called on for such labour. A very complete list is to be found in a papyrus of the XXth dynasty, translated by CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 131–137.

[5] All these details are set forth in the Ptolemaic period, in the letter to Dorion which refers to

for their benefit:[1] to these they sent their flocks after the subsidence of the inundation, for the pasturage on them was so rich that the sheep were doubly productive in wool and offspring.[2] This was a mere apology for a wage: the forced labour for the irrigation brought them no compensation. The dykes which separate the basins, and the network of canals for distributing the water and irrigating the land, demand continual attention: every year some need strengthening, others re-excavating or cleaning out. The men employed in this work pass whole days standing in the water, scraping up the mud with both hands in order to fill the baskets of platted leaves, which boys and girls lift on to their heads and carry to the top of the bank: the semi-liquid contents ooze through the basket, trickle over their faces and soon coat their bodies with a black shining mess, disgusting even to look at. Sheikhs preside over the work, and urge it on with abuse and blows.[3] When the gangs of workmen had toiled all day, with only an interval of two hours about noon for a siesta and a meagre pittance of food, the poor wretches slept on the spot, in the open air, huddled one against another and but ill protected by their rags from the chilly nights. The task was so hard a one, that malefactors, bankrupts, and prisoners of war were condemned to it; it wore out so many hands that the free peasantry were scarcely ever exempt.[4] Having returned to their homes, they were not called until the next year to any established or periodic corvée, but many an irregular one came and surprised them in the midst of their work, and forced them to abandon all else to attend to the affairs of king or lord. Was a new chamber to be added to some neighbouring temple, were materials wanted to strengthen or rebuild some piece of wall which had been undermined by the inundation, orders were issued to the engineers to go and fetch a stated quantity of limestone or sandstone, and the peasants were commanded to assemble at the nearest quarry to cut the blocks

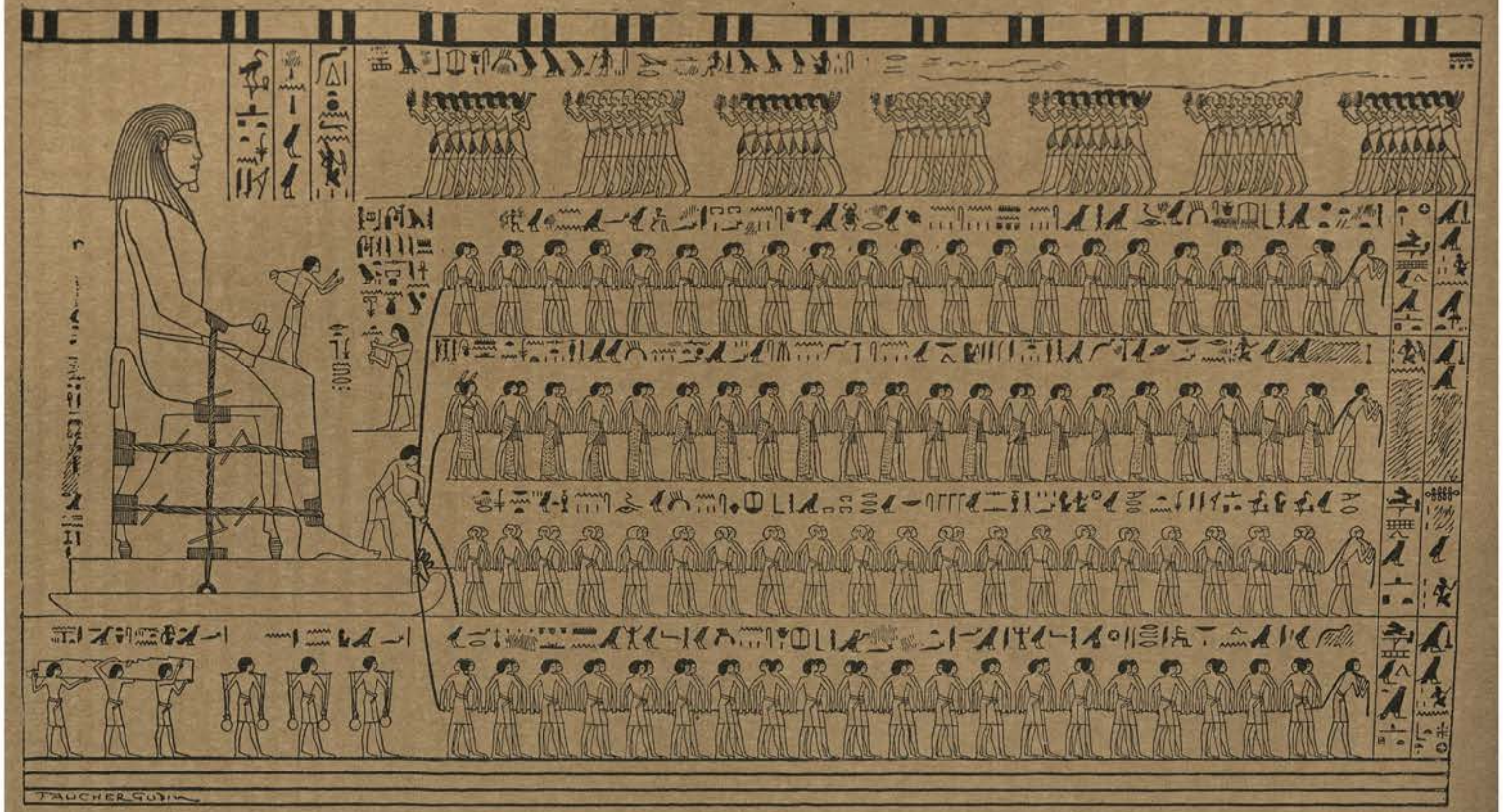
a royal edict. As Signor Lumbroso has well remarked (*op. cit.*, p. 4, et seq., and *Recherches sur l'Économie politique*, p. 75, et seq.), the Ptolemies merely copied exactly the misdeeds of the old native governments. Indeed, we come across frequent allusions to the enforced labour of men and beasts in inscriptions of the Middle Empire at Beni-Hasan or at Siût; many of the pictures on the Memphite tombs show bands of such labourers at work in the fields of the great landowners or of the king.

[1] *Louvre Papyrus B*, ll. 170–172, where I follow the explanation of the passage suggested by Signor Lumbroso (*Il papiro LXIII del Louvre*, p. 18 *a*, and *Recherches sur l'Économie politique*, p. 93).

[2] Diodorus Siculus, i. 36.

[3] The corvées of the Ptolemaic period were superintended by old men, *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι* (*Louvre Papyrus 66*, l. 21), *i.e.* by the sheîkhs, and by the *rûdûû*, *nazirs*, as well as by the *âa asitiû* or *reises* of the works (Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45). The *shawishes* (exactors) of our time are the *rabdophori* or *rabdisti* of the Greek period (*Louvre Papyrus 66*, l. 19; Schow, *Charta papyracea*, § 4, ll. 11, 12), whose duty it was to stimulate the workmen with blows.

[4] In the papyrus published by Schow, we notice, side by side with the slaves, peasants (l. 7, l. 15, 11, l. 18), cowherds, and shepherds (3, l. 16, 5, ll. 1, 2), ass-drivers (2, l. 16), and workmen belonging to various trades—potters (6, ll. 21, 22), mat-makers (11, l. 8), fullers (7, l. 26), masons (10, l. 4), barbers (3, l. 26).



THE COLOSSAL STATUE OF PRINCE THOTHOTPÛ BEING DRAGGED BY THE CORVÉE.

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from WILKINSON, *A Popular Account of the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii., frontispiece.

from it, and if needful to ship and convey them to their destination.[1] Or perhaps the sovereign had caused a gigantic statue of himself to be carved, and a few hundred men were requisitioned to haul it to the place where he wished it to be set up.[2] The undertaking ended in a gala, and doubtless in a distribution of food and drink: the unfortunate creatures who had been got together to execute the work could not always have felt fitly compensated for the precious time they had lost, by one day of drunkenness and rejoicing.

We may ask if all these corvées were equally légal? Even if some of them were illegal, the peasant on whom they fell could not have found the means to escape from them, nor could he have demanded legal reparation for the injury which they caused him. Justice, in Egypt and in the whole Oriental world, necessarily emanates from political authority, and is only one branch of the administration amongst others, in the hands of the lord and his representatives.[3] Professional magistrates were unknown—men brought up to the study of law, whose duty it was to ensure the observance of it, apart from any other calling—but the same men who commanded armies, offered sacrifices, and assessed or received taxes, investigated the disputes of ordinary citizens, or settled the differences which arose between them and the representatives of the lords or of the Pharaoh. In every town and village, those who held by birth or favour the position of governor were ex-officio invested with the right of administering justice. For a certain number of days in the month, they sat at the gate of the town or of the building which served as their residence, and all those in the town or neighbourhood possessed of any title, position, or property, the superior priesthood of the temples, scribes who had advanced or grown old in office, those in command of the militia or the police, the heads of divisions or corporations, the "qonbîtiû," the "people of the angle," might if they thought fit take their place beside them, and help them to decide ordinary lawsuits.[4] The police were mostly recruited from foreigners

[1] This was the course adopted by King Smendes of the XXIst dynasty, in order to promptly and cheaply restore a portion of the temple of Karnak, which had been sapped by water and threatened to fall into ruins (G. DARESSY, *Les Carrières de Gébélein et le roi Smendès*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. pp. 133-138; and MASPERO, *A Stele of King Smendes*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 17-24).

[2] *E.g.* in the tomb of Thothhotpû at el-Bersheh (WILKINSON, *A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1854, frontispiece of vol. ii.; and G. RAWLINSON, *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 151; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. pl. cxxxiv.; cf. CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 103-119; MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 55-61; BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, pp. 293, 294).

[3] As to the actual nature of certain offices, such as *Sotmû âûshu ni isît mâit* and *Sabû*, in which some writers seek to recognize judicial functions, cf. MASPERO, *Rapport à M. Jules Ferry, Ministre de l'Instruction publique sur une Mission en Italie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. pp. 159-166; and *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 143-148; cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie*, p. 301, et seq.; W. SPIEGELBERG, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches*, pp. 60-63).

[4] The name of these personages, at first read *taît, taîtû*, rather at haphazard, has been deciphered

and negroes, or from Bedouin belonging to the Nubian tribe of the Mâzaiû. The litigants appeared at the tribunal, and waited under the superintendence of the police until their turn came to speak: the majority of the questions were decided in a few minutes by a judgment from which there was no appeal; only the more serious cases necessitated a cross-examination and prolonged discussion.[1] All else was carried on before this patriarchal jury as in our own courts of justice, except that the inevitable stick too often elucidated the truth and cut short discussions: the depositions of the witnesses, the speeches on both sides, the examination of the documents, could not proceed without the frequent taking of oaths "by the life of the king" or "by the favour of the gods," in which the truth often suffered severely.[1] Penalties were varied somewhat—the bastinado, imprisonment, additional days of work for the corvée, and, for grave offences, forced labour in the Ethiopian mines,[2] the loss of nose and ears,[3] and finally, death by strangulation, by beheading,[4] by empalement,[5] and at the stake.[6] Criminals of high rank obtained permission to carry out on themselves the sentence passed upon them, and thus avoided by suicide the shame of public execution.[7] Before tribunals thus constituted, the fellah who came to appeal against the exactions of which he was the victim had little chance of obtaining a hearing: had not the scribe who had overtaxed him, or who had imposed a fresh corvée upon him, the right to appear among the Judges to whom he addressed himself? Nothing, indeed, prevented him from appealing from the latter to his feudal lord, and from him to Pharaoh, but such an appeal would be for him a mere delusion. When he had left his village and presented his petition,[8] he had many delays to encounter before

correctly by GRIFFITH, *The Qnbt* (in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiii., 1890–91, p. 140), whose conclusions have been endorsed by SPIEGELBERG, *Studien und Materialien*, p. 13, et seq. Their name, "people of the corner," is probably due to a metaphor analogous to that which gave rise to the title of *Omdah*, or "columns" of the administration, which was bestowed on the notables of Egyptian towns.

[1] As to the judicial oath, see W. SPIEGELBERG, *Studien und Materialen*, p. 71, et seq.

[2] Cf. the instances collected by W. SPIEGELBERG, *Studien und Materialen*, pp. 69–71, 75, 76, which confirm the remarks of Agatharchides (*De Mari Erythræo*, § 24–29, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Geogr. Græc.*, vol. i. pp. 124–129) and of Diodorus Siculus (iii. 12–14) in regard to the gold-mines of Ethiopia.

[3] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 60, 78 (cf. HERODOTUS, ii. 212); DÉVÉRIA, *Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin*, pp. 64, 65, 116–121; MASPERO, *Une enquête judiciaire*, p. 86; W. SPIEGELBERG, *Studien*, pp. 67, 68.

[4] The only known instance of an execution by hanging is that of Pharaoh's chief baker, in Gen. xl. 19, 22, xli. 13; but in a tomb at Thebes we see two human victims executed by strangulation (MASPERO, *Le Tombeau de Montûhikhopshûf*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v. p. 452, et seq.). The Egyptian hell contains men who have been decapitated (*Description de l'Égypte*, Ant., vol. ii. pl. lxxxvi.), and the block on which the damned were beheaded is frequently mentioned in the texts.

[5] So ERMAN conjectures (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss des ägyptischen Gerichtsverfahrens* in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 83, note 1; cf. the objections of W. SPIEGELBERG, *Studien*, pp. 76–78, 125, 126).

[6] For adulteresses (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 63; cf. HERODOTUS, ii. 111).

[7] The Turin Papyrus mentions these suicides (W. SPIEGELBERG, *Studien*, pp. 67, 121; ERMAN, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des ägyptischen Gerichtsverfahrens*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 77, note 1).

[8] Like the peasant whose story is told us in the *Berlin Papyrus n° II.* (MASPERO, *Les Contes*

a solution could be arrived at; and if the adverse party were at all in favour at court, or could command any influence, the sovereign decision would confirm, even if it did not aggravate, the sentence of the previous judges. In the mean while the peasants' land remained uncultivated, his wife and children bewailed their wretchedness, and the last resources of the family were consumed in proceedings and delays: it would have been better for him at the outset to have made up his mind to submit without resistance to a fate from which he could not escape.

In spite of taxes, requisitions, and forced labour, the fellahîn came off fairly well, when the chief to whom they belonged proved a kind master, and did not add the exactions of his own personal caprice to those of the State. The inscriptions which princes caused to be devoted to their own glorification, are so many enthusiastic panegyrics dealing only with their uprightness and kindness towards the poor and lowly. Every one of them represents himself as faultless: "the staff of support to the aged, the foster father of the children, the counsellor of the unfortunate, the refuge in which those who suffer from the cold in Thebes may warm themselves, the bread of the afflicted which never failed in the city of the South."[1] Their solicitude embraced everybody and everything: "I have caused no child of tender age to mourn; I have despoiled no widow; I have driven away no tiller of the soil; I have taken no workmen away from their foreman for the public works; none have been unfortunate about me, nor starving in my time. When years of scarcity arose, as I had cultivated all the lands of the nome of the Gazelle to its northern and southern boundaries, causing its inhabitants to live, and creating provisions, none who were hungry were found there, for I gave to the widow as well as to the woman who had a husband, and I made no distinction between high and low in all that I gave. If, on the contrary, there were high Niles, the possessors of lands became rich in all things, for I did not raise the rate of the tax upon the fields."[2] The canals engrossed all the prince's attention; he cleaned them out, enlarged them, and dug fresh ones, which were the means of bringing fertility and plenty into the most remote corners of his property. His serfs had a constant supply of clean water at their door, and were no longer content with such food as durra; they ate wheaten bread daily.[3] His vigilance and severity were such that the brigands dared no longer appear within reach of

populaires de l'Égypte ancienne, 2nd edit., pp. 43, et seq.); see what has been said about "men without a master" on pp. 309, 310 of the present work.

[1] *Stèle C 1 du Louvre*, published by MASPERO, *Un Gouverneur de Thèbes sous la XIIe dynastie*, in the *Mémoires du Congrès International des Orientalistes de Paris*, vol. ii. pp. 53–55.

[2] MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Béni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 173, 174.

[3] GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. xv. ll. 3–7; cf. MASPERO, *Revue Critique*, 1889, vol. ii. pp. 414, 415.

his arm, and his soldiers kept strict discipline: "When night fell, whoever slept by the roadside blessed me, and was [in safety] as a man in his own house; the fear of my police protected him, the cattle remained in the fields as in the stable; the thief was as the abomination of the god, and he no more fell upon the vassal, so that the latter no more complained, but paid exactly the dues of his domain, for love" of the master who had procured for him this freedom from care.[1] This theme might be pursued at length, for the composers of epitaphs varied it with remarkable cleverness and versatility of imagination. The very zeal which they display in describing the lord's virtues betrays how precarious was the condition of his subjects. There was nothing to hinder the unjust prince or the prevaricating officer from ruining and ill-treating as he chose the people who were under his authority. He had only to give an order, and the corvée fell upon the proprietors of a village, carried off their slaves and obliged them to leave their lands uncultivated; should they declare that they were incapable of paying the contributions laid on them, the prison opened for them and their families. If a dyke were cut, or the course of a channel altered, the nome was deprived of water:[2] prompt and inevitable ruin came upon the unfortunate inhabitants, and their property, confiscated by the treasury in payment of the tax, passed for a small consideration into the hands of the scribe or of the dishonest administrator. Two or three years of neglect were almost enough to destroy a system of irrigation: the canals became filled with mud, the banks crumbled, the inundation either failed to reach the ground, or spread over it too quickly and lay upon it too long. Famine soon followed with its attendant sicknesses:[3] men and animals died by the hundred, and it was the work of nearly a whole generation to restore prosperity to the district.

The lot of the fellah of old was, as we have seen, as hard as that of the fellah of to-day. He himself felt the bitterness of it, and complained at times, or rather the scribes complained for him, when with selfish complacency they contrasted their calling with his. He had to toil the whole year round,—digging, sowing, working the shadouf from morning to night for weeks, hastening at the first requisition to the corvée, paying a heavy and cruel tax,—all without even the certainty of enjoying what remained to him in peace, or of seeing his wife and children profit by it. So great, however, was

[1] GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. 11, ll. 7-12; cf. MASPERO, *Revue Critique*, 1889, vol. ii. p. 417.

[2] To cut off or divert a watercourse was one of the transgressions provided for in the "Negative Confession" in chap. cxxv. of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE's edition, vol. i. pl. cxxxiii. l. 19); cf p. 189 of the present work.

[3] Mention of famines is made on the Egyptian monuments, at Beni-Hasan (MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Béni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. p. 174), at El-Kab (BRUGSCH, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 246), at Elephantinê (BRUGSCH, *Die Biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, p. 131, et seq.).

the elasticity of his temperament that his misery was not sufficient to depress him: those monuments upon which his life is portrayed in all its minutiæ, represent him as animated with inexhaustible cheerfulness. The summer months ended, the ground again becomes visible, the river retires into its bed, the time of sowing is at hand: the peasant takes his team and his implements with him and goes off to the fields.[1] In many places, the soil, softened by the water, offers no resistance, and the hoe easily turns it up; elsewhere it is hard, and only yields to the plough. While one of the farm-servants, almost bent double, leans his whole weight on the handles to force

TWO FELLAHÎN WORK THE SHADOUF IN A GARDEN.[2]

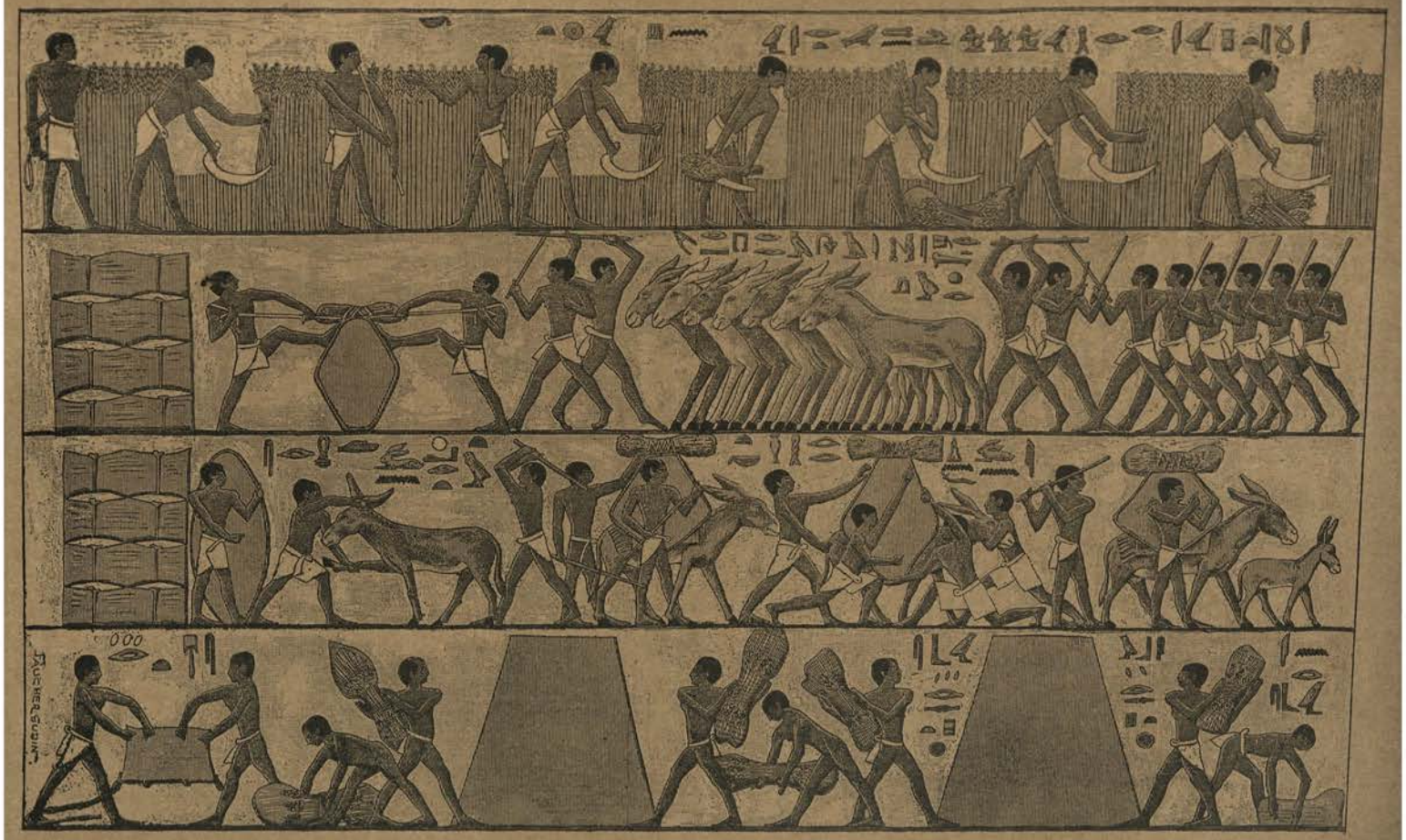
the ploughshare deep into the soil, his comrade drives the oxen and encourages them by his songs: these are only two or three short sentences, set to an unvarying chant, and with the time beaten on the back of the nearest animal.[3] Now and again he turns round towards his comrade and encourages him: "Lean hard!"—"Hold fast!" The sower follows behind and throws handfuls of grain into the furrow: a flock of sheep or goats brings up the rear, and as they walk, they tread the seed into the ground. The herdsmen crack their whips and sing some country song at the top of their voices,—based on the complaint of some fellah seized by the corvée to clean out a canal. "The digger is in the water with the fish,—he talks to the silurus, and exchanges greetings with the oxyrrhynchus:—West! your digger is a digger from the West!"[4] All this takes place under the vigilant eye of the master: as soon

[1] MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 58, et seq.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph (cf. SCHEIL, *Le Tombeau de Zozirkerisonbou*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vol. v.).

[3] MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 74-78; cf. the woodcut on p. 192 of the present work

[4] The text of this couplet is given in BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptische Gräberwelt*, pl. i. 35, 36; the translation in BRUGSCH, *Dict. Hiér.*, p. 59; in ERMAN, *Ægypten*, p. 515; and in MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74. The silurus is the electrical fish of the Nile (*Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xxiv. p. 299, et seq.). The text ironically hints that the digger, up to his waist in water, engaged in dredging the dykes or repairing a bank swept away by an inundation, is liable at any moment to salute, *i.e.* to meet with a silurus or an oxyrrhynchus ready to attack him; he is doomed to death, and this fact the couplet expresses by the words, "West! your digger is a digger from the West." The West was the region of the tombs; and the digger, owing to the dangers of his calling, was on his way thither.



THE CUTTING AND CARRYING OF THE HARVEST.

Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Dümichen, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. x.

as his attention is relaxed, the work slackens, quarrels arise, and the spirit of idleness and theft gains the ascendency. Two men have unharnessed their team. One of them quickly milks one of the cows, the other holds the animal and impatiently awaits his turn: "Be quick, while the farmer is not there." They run the risk of a beating for a potful of milk.[1] The weeks pass, the corn has ripened, the harvest begins. The fellahîn, armed with a short sickle, cut or rather saw the stalks, a handful at a time. As they advance in line, a flute-player plays them captivating tunes, a man joins in with his voice marking the rhythm by clapping his hands, the foreman throwing in now and then a few words of exhortation: "What lad among you, when the season is over, can say: 'It is I who say it, to thee and to my comrades, you are all of you but idlers!'—Who among you can say: 'An active lad for the job am I!'"[2] A servant moves among the gang with a tall jar of beer, offering it to those who wish for it. "Is it not good!" says he; and the one who drinks answers politely: "'Tis true, the master's beer is better than a cake of durra!"[3] The sheaves once bound, are carried to the singing of fresh songs addressed to the donkeys who bear them: "Those who quit the ranks will be tied, those who roll on the ground will be beaten,—Geeho! then." And thus threatened, the ass trots forward.[4] Even when a tragic element enters the scene, and the bastinado is represented, the sculptor, catching the bantering spirit of the people among whom he lives, manages to insinuate a vein of comedy. A peasant, summarily condemned for some misdeed, lies flat upon the ground with bared back: two friends take hold of his arms, and two others his legs, to keep him in the proper position. His wife or his son intercedes for him to the man with the stick: "For mercy's sake strike on the ground!" And as a fact, the bastinado was commonly rather a mere form of chastisement than an actual punishment: the blows, dealt with apparent ferocity, missed their aim and fell upon the earth;[5] the culprit howled loudly, but was let off with only a few bruises.

An Arab writer of the Middle Ages remarks, not without irony, that the Egyptians were perhaps the only people in the world who never kept any stores of provisions by them, but each one went daily to the market to buy

[1] The scene is represented on the tomb of Ti (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 78–80).

[2] The text is in BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptische Gräberwelt*, pl. v., 165–168; and DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pl. x., and pp. 14, 15; the interpretation in MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 81–84.

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 9; MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 347; MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 84, 85.

[4] BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptische Gräberwelt*, pl. v. 162; DÜMICHEN, *Die Resultate*, vol. i. pl. x.; MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 87–90. The song will be found above the train of asses.

[5] The scene is to be found in the tomb of Baûkît at Beni-Hasan (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. ccclxxxi. 1, and *Text*, vol. ii. pp. 371–373; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti civili*, pl. cxxii. B, and *Text*, vol. iii. pp. 271–273; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 305).

the pittance for his family.[1] The improvidence which he laments over in his contemporaries had been handed down from their most remote ancestors. Workmen, fellahîn, *employés*, small townsfolk, all lived from hand to mouth in the Egypt of the Pharaohs. Pay-days were almost everywhere days of rejoicing and extra eating: no one spared either the grain, oil, or beer of the treasury, and copious feasting continued unsparingly, as long as anything was left of their wages. As their resources were almost always exhausted before the day of distribution once more came round, beggary

A FLOCK OF GOATS AND THE SONG OF A GOATHERD.[2]

succeeded to fulness of living, and a part of the population was literally starving for several days. This almost constant alternation of abundance and dearth had a reactionary influence on daily work: there were scarcely any seignorial workshops or undertakings which did not come to a standstill every month on account of the exhaustion of the workmen, and help had to be provided for the starving in order to avoid popular seditions.[3] Their improvidence, like their cheerfulness, was perhaps an innate trait in the national character: it was certainly fostered and developed by the system of government adopted by Egypt from the earliest times. What incentive was there for a man of the people to calculate his resources and to lay up for the future, when he knew that his wife, his children, his cattle, his goods, all that belonged to him, and himself to boot, might be carried off at any moment, without his having the right or the power to resent it? He was born, he lived, and he died in the possession of a master. The lands or houses which his father had left him, were his merely on sufferance, and he enjoyed them only by permission of his lord. Those which he acquired by his own labour went to swell his master's domain. If he married and had sons, they were but servants for the master from the moment they were brought into the world.

[1] In MAKRIZI, *Hittat*, vol. i. pp. 49, 50, Boulak edition.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. The picture is taken from the tomb of Ti; cf. MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 81–84.

[3] The only documents we possess on this subject belong to the Ramesside period; further on I shall have to give the history of these stoppages of work and of the strikes which accompanied them.

Whatever he might enjoy to-day, would his master allow him possession of it to-morrow? Even life in the world beyond did not offer him much more security or liberty: he only entered it in his master's service and to do his bidding; he existed in it on tolerance, as he had lived upon this earth, and he found there no rest or freedom unless he provided himself abundantly with "respondents" and charmed statuettes. He therefore concentrated his mind and energies on the present moment, to make the most of it as of almost the only thing which belonged to him: he left to his master the task of anticipating and providing for the future. In truth, his masters were often changed; now the lord of one town, now that of another; now a Pharaoh of the Memphite or Theban dynasties, now a stranger installed by chance upon the throne of Horus. The condition of the people never changed; the burden which crushed them was never lightened, and whatever hand happened to hold the stick, it never fell the less heavily upon their backs.

THE MEMPHITE EMPIRE.

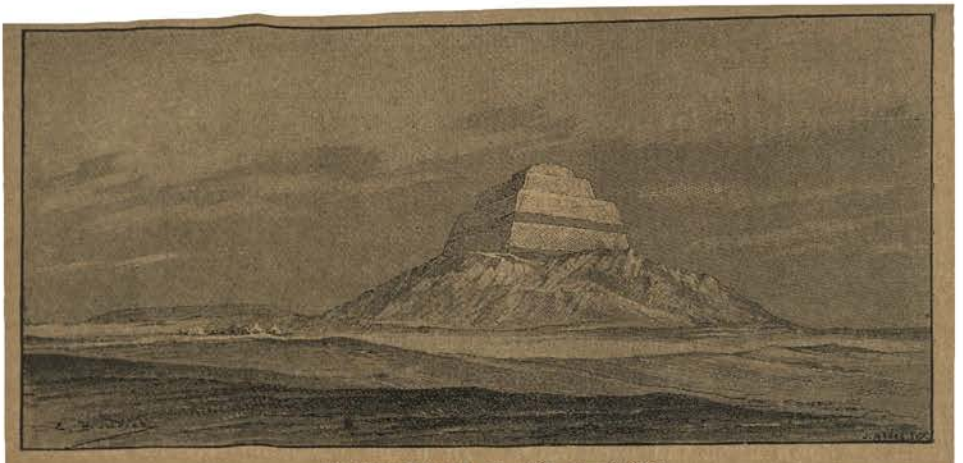
THE ROYAL PYRAMID BUILDERS: KHEOPS, KHEPHREN, MYKERINOS—MEMPHITE LITERATURE AND ART—EXTENSION OF EGYPT TOWARDS THE SOUTH, AND THE CONQUEST OF NUBIA BY THE PHARAOHS.

Snofrûi—The desert which separates Africa from Asia: its physical configuration, its inhabitants, their incursions into Egypt, and their relations with the Egyptians—The peninsula of Sinai: the turquoise and copper mines, the mining works of the Pharaohs—The two tombs of Snofrûi: the pyramid and the mastabas of Mêdûm, the statues of Rahotpû and his wife Nofrît.

Kheops, Khephren, and Mykerinos—The Great Pyramid: its construction and internal arrangements—The pyramids of Khephren and Mykerinos; the rifling of them—Legend about the royal pyramid builders: the impiety of Kheops and Khephren, the piety of Mykerinos; the brick pyramid of Asychis—The materials employed in building, and the quarries of Turah; the plans, the worship of the royal "double;" the Arab legends about the guardian genii of the pyramids.

The kings of the fifth dynasty: Ûsirkaf, Sahûri, Kakiû, and the romance about their advent—The relations of the Delta to the peoples of the North: the shipping and maritime commerce of the Egyptians—Nubia and its tribes: the Ûaûaiû and the Mazaiû, Pûanît, the dwarfs and the Danga—Egyptian literature: the Proverbs of Phtahhotpû—The arts: architecture, statuary and its chief examples, bas-reliefs, painting, industrial art.

The development of Egyptian feudalism, and the advent of the sixth dynasty: Ati, Imhotpû, Teti—Papi I. and his minister Ûni: the affair of Queen Amitsi; the wars against the Hirû-Shâîtû and the country of Tîba—Metesûphis I. and the second Papi: progress of the Egyptian power in Nubia—The lords of Elephantinê; Hirkhûf, Papinakhîti: the way for conquest prepared by their explorations, the occupation of the Oases—The pyramids of Saqqâra: Metesûphis the Second—Nitokris and the legend concerning her—Preponderance of the feudal lords, and fall of the Memphite dynasty.



THE PYRAMID OF SNOFRÛI AT MÊDÛM.[1]

CHAPTER V.

THE MEMPHITE EMPIRE.

The royal pyramid builders: Kheops, Khephren, Mykerinos—Memphite literature and art—Extension of Egypt towards the South, and the conquest of Nubia by the Pharaohs.

At that time[2] "the Majesty of King Hûni died, and the Majesty of King Snofrûi arose to be a sovereign benefactor over this whole earth."[3] All that we know of him is contained in one sentence: he fought against the nomads of Sinai, constructed fortresses to protect the eastern frontier of the Delta, and made for himself a tomb in the form of a pyramid.

The almost uninhabited country which connects Africa with Asia is flanked towards the south by two chains of hills which unite at right angles, and together form the so-called Gebel et-Tih. This country is a table-land, gently inclined from south to north, bare, sombre, covered with flint-shingle, and siliceous

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the chromolithograph in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, i. pl. 45. The vignette, also by Boudier, represents Râhotpû, a dignitary of Mêdûm, of whom mention is made further on (cf. p. 363 of this History); the drawing is made from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] About B.C. 4100, with the possibility of an error of several centuries more or less.

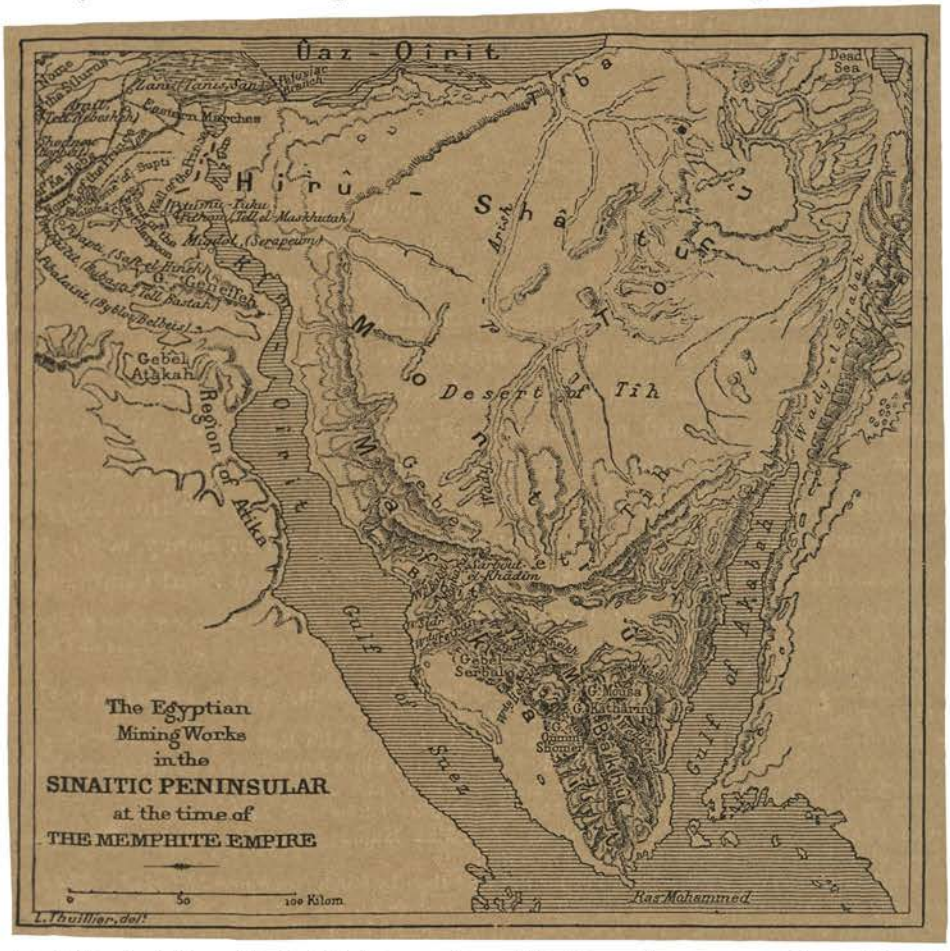
[3] *Prisse Papyrus*, pl. ii. ll. 7, 8 (VIREY's edition, p. 24). The fragments of the Royal Canon of Turin appear to attribute to Hûni and Snofrûi reigns of equal length, namely, of twenty-four years (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, p. 154, note 2).

rocks, and breaking out at frequent intervals into long low chalky hills, seamed with wadys, the largest of which—that of El-Arish—having drained all the others into itself, opens into the Mediterranean halfway between Pelusium and Gaza.[1] Torrents of rain are not infrequent in winter and spring, but the small quantity of water which they furnish is quickly evaporated, and barely keeps alive the meagre vegetation in the bottom of the valleys. Sometimes, after months of absolute drought, a tempest breaks over the more elevated parts of the desert.[2] The wind rises suddenly in squall-like blasts; thick clouds, borne one knows not whence, are riven by lightning to the incessant accompaniment of thunder; it would seem as if the heavens had broken up and were crashing down upon the mountains. In a few moments streams of muddy water rushing down the ravines, through the gulleys and along the slightest depressions, hurry to the low grounds, and meeting there in a foaming concourse, follow the fall of the land; a few minutes later, and the space between one hillside and the other is occupied by a deep river, flowing with terrible velocity and irresistible force. At the end of eight or ten hours the air becomes clear, the wind falls, the rain ceases; the hastily formed river dwindles, and for lack of supply is exhausted; the inundation comes to an end almost as quickly as it began. In a short time nothing remains of it but some shallow pools scattered in the hollows, or here and there small streamlets which rapidly dry up. The flood, however, accelerated by its acquired velocity, continues to descend towards the sea. The devastated flanks of the hills, their torn and corroded bases, the accumulated masses of shingle left by the eddies, the long lines of rocks and sand, mark its route and bear evidence everywhere of its power. The inhabitants, taught by experience, avoid a sojourn in places where tempests have once occurred. It is in vain that the sky is serene above them and the sun shines overhead; they always fear that at the moment in which danger seems least likely to threaten them, the torrent, taking its origin some twenty leagues off, may be on its headlong way to surprise them. And, indeed, it comes so suddenly and so violently that nothing in its course can escape it: men and beasts, before there is time to fly, often even before they are aware of its approach,

[1] Our acquaintance with Sinai and the neighbouring countries is due to the work of the English commission, *Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai*, 3 vols. fol. of photographs, 1 vol. of maps and plans, 1 vol. of text. It has been popularized by E. H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus*, 2 vols. octavo, 1871; and by H. SP. PALMER, *Sinai, from the IVth Egyptian Dynasty to the present day*, 18mo, 1878.

[2] In chap. viii. of the *Account of the Survey*, pp. 226-228, Mr. Holland describes a sudden rainstorm or "seîl" on December 3, 1867, which drowned thirty persons, destroyed droves of camels and asses, flocks of sheep and goats, and swept away, in the Wady Feîrân, a thousand palm trees and a grove of tamarisks, two miles in length. Towards 4.30 in the afternoon, a few drops of rain began to fall, but the storm did not break till 5 p.m. At 5.15 it was at its height, and it was not over till 9.30. The torrent, which at 8 p.m. was 10 feet deep, and was about 1000 feet in width, was, at 6 a.m. the next day, reduced to a small streamlet.

are swept away and pitilessly destroyed. The Egyptians applied to the entire country the characteristic epithet of To-Shûît, the land of Emptiness, the land



of Aridity.[1] They divided it into various districts—the upper and lower Tonû,[2]

[1] DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. ix. *b*; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions et Notices recueillies à Edfou*, pl. cxv. 7; cf. BRUGSCH, *Ein Geographisches Unicum*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1865, pp. 28, 29, and *Die Altägyptische Völkertafel*, in the *Abhandlungen des IVtes Orientalisten-Congresses, Afrikanische Sektion*, p. 75. This text, which had already been interpreted by J. de Rougé (*Textes géographiques du temple d'Edfou*, pp. 15, 16), identifies the "Barbarians of the land of Shûî" with the Shâsû, the Bedouin of the desert between Syria and Egypt. The gloss, "they live on the water of the Nile and of the streams," shows that they were spread even to the extreme frontiers of Egypt. The "To-Shûît" of the tomb of Khnûmhotpû (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccl xii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 138; GRIFFITH and NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pl. xxxviii. 2) is identical with the country of these "Barbarians;" it is, as W. Max Müller has translated it, "the dry country," the desert (*Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 16).

[2] *Upper* Tonû is mentioned only in the *Berlin Papyrus n° I.* l. 31, along with Tonû, taken generally (ll. 100, 109, 129, etc.). Chabas (*Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin*, p. 87) placed this country beyond Edom, either in Judæa or in the countries situated to the east of the Dead Sea. Subsequently he thought that there must have been access to it by sea; this led him to identify it with the maritime part of Palestine (*Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 100, 102). Mr. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, p. 47) believes that Tonû is a scribe's error for Rotenû, and, with Chabas, decides in favour

Aia,[1] Kadûma.[2] They called its inhabitants Hirû-Shâîtû, the lords of the Sands; Nomiû-Shâîtû, the rovers of the Sands;[3] and they associated them with the Amû—that is to say, with a race which we recognize as Semitic.[4] The type of these barbarians, indeed, reminds one of the Semitic massive head, aquiline nose, retreating forehead, long beard, thick and not infrequently crisp hair.[5] They went barefoot, and the monuments represent them as girt with a short kilt, though they also wore the *abayah*. Their arms were those commonly used by the Egyptians—the bow, lance, club, knife, battle-axe, and shield.[6] They possessed great flocks of goats or sheep,[7] but the horse and camel were unknown to them, as well as to their African neighbours. They lived chiefly upon the milk of their flocks, and the fruit of the date-palm. A section of them tilled the soil: settled around springs or wells, they managed by industrious labour to cultivate moderately sized but fertile fields, flourishing orchards, groups of palms, fig and olive trees, and vines.[8] In spite of all this their resources were insufficient, and their position would have been precarious if they had not been able to supplement their stock of provisions from Egypt or Southern Syria. They bartered at the frontier markets their honey, wool, gums manna, and small quantities of charcoal, for the products of local manufacture,

of Palestine. Tonû appears to me to be the territory which belonged later on to the tribe of Simeon, extending to Arabah and to the middle course of the Wady Arish (*Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. 94).

[1] *Berlin Papyrus n° I.*, l. 81, where a description of the country will be found; cf. p. 471 of this History.

[2] This name had been read Adimâ, Adûmâ, and identified with that of Edom and Chabas (*Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin*, pp. 40, 75), an identification which was adopted by all Egyptologists. Messrs. Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 182, note 3) and Erman (*Ægypten und Ægyptisches Leben in Altertum*, p. 495), followed by Mr. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 46, 47), read it "Kadûmâ"—possibly the Hebrew "Kedem;" Mr. Max Müller places this country of "Kadûma-Kedem" to the south-east or east of the Dead Sea.

[3] The Hirû-Shâîtû were pointed out for the first time by Birch (*On a new historical Tablet of the reign of Thothmes III.*, pp. 9, 10, taken from the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii.) as being probably the inhabitants of the desert. This sense, adopted and expanded by E. de Rougé (*Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 122, 127) and by Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 114–119), is now admitted to be correct by all Egyptologists. The variant "Nomiû-Shâîtû" occurs only, to my knowledge, in the *Berlin Papyrus n° I.*, l. 73, and in MARIETTE, Karnak, pl. xxxvii. l. 33 (cf. E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pl. xxvi. l. 14), in a text of the second Theban Empire.

[4] The *Inscription of Papinakhîti*, which will be mentioned later on, pp. 434, 435 of this History, in connection with the journeys undertaken by the princes of Elephantinê, says that the Hirû-Shâîtû were Amû.

[5] The pictures of the Monîtû, in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 39 *a*, 116 *a*, 152 *a* (cf. p. 351 of this History), give an idea of the appearance of the Hirû-Shâîtû, with whom they are often confounded.

[6] A description of a Tonû warrior, prepared for war, occurs in the *Berlin Papyrus n° I.*, ll. 127–129, 134, 135 (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 108; cf. p. 472 of this History).

[7] *Berlin Papyrus n° I.*, ll. 112, 117–128, where the hero includes cats in the enumeration of his cattle, probably tame cats, which were carried from Egypt into Asiatic countries.

[8] Cf. the description of Aîa, in the *Berlin Papyrus n° I.*, ll. 79–92 (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 104–108; PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. pp. 105–107; cf. p. 471 of this History). The narrative given by Ûni of his campaigns against the Hirû-Shâîtû, under Papi I. (l. 23, et seq.; cf. pp. 419–421), is a confirmation of the picture traced by Sinûhît of the country, and shows that the conditions of it had not changed between the Memphites and the XIIth dynasty,

but especially for wheat, or the cereals of which they stood in need.[1] The sight of the riches gathered together in the eastern plain, from Tanis to Bubastis, excited their pillaging instincts, and awoke in them an irrepressible covetousness. The Egyptian annals make mention of their incursions at the very commencement of history, and they maintained that even the gods had to take steps to protect themselves from them. The Gulf of Suez and the mountainous rampart of Gebel Geneffeh in the south, and the marshes of Pelusium on the north, protected almost completely the eastern boundary of the Delta; but the Wady Tumilât laid open the heart of the country to the invaders. The Pharaohs of the divine dynasties[2] in the first place, and then those of the human dynasties, had fortified this natural opening, some say by a continuous wall, others by a line of military posts, flanked on the one side by the waters of the gulf.[3] Snofrûi restored or constructed several castles in this district, which perpetuated his name for a long time after his death.[5] These had the square or rectangular form

A BARBARIAN MONÎTI FROM SINAI.[4]

[1] These are, with scarcely any difference, the products which the Bedouin of those parts used to bring regularly to the Egyptian frontier at the beginning of our century (J. M. J. COUTELLE, *Observations sur la topographie de la presqu'île du Sinaï*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xvi. pp 185–187).

[2] See p. 170 of this History for information on the forts built by the god Râ, on the east of the Delta.

[3] The existence of the wall, or of the line of military posts, is of very ancient date, for the name Kîm-Oîrît is already followed by the hieroglyph of the wall (*Papi I.*, l. 27; *Mirniri*, l. 38; *Teti*, l. 274), or by that of a fortified enclosure (*Mirniri*, l. 142) in the texts of the Pyramids. The expression Kîm-Oîrît, "the very black," is applied to the northern part of the Red Sea, in contradistinction to Ûaz-Oîrît, Ûazît-Oîrît, "the very green," the Mediterranean (ERMAN, *Zur Erklärung der Pyramidentexte*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxix. pp. 44, 45; cf. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 40, et seq.); a town, probably built at a short distance from the village of Maghâr, had taken its name from the gulf on which it was situated, and was also called Kîm-Oîrît.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Petrie. The original is of the time of Nectanebo, and is at Karnak; I have chosen it for reproduction in preference to the heads of the time of the Ancient Empire, which are more injured, and of which this is only the traditional copy.

[5] *Berlin Papyrus n° I.*, ll. 16, 17 (cf. CHABAS, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin*, pp. 38, 39), and *St. Petersburg Papyrus n° I.*, quoted and analysed by Golénischeff in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 110; *Inscription of Ûni*, l. 21. In the latter text Snofrûi is designated only by his name of Horus, "Horû nib mâit" (cf. SETHE, *Ein neuer Horusname*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. p. 62).

of the towers, whose ruins are still to be seen on the banks of the Nile. Standing night and day upon the battlements, the sentinels kept a strict look-out over the desert, ready to give alarm at the slightest suspicious movement. The marauders took advantage of any inequality in the ground to approach unperceived, and they were often successful in getting through the lines;[1] they scattered themselves over the country, surprised a village or two, bore off such women and children as they could lay their hands on, took possession of herds of animals, and, without carrying their depredations further, hastened to regain their solitudes before information of their exploits could have reached the

TWO REFUGE TOWERS OF THE HIRÛ-SHÂÎTÛ, IN THE WADY BÎAR.[2]

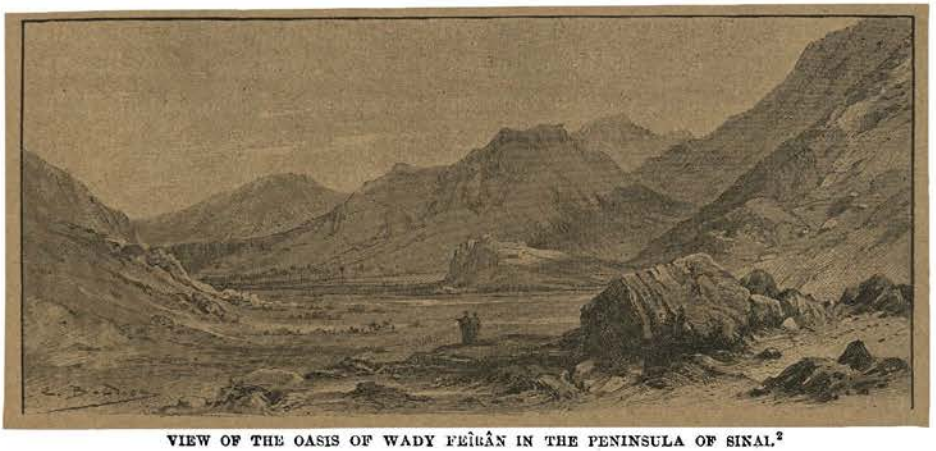
garrison. If their expeditions became numerous, the general of the Eastern Marches, or the Pharaoh himself, at the head of a small army, started on a campaign of reprisals against them. The marauders did not wait to be attacked, but betook themselves to refuges constructed by them beforehand at certain points in their territory. They erected here and there, on the crest of some steep hill, or at the confluence of several wadys, stone towers put together without mortar, and rounded at the top like so many beehives, in unequal groups of three, ten, or thirty; here they massed themselves as well as they could, and defended the position with the greatest obstinacy, in the hope that their assailants, from the lack of water and provisions, would soon be forced to retreat.[3] Elsewhere they possessed fortified "duars," where not only their families but

[1] We find in the *Berlin Papyrus n° I.*, l. 16, et seq. (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 99; PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. pp. 100, 101), the description of one of these forts, and the manner in which Sinûhît concealed his advance from the watch; he lay hidden in the neighbouring brushwood during the day, and resumed his march only at midnight.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the vignette by E. H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 317.

[3] The members of the English Commission do not hesitate to attribute the construction of these

also their herds could find a refuge—circular or oval enclosures, surrounded by low walls of massive rough stones crowned by a thick rampart made of branches of acacia interlaced with thorny bushes, the tents or huts being ranged behind, while in the centre was an empty space for the cattle.[1] These primitive fortresses were strong enough to overawe nomads; regular troops made short work of them. The Egyptians took them by assault, overturned them, cut down the fruit trees, burned the crops, and retreated in security, after having destroyed everything in their march. Each of their campaigns, which hardly



VIEW OF THE OASIS OF WADY FEÎRÂN IN THE PENINSULA OF SINAI.[2]

lasted more than a few days, secured the tranquillity of the frontier for some years.[3]

To the south of Gebel et-Tîh, and cut off from it almost completely by a moat of wadys, a triangular group of mountains known as Sinai thrusts a wedge-shaped spur into the Red Sea, forcing back its waters to the right and left into two narrow gulfs, that of Akabah and that of Suez. Gebel Katherin stands up from the centre and overlooks the whole peninsula. A sinuous chain detaches itself from it and ends at Gebel Serbâl, at some distance to the north-west; another trends to the south, and after attaining in Gebel Umm-Shomer an elevation equal to that of Gebel Katherin, gradually diminishes in height,

towers to the remotest antiquity (E. H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 309, et seq., 316, et seq.; *Account of the Survey*, pp. 66, 194, 195, and pl. ix. 1): the Bedouin call them "namûs," plur. "nawamîs," mosquito-houses, and they say that the children of Israel built them as a shelter during the night from mosquitos at the time of the Exodus. The resemblance of these buildings to the "Talayôt" of the Balearic Isles, and to the Scotch beehive-shaped houses, has struck all travellers.

[1] E. H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 320-322; MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 30, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiv., 1891-92, pp. 326, 327.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from the water-colour drawing published by LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, i. 7, No. 2.

[3] The inscription of Ûni (ll. 22-32) furnishes us with the invariable type of the Egyptian campaigns against the Hirû-Shâîtû: the bas-reliefs of Karnak might serve to illustrate it, as they

and plunges into the sea at Ras-Mohammed. A complicated system of gorges and valleys—Wady Nasb, Wady Kidd, Wady Hebrân, Wady Baba—furrows the country and holds it as in a network of unequal meshes. Wady Feîrân contains the most fertile oasis in the peninsula. A never-failing stream waters it for about two or three miles of its length; quite a little forest of palms enlivens both banks—somewhat meagre and thin, it is true, but intermingled with acacias, tamarisks, nabecas, carob trees, and willows. Birds sing amid their branches, sheep wander in the pastures, while the huts of the inhabitants peep out at intervals from among the trees. Valleys and plains, even in some places the slopes of the hills, are sparsely covered with those delicate aromatic herbs which affect a stony soil. Their life is a perpetual struggle against the sun: scorched, dried up, to all appearance dead, and so friable that they crumble to pieces in the fingers when one attempts to gather them, the spring rains annually infuse into them new life, and bestow upon them, almost before one's eyes, a green and perfumed youth of some days' duration. The summits of the hills remain always naked, and no vegetation softens the ruggedness of their outlines, or the glare of their colouring. The core of the peninsula is hewn, as it were, out of a block of granite, in which white, rose-colour, brown, or black predominate, according to the quantities of felspar, quartz, or oxides of iron which the rocks contain. Towards the north, the masses of sandstone which join on to Gebel et-Tîh assume all possible shades of red and grey, from a delicate lilac neutral tint to dark purple. The tones of colour, although placed crudely side by side, present nothing jarring nor offensive to the eye; the sun floods all, and blends them in his light. The Sinaitic peninsula is at intervals swept, like the desert to the east of Egypt, by terrible tempests, which denude its mountains and transform its wadys into so many ephemeral torrents. The Monîtû who frequented this region from the dawn of history did not differ much from the "Lords of the Sands;"[1] they were of the same type, had the same costume, the same arms, the same nomadic instincts, and in districts where the soil permitted it, made similar brief efforts to cultivate it. They worshipped a god and a goddess whom the Egyptians identified with Horus and Hâthor; one of these appeared to represent the light, perhaps the sun, the other the heavens.[2] They had discovered at an early period in the sides of

represent the great raid led by Seti I. into the territory of the Shaûsûs and their allies, between the frontier of Egypt and the town of Hebron (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pls. cclxxxix.–cccii.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Reali*, pls. xlvi.–lxi.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 126, 127).

[1] For information on the Monîtû, cf. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern*, pp. 17–24.

[2] These are the divinities most frequently invoked in the religious worship of the Egyptian officers and miners residing in the neighbourhood of the mines of Mafkaît (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 137).

the hills rich metalliferous veins, and strata, bearing precious stones; from these they learned to extract iron, oxides of copper and manganese, and turquoises, which they exported to the Delta. The fame of their riches, carried to the banks of the Nile, excited the cupidity of the Pharaohs; expeditions started from different points of the valley, swept down upon the peninsula, and established themselves by main force in the midst of the districts where the mines lay.[1] These were situated to the north-west, in the region of sandstone, between the western branch of Gebel et-Tîh and the Gulf of Suez. They were collectively called Mafkaît, the country of turquoises, a fact which accounts for the application of the local epithet, lady of Mafkaît, to Hâthor. The earliest district explored, that which the Egyptians first attacked, was separated from the coast by a narrow plain and a single range of hills: the produce of the mines could be thence transported to the sea in a few hours without difficulty. Pharaoh's labourers called this region the district of Baît, the mine *par excellence*, or of Bebît, the country of grottoes, from the numerous tunnels which their predecessors had made there: the name Wady Maghara, Valley of the Cavern, by which the site is now designated, is simply an Arabic translation of the old Egyptian word.[2]

The Monîtû did not accept this usurpation of their rights without a struggle, and the Egyptians who came to work among them had either to purchase their forbearance by a tribute, or to hold themselves always in readiness to repulse the assaults of the Monîtû by force of arms. Zosiri had already taken steps to ensure the safety of the turquoise-seekers[3] at their work; Snofrûi was not, therefore, the first Pharaoh who passed that way, but none of his predecessors had left so many traces of his presence as he did in this out-of-the-way corner of the empire. There may still be seen, on the north-west slope of the Wady Maghara, the bas-relief which one of his lieutenants engraved there in memory of a victory gained over the Monîtû. A Bedouin sheikh fallen on his knees prays for mercy with suppliant gesture, but Pharaoh has already seized him by his long hair, and brandishes above his head a white stone mace to fell him with a single blow.[4] The workmen, partly

[1] The history of the Egyptian mining works in the Sinaitic peninsula has been elucidated by G. EBERS, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, and by BRUGSCH, *Wanderung nach den Türkis-Minen;* the majority of the inscriptions will be found briefly translated by Birch in the seventh chapter of the *Account of the Survey*, p. 168, et seq.

[2] The actual form of the Egyptian name appears to have clung to one of the smaller wadys which connect the mines of Wady Maghara with those of Sarbut el-Khadîm—the Wady Babah (EBERS, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 130, 535; BRUGSCH, *Wanderung nach den Türkis-Minen und der Sinai-Halbinsel*, pp. 81, 82); *Babît*, however, is perhaps a fault of transcription for *Abû*, the Eastern country. The Bedouin usually call the Wady Maghara, the Wady Genneh or Wady Igneh (E. H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 195).

[3] BÉNÉDITE, *Le nom d'épervier du roi Sozir*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xvi. p. 104; cf. above, p. 242.

[4] LÉON DE LABORDE, *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée*, pl. 5, No. 3; LOTTIN DE LAVAL, *Voyage dans la*

recruited from the country itself, partly despatched from the banks of the Nile, dwelt in an entrenched camp upon an isolated peak at the confluence of Wady Genneh and Wady Maghara.[1] A zigzag pathway on its smoothest slope ends, about seventeen feet below the summit, at the extremity of a small and slightly inclined table-land, upon which are found the ruins of a large village; this is the High Castle—Hâît-Qaît[2] of the ancient inscriptions. Two hundred habitations can still be made out here, some round, some rectangular, constructed of sandstone blocks without mortar, and not larger than the huts of the fellahîn: in former times a flat roof of wickerwork and puddled clay extended over each. The entrance was not so much a door as a narrow opening, through which a fat man would find it difficult to pass; the interior consisted of a single chamber, except in the case of the chief of the works, whose dwelling contained two. A rough stone bench from two to two and a half feet high surrounds the plateau on which the village stands; a *cheval de frise* made of thorny brushwood probably completed the defence, as in the *duars* of the desert. The position was very strong and easily defended. Watchmen scattered over the neighbouring summits kept an outlook over the distant plain and the defiles of the mountains. Whenever the cries of these sentinels announced the approach of the foe, the workmen immediately deserted the mine and took refuge in their citadel, which a handful of resolute men could successfully hold, as long as hunger and thirst did not enter into the question. As the ordinary springs and wells would not have been sufficient to supply

THE MINING WORKS OF WADY MAGHARA.[3]

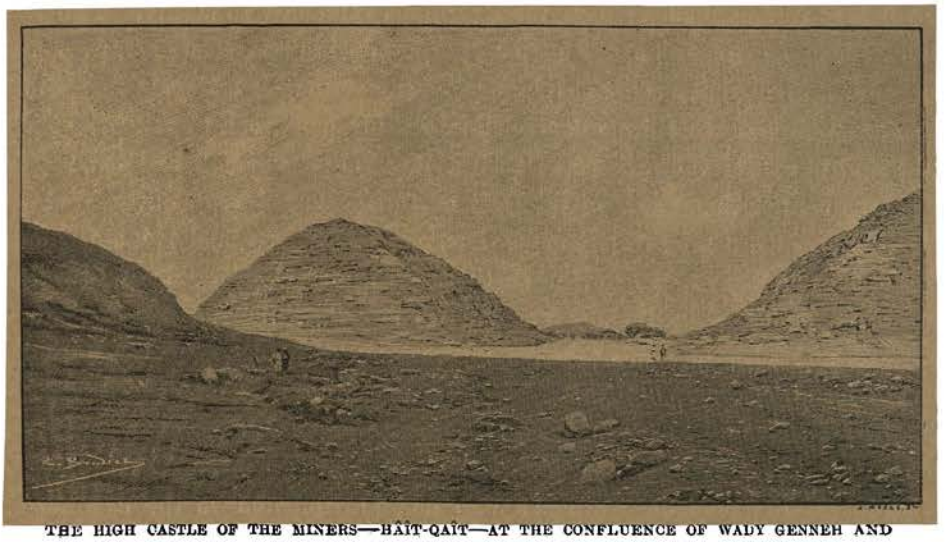
Péninsule Arabique et l'Égypte moyenne, Ins. hiér., pl. 1, No. 1; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 5; BIRCH, in the *Account of the Survey*, p. 171.

[1] The description of the Egyptian ruins and of the turquoise mines in their neighbourhood is taken from J. KEAST LORD, *The Peninsula of Sinai* (in the *Leisure Hour*, 1870), of which M. Chabas has already felicitously made use in his *Recherches sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 348–363; an analogous description is found in the *Account of the Survey*, pp. 222–224. A short and rather inexact account of them is to be found in J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, pp. 218, 299.

[2] BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der Alten Ægypter*, pp. 567, 568; Hâît-Qaît is again mentioned in the Ptolemaic times, in DÜMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. iii. pl. li.

[3] Plan made by Thuillier, from the sketch by BRUGSCH, *Wanderung nach den Türkis-Minen*, p. 70.

the needs of the colony, they had transformed the bottom of the valley into an artificial lake. A dam thrown across it prevented the escape of the waters, which filled the reservoir more or less completely according to the season. It never became empty, and several species of shellfish flourished in it—among others, a kind of large mussel which the inhabitants generally used as food, which with dates, milk, oil, coarse bread, a few vegetables, and from time to time a fowl or a joint of meat, made up their scanty fare. Other



THE HIGH CASTLE OF THE MINERS—HAÎT-QAÎT—AT THE CONFLUENCE OF WADY GENNEH AND WADY MAGHARA.[1]

things were of the same primitive character. The tools found in the village are all of flint: knives, scrapers, saws, hammers, and heads of lances and arrows. A few vases brought from Egypt are distinguished by the fineness of the material and the purity of the design; but the pottery in common use was made on the spot from coarse clay without care, and regardless of beauty. As for jewellery, the villagers had beads of glass or blue enamel, and necklaces of strung cowrie-shells. In the mines, as in their own houses, the workmen employed stone tools only, with handles of wood, or of plaited willow twigs, but their chisels or hammers were more than sufficient to cut the yellow sandstone, coarse-grained and very friable as it was, in the midst of which they worked.[2] The tunnels running straight into the mountain were low and wide, and were supported at intervals by pillars of sandstone left *in situ*. These tunnels led into chambers of

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the photograph published in the Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai, Photographs, vol. ii. pls. 59, 60.

[2] E. H. Palmer, however, from his observations, is of opinion that the work in the tunnels of the mines was executed entirely by means of bronze chisels and tools; the flint implements serving only to incise the scenes which cover the surfaces of the rocks (*The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 197).

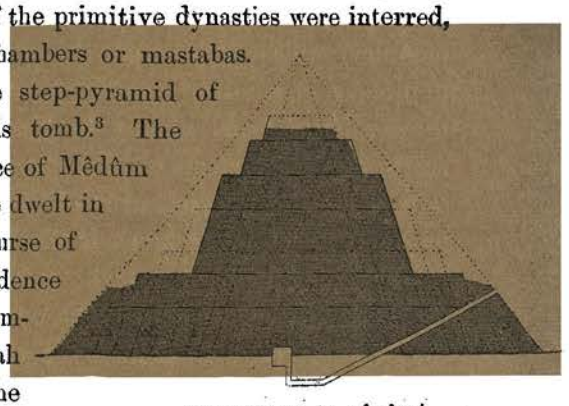
various sizes, whence they followed the lead of the veins of precious mineral. The turquoise sparkled on every side—on the ceiling and on the walls—and the miners, profiting by the slightest fissures, cut round it, and then with forcible blows detached the blocks, and reduced them to small fragments, which they crushed, and carefully sifted so as not to lose a particle of the gem. The oxides of copper and of manganese which they met with here and elsewhere in moderate quantities, were used in the manufacture of those beautiful blue enamels of various shades which the Egyptians esteemed so highly. The few hundreds of men of which the permanent population was composed, provided for the daily exigencies of industry and commerce. Royal inspectors arrived from time to time to examine into their condition, to rekindle their zeal, and to collect the product of their toil. When Pharaoh had need of a greater quantity than usual of minerals or turquoises, he sent thither one of his officers, with a select body of carriers, mining experts, and stone-dressers. Sometimes as many as two or three thousand men poured suddenly into the peninsula, and remained there one or two months; the work went briskly forward, and advantage was taken of the occasion to extract and transport to Egypt beautiful blocks of diorite, serpentine or granite, to be afterwards manufactured there into sarcophagi or statues. Engraved stelæ, to be seen on the sides of the mountains, recorded the names of the principal chiefs, the different bodies of handicraftsmen who had participated in the campaign, the name of the sovereign who had ordered it and often the year of his reign.

It was not one tomb only which Snofrûi had caused to be built, but two.[1] He called them "Khâ," the Rising, the place where the dead Pharaoh, identified with the sun, is raised above the world for ever. One of these was probably situated near Dahshûr; the other, the "Khâ rîsi," the Southern Rising, appears to be identical with the monument of Mêdûm. The pyramid, like the mastaba,[2] represents a tumulus with four sides, in which the earthwork

[1] These tombs are mentioned in a certain number of inscriptions (MASPERO, *Quatre Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 190): the name is determined in several cases by two pyramids, and in one instance at least, at Dahshûr, the "southern pyramid Khâ" is mentioned. As was the case with the Pharaoh Ai, towards the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, so it must have been with Snofrûi: after having prepared a tomb for himself on the Dahshûr site, he must, owing to a change of residence, have relinquished the idea of occupying it, and must have constructed a second one at Mêdûm.

[2] No satisfactory etymon for the word *pyramid* has as yet been proposed; the least far-fetched is that put forward by Cantor-Eisenlohr (EISENLOHR, *Des Mesures égyptiennes*, in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, p. 288, and *Ein Mathematisches Handbuch der Alten Ægypter*, p. 116), according to which *pyramid* is the Greek form, πυραμίς, of the compound term "piri-m-ûisi," which in Egyptian mathematical phraseology designates the *salient angle*, the ridge or height of the pyramid (L. RODET, *Sur un Manuel du Calculateur découvert dans un papyrus égyptien*, p. 8; taken from the *Bulletin de la Société mathématique de France*, 1878, vol. vi. p. 146; E. RÉVILLOUT, *Note sur l'équerre égyptienne et son emploi, d'après le Papyrus Mathématique*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. ii. p. 309; L. BORCHARDT, *Die Böschungen der Pyramiden*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxi. p. 14).

is replaced by a structure of stone or brick.[1] It indicates the place in which lies a prince, chief, or person of rank in his tribe or province. It was built on a base of varying area, and was raised to a greater or less elevation according to the fortune of the deceased or of his family.[2] The fashion of burying in a pyramid was not adopted in the environs of Memphis until tolerably late times, and the Pharaohs of the primitive dynasties were interred, as their subjects were, in sepulchral chambers or mastabas. Zosiri was the only exception, if the step-pyramid of Saqqâra, as is probable, served for his tomb.[3] The motive which determined Snofrûi's choice of Mêdûm as a site, is unknown to us: perhaps he dwelt in that city of Heracleopolis, which in course of time frequently became the favourite residence of the kings: perhaps he improvised for himself a city in the plain between El-Wastah and Kafr el-Ayat. His pyramid, at the present time, is composed of three large unequal cubes with slightly inclined sides, arranged in steps one above the other. Some centuries ago[5] five could be still determined, and in ancient times, before ruin had set in, as many as seven.[6] Each block marked a progressive increase of the total mass, and had its external face polished—a fact which we can still determine by examining the slabs one behind another; a facing of large blocks, of which many of the courses still exist towards the base, covered the whole, at one angle from the apex to the foot, and brought it into conformity with the type of the classic pyramid. The passage had its orifice in the middle of the north face about sixty feet above the ground:[7] it is five feet high, and dips at a tolerably steep angle



THE PYRAMID OF MÊDÛM.[4]

[1] BARRY DE MERVAL, *Études sur l'Architecture égyptienne*, p. 122, et seq.; PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 200, et seq.; MASPERO, *Archéologie égyptienne*, p. 125.

[2] The brick pyramids of Abydos were all built for private persons (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39, 42–44). The word "mirit," which designates a pyramid in the texts, is elsewhere applied to the tombs of nobles and commoners as well as to those of kings.

[3] It is difficult to admit that a pyramid of considerable dimensions could have disappeared without leaving any traces behind, especially when we see the enormous masses of masonry which still mark the sites of those which have been most injured; besides, the inscriptions connect none of the predecessors of Snofrûi with a pyramid, unless it be Zosiri (cf. pp. 242–244 of this History). The step-pyramid of Saqqâra, which is attributed to the latter, belongs to the same type as that of Mêdûm; so does also the pyramid of Rîgah, whose occupant is unknown. If we admit that this last-mentioned pyramid served as a tomb to some intermediate Pharaoh between Zosiri and Snofrûi—for instance, Hûni—the use of pyramids would be merely exceptional for sovereigns anterior to the IVth dynasty.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the plans of FLINDERS PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. ii.

[5] MAKRÎZÎ, *Description de l'Égypte et du Caire*, Boulaq edition, vol. i. p. 116: "There is another pyramid, called the *Pyramid of Mêdûm*, which is like a mountain, and has five stories;" he cites as his authority for this statement the Sheikh Abû-Mohammed Abdallah, son of Abderrahîm el-Qaîsi.

[6] W. FL. PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 5, et seq., where the testimony of various authorities is briefly given.

[7] The pyramid of Mêdûm was opened in 1882 by Maspero (*Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*,

through the solid masonry. At a depth of a hundred and ninety-seven feet it becomes level, without increasing in aperture, runs for forty feet on this plane, traversing two low and narrow chambers, then making a sharp turn it ascends perpendicularly until it reaches the floor of the vault. The latter is hewn out of the mountain rock, and is small, rough, and devoid of ornament: the ceiling appears to be in three heavy horizontal courses of masonry, which project one beyond the other corbel-wise, and give the impression of a sort of acutely pointed arch. Snofrûi slept there for ages; then robbers found a way to him, despoiled and broke up his mummy, scattered the fragments of his coffin upon the ground, and carried off the stone sarcophagus. The apparatus of beams and cords of which they made use for the descent, hung in their place above the mouth of the shaft until ten years ago. The rifling of the tomb took place at a remote date, for from the XXth dynasty onwards the curious were accustomed to penetrate into the passage: two scribes have scrawled their names in ink on the back of the framework in which the stone cover was originally inserted.[1] The sepulchral chapel was built a little in front of the east face; it consisted of two small-sized rooms with bare surfaces, a court whose walls abutted on the pyramid, and in the court, facing the door, a massive table of offerings flanked by two large stelæ without inscriptions, as if the death of the king had put a stop to the decoration before the period determined on by the architects. It was still accessible to any one during the XVIIIth dynasty, and people came there to render homage to the memory of Snofrûi or his wife Mirisônkhû. Visitors recorded in ink on the walls their enthusiastic, but stereotyped impressions: they compared the "Castle of Snofrûi" with the firmament, "when the sun arises in it; the heaven rains incense there and pours out perfumes on the roof." Ramses II., who had little respect for the works of his predecessors, demolished a part of the pyramid in order to procure cheaply the materials necessary for the buildings which he restored to Heracleopolis. His workmen threw down the waste stone and mortar beneath the place where they were working, without troubling themselves as to what might be beneath; the court became choked up, the sand borne by the wind gradually invaded the chambers, the chapel disappeared, and remained buried for more than three thousand years.[3]

The officers of Snofrûi, his servants, and the people of his city wished,

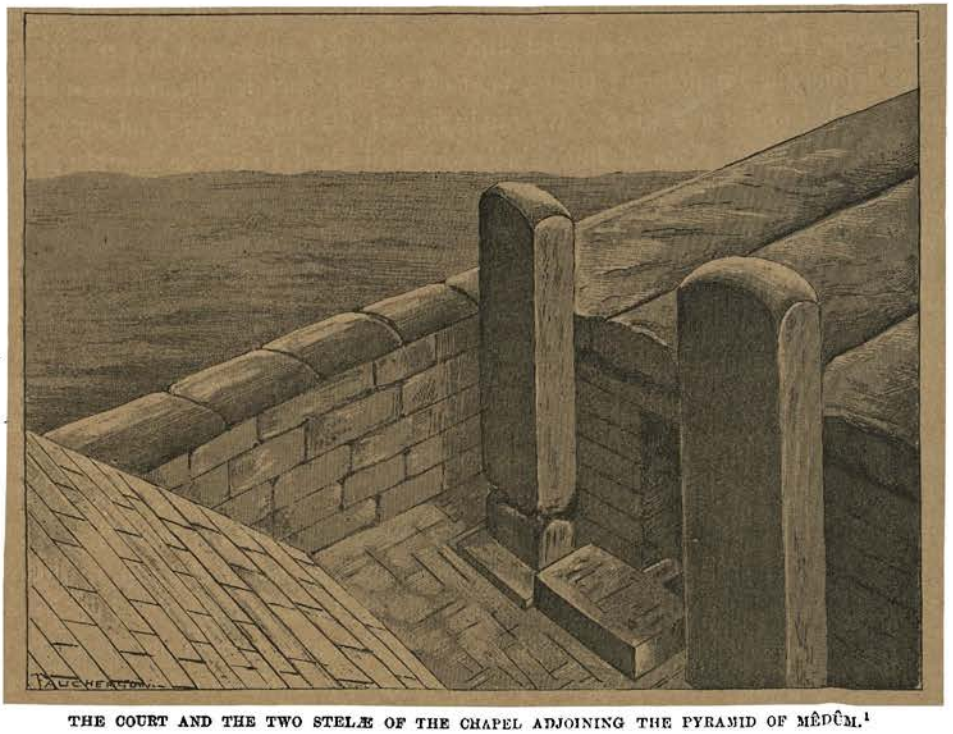
vol. i. pp. 149, 150; cf. *Archéologie égyptienne*, p. 138). It was explored afresh, nine years later, by Professor Petrie, who measured its dimensions with scrupulous exactness (*Medum*, pp. 10, 11).

[1] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 149.

[2] W. FL. PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. xxxiii. ll. 8-10, and p. 40.

[3] It was discovered by Professor Petrie, *Medum*, pp. 8-10, pl. iv.; and *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, pp. 140, 151. Mr. Petrie on leaving filled up the place again to protect it from the Arabs and tourists.

according to custom, to rest beside him, and thus to form a court for him in the other world as they had done in this. The menials were buried in roughly made trenches, frequently in the ground merely, without coffins or sarcophagi. The body was not laid out its whole length on its back in the attitude of repose: it more frequently rested on its left side, the head to the north, the face to the east, the legs bent, the right arm brought up



THE COURT AND THE TWO STELÆ OF THE CHAPEL ADJOINING THE PYRAMID OF MÊDÛM.[1]

against the breast, the left following the outline of the chest and legs.[2] The people who were interred in a posture so different from that with which we are familiar in the case of ordinary mummies, belonged to a foreign race, who had retained in the treatment of their dead the customs of their native country. The Pharaohs often peopled their royal cities with prisoners of war, captured on the field of battle, or picked up in an expedition through an enemy's country. Snofrûi peopled his city with men from the Libyan tribes living on the borders of the Western desert or Monîtû captives.[3] The body having

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by FL. PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, p. 141.

[2] W. FL. PETRIE, *Medum*, pp. 21, 22. Many of these mummies were mutilated, some lacking a leg, others an arm or a hand; these were probably workmen who had fallen victims to an accident during the building of the pyramid. In the majority of cases the detached limb had been carefully placed with the body, doubtless in order that the double might find it in the other world, and complete himself when he pleased for the exigencies of his new existence.

[3] PETRIE thinks that the people who were interred in a contracted position belonged to the aboriginal race of the valley, reduced to a condition of servitude by a race who had come from Asia,

been placed in the grave, the relatives who had taken part in the mourning heaped together in a neighbouring hole the funerary furniture, flint implements, copper needles, miniature pots and pans made of rough and badly burned clay, bread, dates, and eatables in dishes wrapped up in linen.[1] The nobles ranged their mastabas in a single line to the north of the pyramid; these form fine-looking masses of considerable size, but they are for the most part unfinished and empty.[2] Snofrûi having disappeared from the scene, Kheops who succeeded him forsook the place, and his courtiers, abandoning their unfinished tombs, went off to construct for themselves others around that of the new king. We rarely find at Mêdûm finished and occupied sepulchres except those of individuals who had died before or shortly after Snofrûi.[3] The mummy of Rânofir, found in one of them, shows how far the Egyptians had carried the art of embalming at this period. His body, though much shrunken, is well preserved: it had been clothed in some fine stuff, then covered over with a layer of resin, which a clever sculptor had modelled in such a manner as to present an image resembling the deceased; it was then rolled in three or four folds of thin and almost transparent gauze.[4] Of these tombs the most important belonged to the Prince Nofirmâît and his wife Atiti: it is decorated with bas-reliefs of a peculiar composition; the figures have been cut in outline in the limestone, and the hollows thus made are filled in with a mosaic of tinted pastes which show the moulding and colour of the parts.[5] Everywhere else the ordinary methods of sculpture have been employed, the bas-reliefs being enhanced by brilliant colouring in a simple and delicate manner. The figures of men and animals are portrayed with a vivacity of manner which is astonishing; and the other objects, even the hieroglyphs, are rendered with an accuracy which does not neglect the smallest detail.[6] The statues of Râhotpû and of the lady Nofrît, discovered in a half-ruined mastaba, have fortunately reached us without having suffered the least damage, almost without losing anything of their original freshness;[7]

and who had established the kingdom of Egypt. The latter were represented by the mummies disposed at full length (*Medum*, p. 21).

[1] W. Fl. Petrie, *Medum*, pp. 18, 20, 21, pls. xix.-xxi.

[2] Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 173.

[3] These mastabas were explored for the first time and described by Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 468-482, and *Monuments divers*, pls. xvii.-xix.; cf. Villiers-Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, pp. 27-39, and *Egypt after the War*, pp. 469-472. They have been excavated afresh by W. Fl. Petrie, *Medum*, 1892, who has carefully reproduced in colour the most interesting fragments of the decoration.

[4] W. Fl. Petrie, *Medum*, pp. 17, 18. Professor Petrié has presented this mummy, the most ancient specimen perhaps in existence, to the Anatomical Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

[5] Mr. Spurrell has made, for Mr. Petrie, in a most complete manner, a chemical analysis and technical study of these coloured pastes (*Medum*, pp. 28, 29).

[6] Mr. Petrie has devoted to the hieroglyphs of these sepulchres a most searching examination, and has reproduced a considerable number of them in the coloured plates which accompany his volume (*Medum*, pp. 29-33).

[7] See the head of Râhotpû at p. 347 of this History, where it serves as the initial vignette of this chapter.

they are to be seen in the Gîzeh Museum just as they were when they left the hands of the workman.[1] Râhotpû was the son of a king, perhaps of Snofrûi: but in spite of his high origin, I find something humble and retiring in his physiognomy. Nofrît, on the contrary, has an imposing appearance: an indescribable air of resolution and command invests her whole person, and the sculptor has cleverly given expression to it. She is represented in a robe with a pointed opening in the front: the shoulders, the bosom, waist, and hips, are shown under the material of the dress with a purity and delicate grace which one does not always find in more modern works of art. The wig, secured on the forehead by a richly embroidered band, frames with its somewhat heavy masses the firm and rather plump face: the eyes are living, the nostrils breathe, the mouth smiles and is about to speak. The art of Egypt has at times been as fully inspired; it has never been more so than on the day in which it produced the statue of Nofrît.

NOFRÎT, LADY OF MÊDÛM.[2]

The worship of Snofrûi was perpetuated from century to century. After the fall of the Memphite empire it passed through periods of intermittence, during which it ceased to be observed, or was observed only in an irregular way; it reappeared under the Ptolemies[3] for the last time before becoming extinct for ever. Snofrûi was probably, therefore, one of the most popular kings of the good old times; but his fame, however great it may have been among the Egyptians, has been eclipsed in our eyes by that of the Pharaohs who immediately followed him—Kheops, Khephren, and Mykerinos. Not that we are really better acquainted with their history. All we know of them is made up of two or three series of facts, always the same, which the contemporaneous monuments teach us concerning these rulers. Khnûmû-Khûfûi,[4]

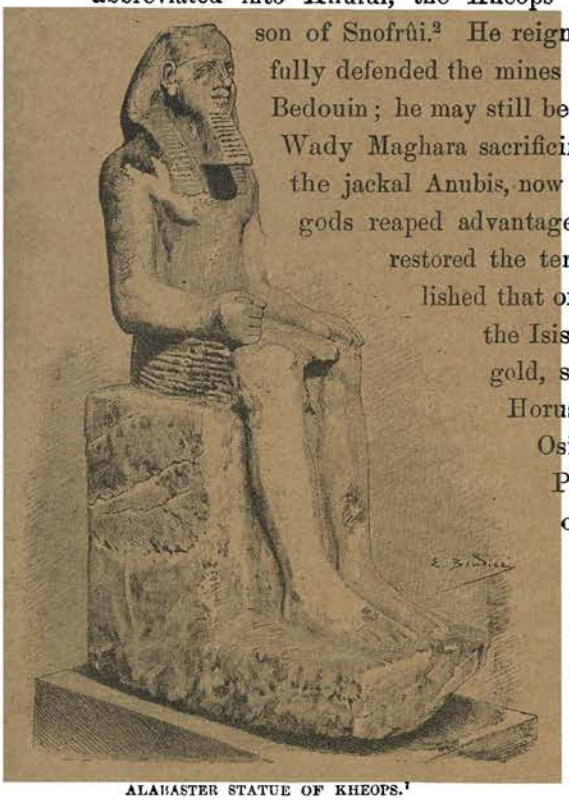
[1] The discovery of these statues has been described by DANINOS-PASHA, *Letter to M. G. Maspero*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. viii. pp. 69–73. They are reproduced in MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 20.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[3] We have evidence that his worship was observed under the Vth dynasty (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 198; cf. possibly LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 152), later under the XIIth (MARIETTE, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, p. 588), and lastly under the Ptolemies (Louvre, D. 13, and LEEMANS, *Lettre à M. François Salvolini*, p. 141, pl. xxviii. No. 284).

[4] The existence of the two cartouches Khûfûi and Khnûmû-Khûfûi on the same monuments has caused much embarrassment to Egyptologists: the majority have been inclined to see here two different kings, the second of whom, according to M. Robiou, would have been the person who

abbreviated into Khûfûi, the Kheops[1] of the Greeks, was probably the son of Snofrûi.[2] He reigned twenty-three years,[3] and successfully defended the mines of the Sinaitic peninsula against the Bedouin; he may still be seen on the face of the rocks in the Wady Maghara sacrificing his Asiatic prisoners, now before the jackal Anubis, now before the ibis-headed Thot.[4] The gods reaped advantage from his activity and riches; he restored the temple of Hâthor at Dendera,[5] embellished that of Bubastis,[6] built a stone sanctuary to the Isis of the Sphinx, and consecrated there gold, silver, bronze, and wooden statues of Horus, Nephthys, Selkît, Phtah, Sokhît, Osiris, Thot, and Hâpis. Scores of other Pharaohs had done as much or more, on whom no one bestowed a thought a century after their death, and Kheops would have succumbed to the same indifference had he not forcibly attracted the continuous attention of posterity by the immensity of his tomb.[8] The Egyptians of the Theban period were compelled to form their



ALABASTER STATUE OF KHEOPS.[7]

bore the prenomen of Dadûfri (*Le Souphis II. de Manéthon*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139). Khnûmû-Khûfûi signifies "the god Khnûmû protects me" (MAX MÜLLER, *Bemerkung über einige Königsnamen*, in the *Recueil*, vol. ix. p. 176).

[1] Kheops is the usual form, borrowed from the account of Herodotus (ii. 124); Diodorus writes Khembes or Khemmes (i. 63), Eratosthenes Saôphis, and Manetho Souphis (UNGER'S edition, pp. 90, 93).

[2] The story in the Westcar papyrus speaks of Snofrûi as father of Khûfûi (ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, pl. iv. l. 19, pl. vi. l. 16); but this is a title of honour, and proves nothing. The few records which we have of this period give one, however, the impression that Kheops was the son of Snofrûi, and, in spite of the hesitation of de Rougé (*Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 37, 38), this affiliation is adopted by the majority of modern historians (ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 104).

[3] This is the figure furnished by the fragment of the *Turin Papyrus*, according to the arrangement which has been proposed by E. de Rougé (*Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 154, note 2), and which appears to me indisputable.

[4] LABORDE, *Voyage de l'Arabie*, pl. 5, No. 2; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 2 *b*, *c*; LOTTIN DE LAVAL, *Voyage dans la péninsule Arabique* Insc. hiér., pl. 1, No. 2, pl. 2, No. 1; *Ordnance Survey, Photographs*, vol. iii. pl. 5, and *Account of the Survey*, p. 172. The picture which accompanies *b* is entirely destroyed.

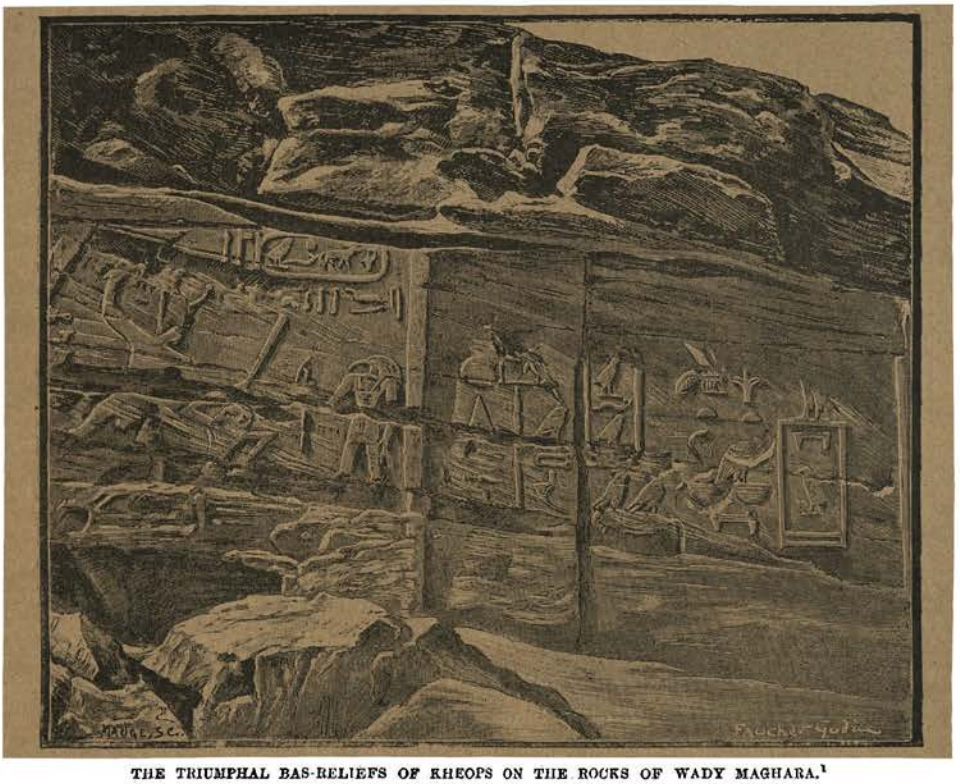
[5] DÜMICHEN, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, p. 15, et seq., pl. xvi. *a*, *b*; CHABAS, *Sur l'antiquité de Dendéra*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1845, p. 91, et seq.; MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. iii. pl. lxxviii. *k*, and Text, pp. 55, 56. Petrie found in 1894, at Coptos, fragments of buildings with the name of Kheops.

[6] NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, i. pp. 3, 5, 6, 10, pls. viii., xxxii. *a*.

[7] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey; cf. GRÉBAUT, *Le Musée Egyptien*, pl. xii. The statue bears no cartouche, and considerations purely artistic cause me to attribute it to Kheops (*Revue Critique*, 1890, vol. ii. pp. 416, 417); it may equally well represent Dadûfrî, the successor of Kheops, or Shopsiskaf, who followed Mykerinos.

[8] All the details relating to the Isis of the Sphinx are furnished by a stele of the daughter of Kheops, discovered in the little temple of the XXIst dynasty, situated to the west of the Great

opinions of the Pharaohs of the Memphite dynasties in the same way as we do, less by the positive evidence of their acts than by the size and number of their monuments: they measured the magnificence of Kheops by the dimensions of his pyramid, and all nations having followed this example, Kheops has con-



THE TRIUMPHAL BAS-RELIEFS OF KHEOPS ON THE ROCKS OF WADY MAGHARA.[1]

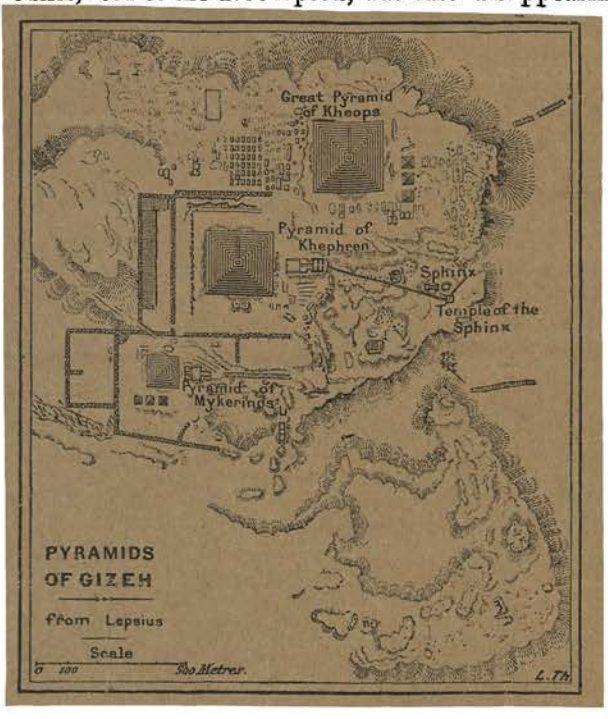
tinued to be one of the three or four names of former times which sound familiar to our ears. The hills of Gîzeh in his time terminated in a bare wind-swept table-land. A few solitary mastabas were scattered here and there on its surface, similar to those whose ruins still crown the hill of Dahshûr.[2] The Sphinx, buried even in ancient times to its shoulders, raised its head half-way

Pyramid (MARIETTE, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, MASPERO'S edition, vol. i. pp. 99, 100), and preserved in the Gîzeh Museum (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 53). It was not a work entirely of the XXIst dynasty, as Mr. Petrie asserts (*Pyramids of Gizeh*, pp. 49, 65, et seq.), but the inscription, barely readable, engraved on the face of the plinth, indicates that it was remade by a king of the Saïte period, perhaps by Sabaco, in order to replace an ancient stele of the same import which had fallen into decay (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 46, et seq.; MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 207, 208).

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph published in the *Ordnance Survey, Photographs*, vol. iii. pl. 5. On the left stands the Pharaoh, and knocks down a Monîti before the Ibis-headed Thot; upon the right the picture is destroyed, and we see the royal titles only, without figures.

[2] No one has noticed, I believe, that several of the mastabas constructed under Kheops, around the pyramid, contain in the masonry fragments of stone belonging to more ancient structures. Those which I saw bore carvings of the same style as those on the beautiful mastabas of Dahshûr (MASPERO. *Quatre Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 149, et seq.).

down the eastern slope, at its southern angle;[1] beside him[2] the temple of Osiris, lord of the Necropolis, was fast disappearing under the sand; and still further back old abandoned tombs honey-combed the rock.[3] Kheops chose a site for his Pyramid on the northern edge of the plateau, whence a view of the city of the White Wall, and at the same time of the holy city of Heliopolis, could be obtained.[4] A small mound which commanded this prospect was roughly squared, and incorporated into the masonry; the rest of the site was levelled to receive the first course of stones. The pyramid when completed had a height of 476 feet on a base 764 feet square; but the decaying influence of time has reduced these dimensions to 450 and 730 feet respectively. It possessed, up to the Arab conquest, its polished facing, coloured by age, and so subtilly jointed that one would have said that it was



[1] The stele of the Sphinx bears, on line 13, the cartouche of Khephren in the middle of a blank (VYSE-PERING, *Appendix to Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. pl. B, facing page 115; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 63; YOUNG, *Hieroglyphics*, pl. lxxx.). We have here, I believe, an indication of the clearing of the Sphinx effected under this prince, consequently an almost certain proof that the Sphinx was already buried in sand in the time of Kheops and his predecessors.

[2] Mariette identifies the temple which he discovered to the south of the Sphinx with that of Osiris, lord of the Necropolis, which is mentioned in the inscription of the daughter of Kheops (*Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, MASPERO'S edition, vol. i. pp. 99, 100). This temple is so placed that it must have been sanded up at the same time as the Sphinx; I believe, therefore, that the restoration effected by Kheops, according to the inscription, was merely a clearing away of the sand from the Sphinx analogous to that accomplished by Khephren.

[3] These sepulchral chambers, several illustrations of which are to be found in Mariette (*Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 543, et seq.), are not decorated in the majority of instances. The careful scrutiny to which I subjected them in 1885–86 causes me to believe that many of them must be almost contemporaneous with the Sphinx; that is to say, that they had been hollowed out and occupied a considerable time before the period of the IVth dynasty.

[4] The pyramids have been the source of so large a literature that I am not able to draw up here its bibliography. Since the beginning of the century they have been studied by Grobert (*Description des Pyramides de Ghizé, de la ville du Caire et de ses environs*, 1801), by Jomard (*Description générale de Memphis et des Pyramides*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v. pp. 592–657), by Belzoni (*Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids*, etc., 1820, pp. 255–282), by Vyse and Perring (*The Pyramids of Gizeh*, 1839–42, and *Operations at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837* (1840–42), by Piazzi-Smith (*Life and Work at the Great Pyramid*, 1867), and finally by Petrie (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, 1883), who leaves but little to be done by his successors.

a single slab from top to bottom.[1] The work of facing the pyramid began at the top; that of the point was first placed in position, then the courses were successively covered until the bottom was reached.[2]

In the interior every device had been employed to conceal the exact

KHÛÎT, THE GREAT PYRAMID OF GÎZEH, THE SPHINX, AND THE TEMPLE OF THE SPHINX.[3]

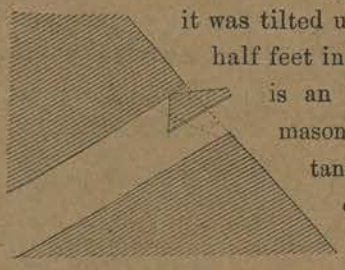
position of the sarcophagus, and to discourage the excavators whom chance or persistent search might have put upon the right track. Their first difficulty would be to discover the entrance under the limestone casing. It lay hidden almost in the middle of the northern face, on the level of the eighteenth course, at about forty-five feet above the ground. A movable flagstone, working on a stone pivot, disguised it so effectively that no one except the priests and

[1] The blocks which still exist are of white limestone (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. i. pp. 261, 262; PETRIE, *The Pyramids*, pp. 29, 30). Letronne, after having asserted in his youth (*Recherches sur Dicuil*, p. 107), on the authority of a fragment attributed to Philo of Byzantium, that the facing was formed of polychromatic zones of granite, of green breccia and other different kinds of stone, renounced this view owing to the evidence of Vyse (*Sur le revêtement des Pyramides de Gizéh*, in the *Œuvres choisies*, 1st series, vol. i. pp. 438, 439). Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 230–232) have revived it, with some hesitation.

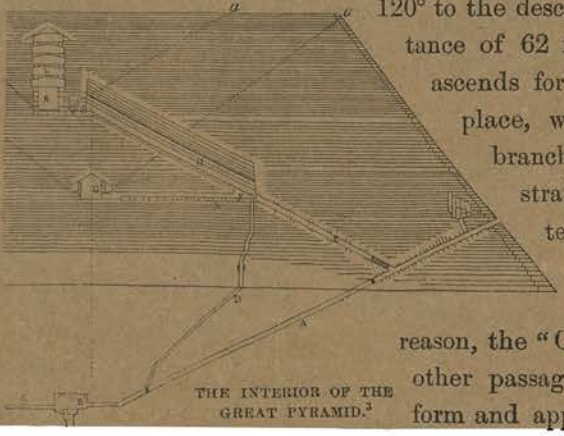
[2] HERODOTUS, ii. 125. The word "point" should not be taken literally. The Great Pyramid terminated, like its neighbour (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. ii. p. 117), in a platform, of which each side measured nine English feet (six cubits, according to Diodorus Siculus, i. 63), and which has become larger in the process of time, especially since the destruction of the facing. The summit viewed from below must have appeared as a sharp point. "Having regard to the size of the monument, a platform of three metres square would have been a more pointed extremity than that which terminates the obelisks" (LETRONNE, *Sur le revêtement des Pyramides*, in the *Œuvres choisies*, 1st series, vol. i. p. 427).

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. The temple of the Sphinx is in the foreground, covered with sand up to the top of the walls. The second of the little pyramids below the large one is that whose construction is attributed to Honîtsonû, the daughter of Kheops, and with regard to which the dragomans of the Saïte period told such strange stories to Herodotus (ii. 124, 125).

custodians could have distinguished this stone from its neighbours. When it was tilted up, a yawning passage was revealed,[1] three and a half feet in height, with a breadth of four feet. The passage is an inclined plane, extending partly through the masonry and partly through the solid rock for a distance of 318 feet; it passes through an unfinished chamber and ends in a *cul-de-sac* 59 feet further on. The blocks are so nicely adjusted, and the surface so finely polished, that the joints can be determined only with difficulty. The corridor which leads to the sepulchral chamber meets the roof at an angle of 120° to the descending passage, and at a distance of 62 feet from the entrance. It ascends for 108 feet to a wide landing-place, where it divides into two branches. One of these penetrates straight towards the centre, and terminates in a granite chamber with a high-pitched roof. This is called, but without reason, the "Chamber of the Queen." The other passage continues to ascend, but its form and appearance are altered. It now becomes a gallery 148 feet long and some 28 feet high, constructed of beautiful



THE MOVABLE FLAGSTONE AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE GREAT PYRAMID.[2]



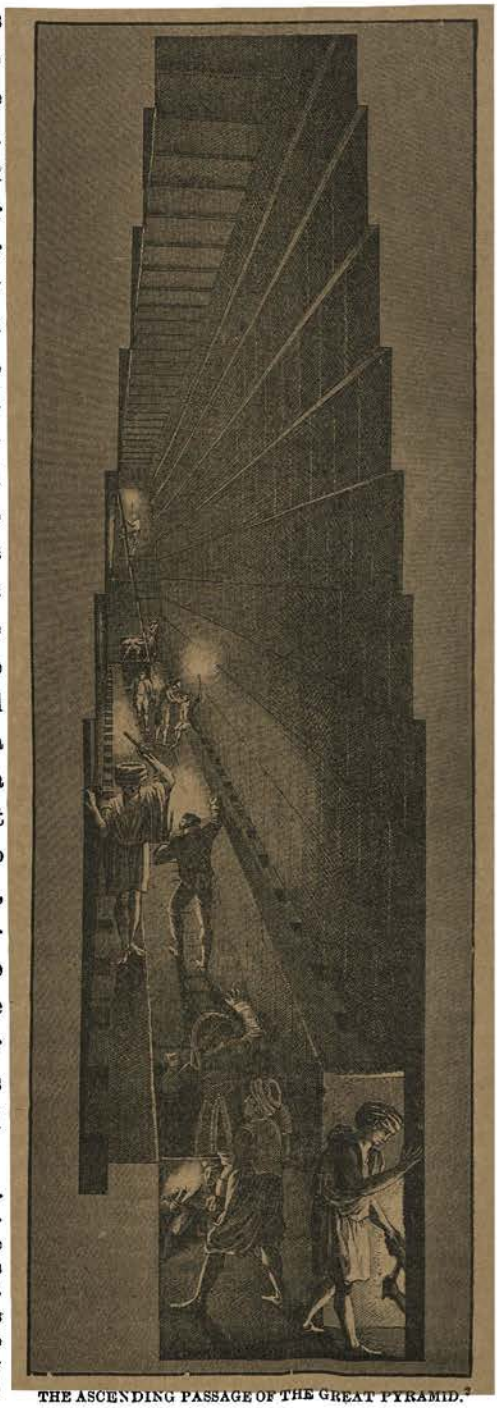
THE INTERIOR OF THE GREAT PYRAMID.[3]

[1] Strabo expressly states that in his time the subterranean parts of the Great Pyramid were accessible: "It has on its side, at a moderate elevation, a stone which can be moved, λίθον ἐξαιρέσιμον. When it has been lifted up, a tortuous passage is seen which leads to the tomb" (bk. xvii. p. 808). The meaning of Strabo's statement had not been mastered (JOMARD, *Description générale de Memphis et des Pyramides*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ix. p. 444) until Mr. Petrie showed, what we may still see, at the entrance of one of the pyramids of Dahshûr, arrangements which bore witness to the existence of a movable stone mounted on a pivot to serve as a door (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 145, 146). It was a method of closing of the same kind as that described by Strabo, perhaps after he had seen it himself, or had heard of it from the guides, and like that which Mr. Petrie has reinstated, with much probability, at the entrance of the Great Pyramid (*Op. cit.*, pp. 167–169, and pl. xi.).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from PETRIE'S *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pl. xi.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from pl. ix., PETRIE, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*. A is the descending passage, B the unfinished chamber, and C the horizontal passage pierced in the rock. D is the narrow passage which provides a communication between chamber B and the landing where the roads divide, and with the passage FG leading to the "Chamber of the Queen." E is the ascending passage, H the high gallery, I and J the chamber of barriers, K the sepulchral vault, L indicates the chambers for relieving the stress; finally, *a*, *a* are vents which served for the aëration of the chambers during construction, and through which libations were introduced on certain feast-days in honour of Kheops. The draughtsman has endeavoured to render, by lines of unequal thickness, the varying height of the courses of masonry; the facing, which is now wanting, has been reinstated, and the broken line behind it indicates the visible ending of the courses which now form the northern face of the pyramid.

Mokattam stone. The lower courses are placed perpendicularly one on the top of the other; each of the upper courses projects above the one beneath, and the last two, which support the ceiling, are only about 1 foot 8 inches distant from each other. The small horizontal passage which separates the upper landing from the sarcophagus chamber itself, presents features imperfectly explained. It is intersected almost in the middle by a kind of depressed hall, whose walls are channelled at equal intervals on each side by four longitudinal grooves. The first of these still supports a fine flagstone of granite which seems to hang 3 feet 7 inches above the ground, and the three others were probably intended to receive similar slabs. Four barriers in all were thus interposed between the external world and the vault.[1] The latter is a kind of rectangular granite box, with a flat roof, 19 feet 10 inches high, 1 foot 5 inches deep, and 17 feet broad. No figures or hieroglyphs are to be seen, but merely a mutilated granite sarcophagus without a cover. Such were the precautions taken against man: the result witnessed to their efficacy, for the pyramid preserved its contents intact for more than four thousand



THE ASCENDING PASSAGE OF THE GREAT PYRAMID.[2]

[1] This appears to me to follow from the analogous arrangements which I met with in the pyramids of Saqqâra. Mr. Petrie refuses to recognize here a barrier chamber (cf. the notes which he has appended to the English translation of my *Archéologie égyptienne*, p. 327, note 27), but he confesses that the arrangement of the grooves and of the flagstone is still an enigma to him. Perhaps only one of the four intended barriers was inserted in its place—that which still remains.

[2] Facsimile by Boudier of a drawing published in the *Description de l'Egypte, Ant.*, vol. v. pl. xiii 2.

years.[1] But a more serious danger threatened them in the great weight of the materials above. In order to prevent the vault from being crushed under the burden of the hundred metres of limestone which surmounted it, they arranged above it five low chambers placed exactly one above the other in order to relieve the superincumbent stress. The highest of these was protected by a pointed roof consisting of enormous blocks made to lean against each other at the top: this ingenious device served to transfer the perpendicular thrust almost entirely to the lateral faces of the blocks. Although an earthquake has to some extent dislocated the mass of masonry, not one of the stones which encase the chamber of the king has been crushed, not one has yielded by a hair's-breadth, since the day when the workmen fixed it in its place.

The Great Pyramid was called Khûît, the "Horizon" in which Khûfûî had to be swallowed up, as his father the Sun was engulfed every evening in the horizon of the west.[2] It contained only the chambers of the deceased, without a word of inscription, and we should not know to whom it belonged, if the masons, during its construction, had not daubed here and there in red paint among their private marks the name of the king, and the dates of his reign.[3] Worship was rendered to this Pharaoh in a temple constructed a little in front of the eastern side of the pyramid, but of which nothing remains but a mass of ruins.[4] Pharaoh had no need to wait until he was mummified before he became a god; religious rites in his honour were established on his accession; and many of the individuals who made up his court attached themselves to his double long before his double had become disembodied.[5] They served him faithfully during their life, to repose finally in his shadow in the little pyramids and mastasbas which clustered around him.[6] Of Dadûfri, his immediate successor, we can probably say that he reigned eight years;[7]

[1] Professor Petrie thinks (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gîzeh*, pp. 158, 217) that the pyramids of Gîzeh were rifled, and the mummies which they contained destroyed during the long civil wars which raged in the interval between the VIth and XIIth dynasties. If this be true, it will be necessary to admit that the kings of one of the subsequent dynasties must have restored what had been damaged, for the workmen of the Caliph Al-Mamoun brought from the sepulchral chamber of the "Horizon" "a stone trough, in which lay a stone statue in human form, enclosing a man who had on his breast a golden pectoral, adorned with precious stones, and a sword of inestimable value, and on his head a carbuncle of the size of an egg, brilliant as the sun, having characters which no man can read." All the Arab authors, whose accounts have been collected by Jomard, relate in general the same story (*Description générale de Memphis et des Pyramides*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ix. p. 454, et seq.); one can easily recognize from this description the sarcophagus still in its place, a stone case in human shape, and the mummy of Kheops loaded with jewels and arms, like the body of Queen Âhhotpû I.

[2] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 42.

[3] The workmen often drew on the stones the cartouches of the Pharaoh under whose reign they had been taken from the quarry, with the exact date of their extraction; the inscribed blocks of the pyramid of Kheops bear, among others, a date of the year XVI. (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 1 *g*).

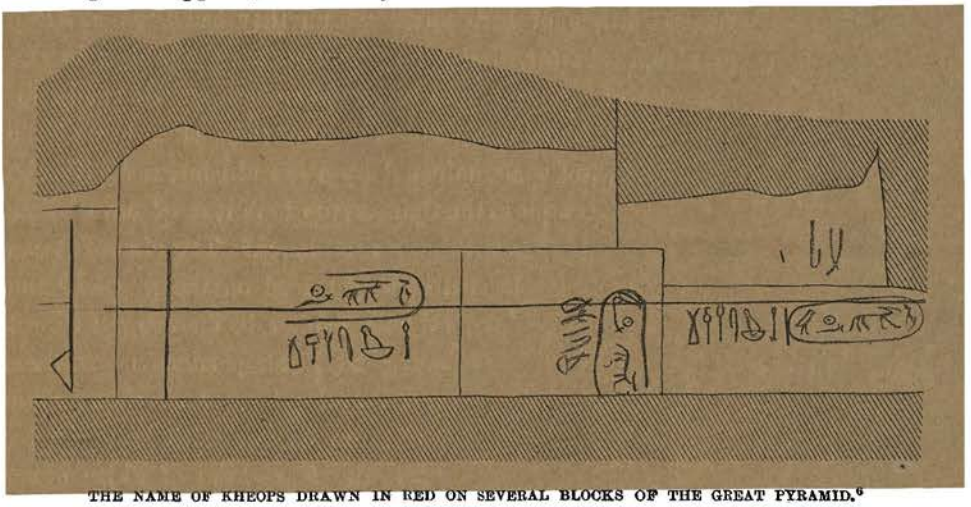
[4] Professor Petrie thinks that the slabs of basalt which may be seen at the foot of the eastern front of the pyramid belonged to the funereal temple (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gîzeh*, pp. 134, 135).

[5] Thus Khomtini (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 26), Prince Mirabû (*id.*, 22, *c*), Khûfûi-ka-iriû (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 17 *d*; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut rapporter aux six premières dynasties*, p. 50), who was superintendent of the whole district in which the pyramid was built.

[6] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 41.

[7] According to the arrangement proposed by E. de Rougé (*Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 156,

but Khephren, the next son who succeeded to the throne,[1] erected temples [2] and a gigantic pyramid, like his father. He placed it some 394 feet to the south-west of that of Kheops;[3] and called it Ûîrû,[4] the Great. It is, however, smaller than its neighbour, and attains a height of only 443 feet,[5] but at a distance the difference in height disappears, and many travellers have thus been led to attribute the



THE NAME OF KHEOPS DRAWN IN RED ON SEVERAL BLOCKS OF THE GREAT PYRAMID.[6]

same elevation to the two. The facing, of which about one-fourth exists from the summit downwards, is of nummulite limestone, compact, hard, and more homogeneous than that of the courses, with rusty patches here and there due to masses of a reddish lichen, but grey elsewhere, and with a low polish which, at a distance, reflects the sun's rays.[7] Thick walls of unwrought stone enclose

note 2) for the fragments of the Turin Canon. E. de Rougé reads the name Râ-tot-ef, and proposes to identify it with the Ratoîses of the lists of Manetho, which the copyists had erroneously put out of its proper place (*ibid.*, pp. 52–54). This identification has been generally accepted (WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 186). Analogy compels us to read Dadûfrî, like Khâfrî, Menkaurî, in which case the hypothesis of de Rougé falls to the ground. The worship of Dadufrî was renewed towards the Saïte period, together with that of Kheops and Khephren (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, p. 53), according to some tradition which connected his reign with that of these two kings. On the general scheme of the Manethonian history of these times, see MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, dans le *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 122–138.

[1] The Westcar Papyrus (ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, p. 18) considers Khâfri to be the son of Khûfû; this falls in with information given us, in this respect, by Diodorus Siculus (i. 64). The form which this historian assigns—I do not know on what authority—to the name of the king, Khabryies, is nearer the original than the Khephren of Herodotus.

[2] Naville found at Bubastis fragments of an old temple, constructed or repaired by Khephren, which had been re-used several times (*Bubastis*, i., pl. xxxii. *b*, pp. 3, 5, 6).

[3] JOMARD, *Description générale de Memphis et des Pyramides*, in the *Description*, vol. v. p. 638

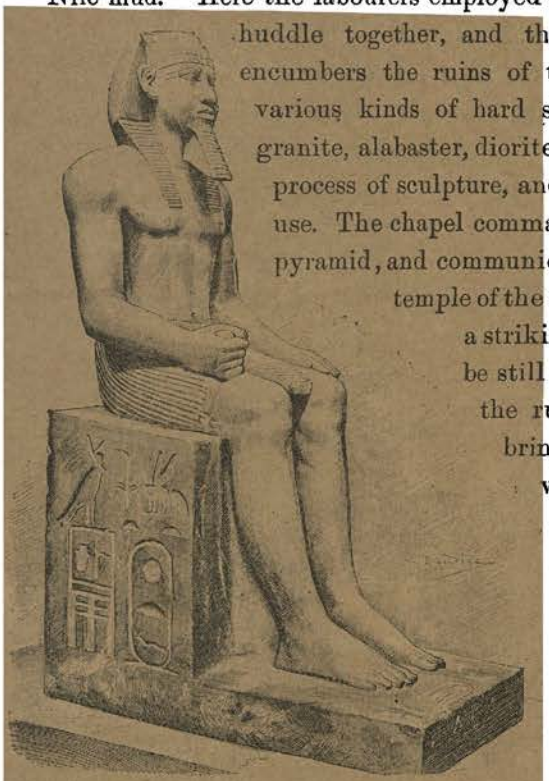
[4] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, etc., p. 56.

[5] JOMARD, *op. cit.* in the *Description*, vol. v. p. 642.

[6] Facsimile by Faucher-Gudin of the sketch in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii., 1 *c*.

[7] JOMARD, *op. cit.* in the *Description*, vol. v. pp. 639, 640, 644–646. Jomard thought that the lower part of the facing was in red granite (p. 640), and his surmise was confirmed by Vyse, who brought to light two courses still *in situ* (*Operations*, vol. i. pp. 261, 262; cf. Professor PETRIE, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 96).

the monument on three sides, and there may be seen behind the west front, in an oblong enclosure, a row of stone sheds hastily constructed of limestone and Nile mud.[1] Here the labourers employed on the works came every evening to huddle together, and the refuse of their occupation still encumbers the ruins of their dwellings, potsherds, chips of various kinds of hard stone which they had been cutting, granite, alabaster, diorite, fragments of statues broken in the process of sculpture, and blocks of smooth granite ready for use. The chapel commands a view of the eastern face of the pyramid, and communicated by a paved causeway with the temple of the Sphinx, to which it must have borne a striking resemblance.[2] The plan of it can be still clearly traced on the ground,[3] and the rubbish cannot be disturbed without bringing to light portions of statues, vases, and tables of offerings, some of them covered with hieroglyphs, like the mace-head of white stone which belonged in its day to Khephren himself.[4] The internal arrangements of the pyramid are of the simplest character; they consist of a granite-built passage carefully concealed in the north face, running at first at an angle of 25°, and then horizontally, until stopped by a granite barrier at a point which indicates a change of direction; a second passage, which begins on the outside, at a distance of some yards in advance of the base of the pyramid, and proceeds, after passing through an unfinished chamber, to rejoin the first; finally, a chamber



ALABASTER STATUE OF KHEPHREN.[5]

[1] These stone sheds had been somewhat superficially examined by former explorers; Professor Petrie cleared them out partly, and was the first to recognize their use, having turned over the rubbish with particular care (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 101–103).

[2] The connection of the temple of the Sphinx with that of the second pyramid was discovered in December, 1880, during the last diggings of Mariette. I ought to say that the whole of that part of the building into which the passage leads shows traces of having been hastily executed, and at a time long after the construction of the rest of the edifice; it is possible that the present condition of the place does not date back further than the time of the Antonines, when the Sphinx was cleared for the last time in ancient days.

[3] The temple was in tolerably good condition at the end of the XVIIth century, as appears from a contemporary description (LE MASCRIER ET DE MAILLET, *Description de l'Égypte*, 1735, first part, p. 223).

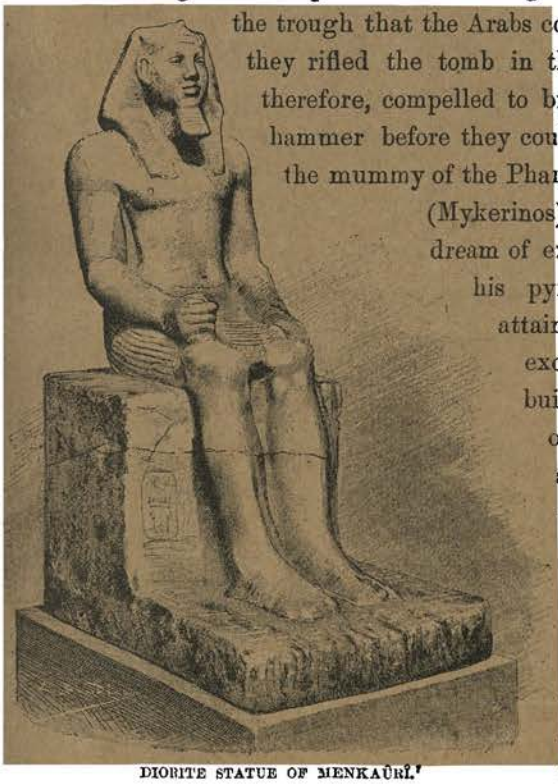
[4] FL. PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, pp. 22, 23. I have put it together, and have had the restoration of the whole reproduced as a tail-piece to p. 442 of this History.

[5] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey (cf. GRÉBAUT, *Le Musée Égyptien*, pl. viii.). See on p. 379 of this History the carefully executed drawing of the best preserved among the diorite statues which the Gîzeh Museum now possesses of this Pharaoh.

THE PYRAMID OF KHEPHREN, SEEN FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato.

hollowed in the rock, but surmounted by a pointed roof of fine limestone slabs. The sarcophagus was of granite, and, like that of Kheops, bore neither the name of a king nor the representation of a god. The cover was fitted so firmly to the trough that the Arabs could not succeed in detaching it when they rifled the tomb in the year 1200 of our era; they were, therefore, compelled to break through one of the sides with a hammer before they could reach the coffin and take from it the mummy of the Pharaoh.[1] Of Khephren's sons, Menkaûrî (Mykerinos), who was his successor, could scarcely dream of excelling his father and grandfather;[2] his pyramid, the *Supreme*—Hirû[3]—barely attained an elevation of 216 feet, and was exceeded in height by those which were built at a later date.[4] Up to one-fourth of its height it was faced with syenite, and the remainder, up to the summit, with limestone.[5] For lack of time, doubtless, the dressing of the granite was not completed, but the limestone received all the polish it was capable of taking.[6] The enclosing wall was extended to the north so as to meet, and become one with, that of the second pyramid.[8] The temple was connected with the plain by a long and almost straight causeway, which ran for the



DIORITE STATUE OF MENKAÛRÎ.[7]

[1] The second pyramid was opened to Europeans in 1816 by Belzoni (*Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia*, p. 225, et seq.). The exact date of the entrance of the Arabs is given us by an inscription, written in ink, on one of the walls of the sarcophagus chamber: "Mohammed Ahmed Effendi, the quarryman, opened it; Othman Effendi was present, as well as the King Ali Mohammed, at the beginning and at the closing." The King Ali Mohammed was the son and successor of Saladin.

[2] Classical tradition makes Mykerinos the son of Kheops (HERODOTUS, ii. 129; DIODORUS, i. 63). Egyptian tradition regards him as the son of Khephren, and with this agrees a passage in the Westcar Papyrus (ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, i. pl. ix. l. 14, p. 19), in which a magician prophesies that after Kheops his son (Khâfrî) will yet reign, then the son of the latter (Menkaûrî), then a prince of another family.

[3] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, p. 64. An inscription, unfortunately much mutilated, from the tomb of Tabhûni (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 37 *b*), gives an account of the construction of the pyramid, and of the transport of the sarcophagus.

[4] Professor Petrie reckons the exact height of the pyramid at 2564 ± 15 or 2580 feet 8 ± 2 inches; that is to say, 214 or 215 feet in round numbers (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 112).

[5] According to Herodotus (ii. 134), the casing of granite extended to half the height. Diodorus (i. 63) states that it did not go beyond the fifteenth course. Professor Petrie discovered that there were actually sixteen lower courses in red granite (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 113).

[6] PETRIE, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 79, 80.

[7] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey: this statue, preserved in the Museum of Gîzeh, has been photographed and published in the *Musée Égyptien* (GRÉBAUT), pl. ix.

[8] PETRIE, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 101–114.

greater part of its course[1] upon an embankment raised above the neighbouring ground. This temple was in fair condition in the early years of the eighteenth century,[2] and so much of it as has escaped the ravages of the Mamelukes, bears witness to the scrupulous care and refined art employed in its construction. Coming from the plain, we first meet with an immense halting-place measuring 100 feet by 46 feet, and afterwards enter a large court with an egress on each side: beyond this we can distinguish the ground-plan only of five chambers, the central one, which is in continuation with the hall, terminating at a distance of some 42 feet from the pyramid, exactly opposite the middle point of the eastern face. The whole mass of the building covers a rectangular area 184 feet long by a little over 177 feet broad. Its walls, like those of the temple of the Sphinx, contained a core of limestone 7 feet 10 inches thick, of which the blocks have been so ingeniously put together as to suggest the idea that the whole is cut out of the rock. This core was covered with a casing of granite and alabaster, of which the remains preserve no trace of hieroglyphs[3] or of wall scenes: the founder had caused his name to be inscribed on the statues, which received, on his behalf, the offerings, and also on the northern face of the pyramid, where it was still shown to the curious towards the first century of our era.[4] The arrangement of the interior of the pyramid is somewhat complicated, and bears witness to changes brought unexpectedly about in the course of construction.[5] The original central mass probably did not exceed 180 feet in breadth at the base, with a vertical height of 154 feet. It contained a sloping passage cut into the hill itself, and an oblong low-roofed cell devoid of ornament.[6] The main bulk of the work had been already completed, and the casing not

[1] JOMARD, *Description générale de Memphis*, etc., in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v. pp. 653–655. This causeway should not be confounded, as is frequently done, with that which may be seen at some distance to the east in the plain: the latter led to limestone quarries in the mountain to the south of the plateau on which the pyramids stand. These quarries were worked in very ancient times (PETRIE, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 115, 116).

[2] Benoit de Maillet visited this temple between 1692 and 1708. "It is almost square in form There are to be found inside four pillars which doubtless supported a vaulted roof covering the altar of the idol, and one moved around these pillars as in an ambulatory. These stones were cased with granitic marble. I found some pieces still unbroken which had been attached to the stones with mastic. I believe that the exterior as well as the interior of the temple was cased with this marble" (LE MASCRIER, *Description de l'Égypte*, 1735, pp. 223, 224). Fourmont had no scruple in copying this passage, almost word for word, in his *Description historique et géographique des plaines d'Héliopolis et de Memphis*, 1755, pp. 259–261.

[3] JOMARD, *Description générale de Memphis*, etc., in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v. pp. 652, 653; PETRIE, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 115.

[4] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 63. The name, or the inscription which contained the name, must have been traced, not above the entrance itself, which never was decorated, but on one of the courses—now lost—of the limestone casing (PETRIE, *The Pyramids*, etc., p. 117).

[5] The third pyramid was opened by Colonel Howard Vyse in 1837, and described by him at length (*Operations at the Pyramids in 1837*, vol. ii. pp. 69–95).

[6] VYSE, *Operations*, vol. ii. pp. 119–124; BUNSEN, *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 171, 172.

yet begun, when it was decided to alter the proportions of the whole. Mykerinos was not, it appears, the eldest son and appointed heir of Khephren;[1] while still a mere prince he was preparing for himself a pyramid similar to those which lie near the "Horizon," when the deaths of his father and brother called him to the throne. What was sufficient for him as a child, was no longer suitable for him as a Pharaoh; the mass of the structure was increased to its present dimensions, and a new inclined passage was effected in it, at the end of which a hall panelled with granite gave access to a kind of antechamber.[2] The latter communicated by a horizontal corridor with the first vault, which was deepened for the occasion; the old entrance, now no longer of use, was roughly filled up.[3] Mykerinos did not find his last resting-place in this upper level of the interior of the pyramid: a narrow passage, hidden behind the slabbing of the second chamber, descended into a secret crypt, lined with granite and covered with a barrel-vaulted roof.[4] The sarcophagus was a single block of blue-black basalt, polished, and carved into the form of a house, with a façade having three doors and three openings in the form of windows, the whole framed in a rounded moulding and surmounted by a projecting cornice such as we are accustomed to see on the temples.[5] The mummy-case of cedar-wood had a man's head, and was shaped to the form of the human body; it was neither painted nor gilt, but an inscription in two columns, cut on its front, contained the name of the Pharaoh,

THE COFFIN OF MYKERINOS.[6]

[1] This seems to follow from the order in which the royal princes begin speaking in the *Westcar Papyrus:* Mykerinos is introduced after a certain Bîûfrî, who appears to be his eldest brother (ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, pp. 9, 18; MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 64).

[2] Vyse (*Operations*, vol. ii. p. 81 note, 8) discovered here fragments of a granite sarcophagus, perhaps that of the queen; the legends which Herodotus (ii. 134, 135), and several Greek authors after him, tell concerning this, show clearly that an ancient tradition assumed the existence of a female mummy in the third pyramid alongside of that of the founder Mykerinos.

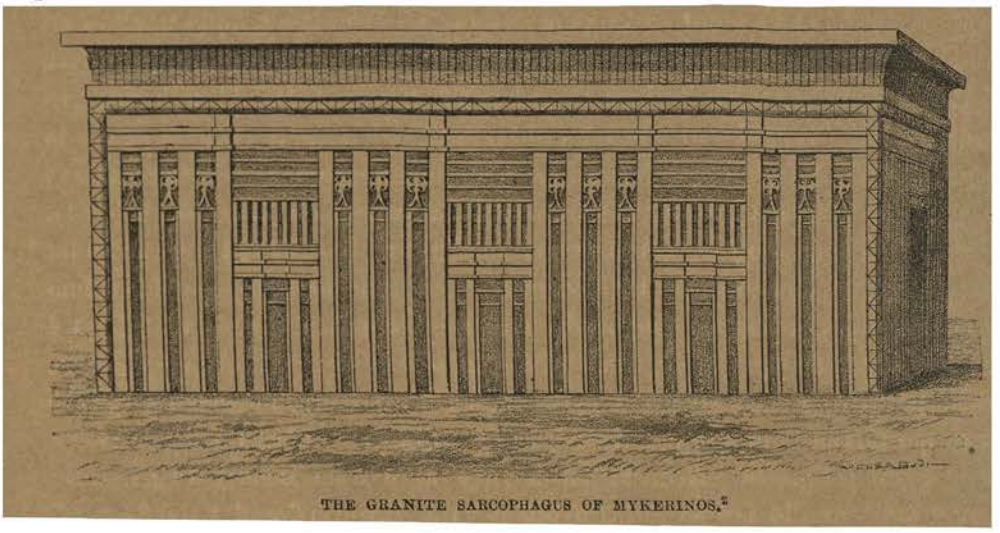
[3] Vyse has noticed, in regard to the details of the structure (*Operations*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80), that the passage now filled up is the only one driven from the outside to the interior; all the others were made from the inside to the outside, and consequently at a period when this passage, being the only means of penetrating into the interior of the monument, had not yet received its present dimensions.

[4] Two metal clamps were discovered on the spot, which attached the slabs of granite one to another (VYSE, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids in 1837*, vol. ii. p. 82).

[5] It was lost off the coast of Spain in the vessel which was bringing it to England (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. ii. p. 84, note 3). We have only the drawing remaining which was made at the time of its discovery, and published by Vyse (*Operations*, vol. ii., plates facing pp. 83, 84). M. Borchardt has attempted to show that it was reworked under the XXVIth Saïte dynasty (*Zur Baugeschichte der dritten Pyramide bei Gizeh*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. p. 190) as well as the wooden coffin of the king.

[6] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin. The coffin is in the British Museum (BIRCH, *A Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms*, 1874, p. 55, No. 6647). The drawing of it was published by Vyse

and a prayer on his behalf: "Osiris, King of the two Egypts, Menkaûrî, living eternally, given birth to by heaven, conceived by Nûît, flesh of Sibû, thy mother Nûît has spread herself out over thee in her name of 'Mystery of the Heavens,' and she has granted that thou shouldest be a god, and that thou shouldest repulse thine enemies, O King of the two Egypts, Menkaûrî, living eternally." The Arabs opened the mummy to see if it contained any precious jewels, but found within it only some leaves of gold, probably a mask or a pectoral covered with hieroglyphs.[1] When Vyse reopened the vault in 1837,



THE GRANITE SARCOPHAGUS OF MYKERINOS.[2]

the bones lay scattered about in confusion on the dusty floor, mingled with bundles of dirty rags and wrappings of yellowish woollen cloth.[3]

The worship of the three great pyramid-building kings continued in Memphis down to the time of the Greeks and Romans.[4] Their statues, in granite, limestone, and alabaster, were preserved also in the buildings annexed to the temple of Phtah, where visitors could contemplate these Pharaohs as they were when alive.[5] Those of Khephren show us the king at different ages,

(*Operations*, vol. ii., plate facing p. 94), by Birch-Lenormant (*Éclaircissements sur le cercueil du roi Memphite Mycérinus*, 1839), and by Lepsius (*Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. vii.). Herr Sethe has recently revived an ancient hypothesis, according to which it had been reworked in the Saïte period, and he has added to archæological considerations, up to that time alone brought to bear upon the question, new philological facts (K. SETHE, *Das Alter des Londoner Sargdeckels des Königs Mencheres*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. pp. 94–98).

[1] EDRISI, in VYSE, *Operations*, etc., vol. ii. p. 71, note 7.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a chromolithograph in PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*. Cf. VYSE, *Operations*, vol. ii., plate facing p. 84; PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 509.

[3] VYSE, *Operations*, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74.

[4] The latest Egyptian monument which establishes its existence is a stele from the Serapeum (No. 2857) with the name of Psamitik-Monkhû, prophet of Kheops, Dadûfrî, and Khephren: it was first pointed out by E. de Rougé (*Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, p. 53; cf. PIERRET, *Catalogue de la Salle historique*, p. 73, No. 314).

[5] M. Grébaut enriched the Gîzeh Museum, in 1888, with statues of Khephren, Mykerinos,

when young, mature, or already in his decadence.[1] They are in most cases cut out of a breccia of green diorite, with long irregular yellowish veins, and of such hardness that it is difficult to determine the tool with which they were worked. The Pharaoh sits squarely on his royal throne, his hands on his lap, his body firm and upright, and his head thrown back with a look of self-satisfaction. A sparrow-hawk perched on the back of his seat covers his head with its wings—an image of the god Horus protecting his son. The modelling of the torso and legs of the largest of these statues, the dignity of its pose, and the animation of its expression, make of it a unique work of art which may be compared with the most perfect products of antiquity. Even if the cartouches which tell us the name of the king had been hammered away and the insignia of his rank destroyed, we should still be able to determine the Pharaoh by his bearing: his whole appearance indicates a man accustomed from his infancy to feel himself invested with limitless authority. Mykerinos stands out less impassive and haughty:[2] he does not appear so far removed from humanity as his predecessor, and the expression of his countenance agrees, somewhat singularly, with the account of his piety and good nature preserved by the legends. The Egyptians of the Theban dynasties, when comparing the two great pyramids with the third, imagined that the disproportion in their size corresponded with a difference of character between their royal occupants. Accustomed as they were from infancy to gigantic structures, they did not experience before "the Horizon" and "the Great" the feeling of wonder and awe which impresses the beholder of to-day. They were not the less apt on this account to estimate the amount of labour and effort required to complete them from top to bottom. This labour seemed to them to surpass the most excessive corvée which a just ruler had a right to impose upon his subjects, and the reputation of Kheops and Khephren suffered much in consequence. They were accused of sacrilege, of cruelty, and profligacy. It was urged against them that they had arrested the whole life of their people for more than a century for the erection of their tombs.

Menkaûhorû, and Ûsirnirî, besides the one nameless which I attribute to Kheops (cf. p. 364 of this History) (MASPERO, *Revue critique*, 1890, vol. ii. pp. 416, 417). Some Egyptologists, deceived by the epithet, "loved of Hâpi," coupled with the name of Mykerinos, have believed that they came from the still undiscovered Serapeum of the Memphite dynasties at Saqqâra. They have been reproduced by GRÉBAUT, *Le Musée Égyptien*, i. pls. viii.-xiv.; Steindorff thinks that they may be works of a later time, belonging probably to the XXVth or XXVIth dynasty (*Ueber archaische ägyptische Statuen* in the *Jahrbuch des K. D. Archäologischen Instituts*, 1893, t. viii. pp. 65, 66).

[1] They were discovered in 1860 by Mariette, in the temple of the sphinx, at the bottom of a well into which they had been thrown at an unknown date (MARIETTE, *Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé*, pp. 7, 8); several of them had been broken in their fall. They are now in the Gîzeh Museum. The first careful reproduction of them which has appeared is to be found in ROUGÉ-BANVILLE, *Album photographique*, Nos. 91, 92, and in E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, pls. iv., v. Steindorff (*op. l.*, pp. 65-66) attributes them to a later period, together with those discovered by Grébaut.

[2] GRÉBAUT, *Le Musée Égyptien*, i. pl. ix.; see the statue reproduced at p. 374 of this History.

"Kheops began by closing the temples[1] and by prohibiting the offering of sacrifices: he then compelled all the Egyptians to work for him. To some he assigned the task of dragging the blocks from the quarries of the Arabian chain to the Nile: once shipped, the duty was incumbent on others of transporting them as far as the Libyan chain. A hundred thousand men worked at a time, and were relieved every three months.[2] The period of the people's suffering was divided as follows: ten years in making the causeway along which the blocks were dragged—a work, in my opinion, very little less onerous than that of erecting the pyramid, for its length was five *stadia*, its breadth ten *orgyiæ*, its greatest height eight, and it was made of cut stone and covered with figures.[3] Ten years, therefore, were consumed in constructing this causeway and the subterranean chambers hollowed out in the hill. . . . As for the pyramid itself, twenty years were employed in the making of it. . . . There are recorded on it, in Egyptian characters, the value of the sums paid in turnips, onions, and garlic, for the labourers attached to the works; if I remember aright, the interpreter who deciphered the inscription told me that the total amounted to sixteen hundred talents of silver. If this were the

DIORITE STATUE OF KHEPHREN, GÎZEH MUSEUM.[4]

[1] In a story in the Westcar Papyrus, it appears that Kheops gave the order to close one temple at least—that of the god Râ at Sakhîbû (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., p. 86).

[2] Professor Petrie (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gîzeh*, pp. 209–211) thinks that this detail rests upon an authentic tradition. The inundation, he says, lasts three months, during which the mass of the people have nothing to do; it was during these three months that Kheops raised the 100,000 men to work at the transport of the stone. The explanation is very ingenious, but it is not supported by the text: Herodotus does not relate that 100,000 men were called by the corvée for three months every year; but from three months to three months, possibly four times a year, bodies of 100,000 men relieved each other at the work. The figures which he quotes are well-known legendary numbers, and we must leave the responsibility for them to the popular imagination (WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 465).

[3] Diodorus Siculus (i. 63) declares that there were no causeways to be seen in his time. The remains of one of them appear to have been discovered and restored by Vyse (*Operations*, vol. i. p. 167).

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey (cf. MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musee du Boulak*, pl. 26; ROUGÉ-BANVILLE, *Album photographique de la Mission de M. de Rougé*, Nos. 91, 92). It is one of the most complete statues found by Mariette in the temple of the Sphinx.

case, how much must have been expended for iron to make tools, and for provisions and clothing for the workmen?"[1] The whole resources of the royal treasure were not sufficient for such necessaries: a tradition represents Kheops as at the end of his means, and as selling his daughter to any one that offered, in order to procure money.[2] Another legend, less disrespectful to the royal dignity and to paternal authority, assures us that he repented in his old age, and that he wrote a sacred book much esteemed by the devout.[3] Khephren had imitated, and thus shared with, him, the hatred of posterity.[4] The Egyptians avoided naming these wretches: their work was attributed to a shepherd called Philitis, who in ancient times pastured his flocks in the mountain;[5] and even those who did not refuse to them the glory of having built the most enormous sepulchres in the world, related that they had not the satisfaction of reposing in them after their death. The people, exasperated at the tyranny to which they had been subject, swore that they would tear the bodies of these Pharaohs from their tombs, and scatter their fragments to the winds: they had to be buried in crypts so securely placed that no one has succeeded in finding them.[6]

Like the two older pyramids, "the Supreme" had its anecdotal history, in which the Egyptians gave free rein to their imagination. We know that its plan had been rearranged in the course of building, that it contained two sepulchral chambers, two sarcophagi, and two mummies: these modifications, it was said, belonged to two distinct reigns; for Mykerinos had left his tomb unfinished, and a woman had finished it at a later date—according to some, Nitokris, the last queen of the VIth dynasty;[7] according to others, Rhodopis,

[1] HERODOTUS, ii. 124, 125. The inscriptions which were read upon the pyramids were the graffiti of visitors, some of them carefully executed (LETRONNE, *Sur le revêtement des pyramides de Gizeh, sur les sculptures hiéroglyphiques qui les décoraient, et sur les inscriptions grecques et latines que les voyageurs y avaient gravées*, in the (*Œuvres choisies*, 1st series, vol. i. pp. 441–452). The figures which were shown to Herodotus represented, according to the dragoman, the value of the sums expended for vegetables for the workmen; we ought, probably, to regard them as the *thousands* which, in many of the votive temples, served to mark the quantities of different things presented to the god, that they might be transmitted to the deceased (MASPERO, *Nouveau Fragment d'un Commentaire sur le livre II d'Hérodote*, in the *Annuaire de la Société pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 1875, p. 16, et seq.).

[2] HERODOTUS, ii. 126. She had profited by what she received to build a pyramid for herself in the neighbourhood of the great one—the middle one of the three small pyramids: it would appear in fact, that this pyramid contained the mummy of a daughter of Kheops, Honîtsonû.

[3] MANETHO, UNGER'S edition, p. 91. The ascription of a book to Kheops, or rather the account of the discovery of a "sacred book" under Kheops, is quite in conformity with Egyptian ideas. The British Museum possesses two books, which were thus discovered under this king; the one, a medical treatise, in a temple at Coptos (BIRCH, *Medical Papyrus with the name of Cheops*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 61, 64; cf. pp. 224, 225 of this History); the other comes from Tanis (PETRIE-GRIFFITH, *Two hieroglyphical Papyri from Tanis*, pl. xiv.). Among the works on alchemy published by M. Berthelot (*Collections des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. i. pp. 211–214), there are two small treatises ascribed to Sophé, possibly Souphis or Kheops: they are of the same kind as the book mentioned by Manetho and which Syncellus says was bought in Egypt.

[4] HERODOTUS, ii. 127.

[5] HERODOTUS, ii. 128; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 477, 478: several savants have been inclined to see in this name of Philitis, the shepherd, a reminiscence of the Hyksôs.

[6] DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 64.

[7] MANETHO, UNGER'S edition, p. 102, asserts that Nitokris built the third pyramid: an explanation of his statement has been given by Lepsius in BUNSEN'S *Ægyptens Stelle*, vol. ii. pp. 172, 230–238.

the Ionian who was the mistress of Psammetichus I. or of Amasis.[1] The beauty and richness of the granite casing dazzled all eyes, and induced many visitors to prefer the least of the pyramids to its two imposing sisters; its comparatively small size is excused on the ground that its founder had returned to that moderation and piety which ought to characterize a good king. "The actions of his father were not pleasing to him; he reopened the temples and sent the people, reduced to the extreme of misery, back to their religious observances and their occupations; finally, he administered justice more equitably than all other kings. On this head he is praised above those who have at any time reigned in Egypt: for not only did he administer good justice, but if any one complained of his decision he gratified him with some present in order to appease his wrath."[2] There was one point, however, which excited the anxiety of many in a country where the mystic virtue of numbers was an article of faith: in order that the laws of celestial arithmetic should be observed in the construction of the pyramids, it was necessary that three of them should be of the same size. The anomaly of a third pyramid out of proportion to the two others could be explained only on the hypothesis that Mykerinos, having broken with paternal usage, had ignorantly infringed a decree of destiny—a deed for which he was mercilessly punished. He first lost his only daughter; a short time after he learned from an oracle that he had only six more years to remain upon the earth. He enclosed the corpse of his child in a hollow wooden heifer, which he sent to Sais, where it was honoured with divine worship.[3] "He then communicated his reproaches to the god, complaining that his father and his uncle, after having closed the temples, forgotten the gods and oppressed mankind, had enjoyed a long

[1] Zoega (*De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*, p. 390, note 22) had already recognized that the Rhodopis of the Greeks was no other than the Nitokris of Manetho, and his opinion was adopted and developed by Bunsen (*Ægyptens stelle*, pp. 237, 238). The legend of Rhodopis was completed by the additional ascription to the ancient Egyptian queen of the character of a courtesan: this repugnant trait seems to have been borrowed from the same class of legends as that which concerned itself with the daughter of Kheops and her pyramid. The narrative thus developed was in a similar manner confounded with another popular story, in which occurs the episode of the slipper, so well known from the tale of Cinderella (LAUTH, *Königin Nitokris-Rhodopis und Aschenbrödel's Urbild*, in the *Deutsche Revue*, July, 1879). Herodotus connects Rhodopis with his Amasis (ii. 134), Ælian (*Variæ Hist.*, xiii. 32) with King Psammetichus of the XXVIth dynasty.

[2] HERODOTUS, ii. 129; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 478, et seq.

[3] HERODOTUS, ii. 129–133. The manner in which Herodotus describes the cow which was shown to him in the temple of Sais, proves that he was dealing with Nît, in animal form, Mîhî-ûîrît, the great celestial heifer who had given birth to the Sun. How the people could have attached to this statue the legend of a daughter of Mykerinos is now difficult to understand. The idea of a mummy or a corpse shut up in a statue, as in a coffin, was familiar to the Egyptians: two of the queens interred at Déîr el-Baharî, Nofrîtari and Âhhotpû II., were found hidden in the centre of immense Osirian figures of wood, covered with stuccoed fabric (MASPERO, *La Trouvaille de Déîr el-Baharî*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française*, vol. i. pp. 535–544, and pl. v.). Egyptian tradition supposed that the bodies of the gods rested upon the earth (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 22, p. 36, PARTHEY'S edition; cf. p. 111 of this History). The cow Mîhî-ûîrît might, therefore, be bodily enclosed in a sarcophagus in the form of a heifer, just as the mummified gazelle of Déîr el-Baharî is enclosed in a sarcophagus of gazelle form (MASPERO, *La Trouvaille de Déîr el-Baharî*, pl. xxi. B); it is even possible that the statue shown to Herodotus really contained what was thought to be a mummy of the goddess.

life, while he, devout as he was, was so soon about to perish. The oracle answered that it was for this very reason that his days were shortened, for he had not done that which he ought to have done. Egypt had to suffer for a hundred and fifty years, and the two kings his predecessors had known this, while he had not. On receiving this answer, Mykerinos, feeling himself condemned, manufactured a number of lamps, lit them every evening at dusk, began to drink and to lead a life of jollity, without ceasing for a moment night and day, wandering by the lakes and in the woods wherever he thought to find an occasion of pleasure. He had planned this in order to convince the oracle of having spoken falsely, and to live twelve years, the nights counting as so many days."[1] Legend places after him Asychis or Sasychis, a later builder of pyramids, but of a different kind. The latter preferred brick as a building material, except in one place, where he introduced a stone bearing the following inscription: "Do not despise me on account of the stone pyramids: I surpass them as much as Zeus the other gods. Because, a pole being plunged into a lake and the clay which stuck to it being collected, the brick out of which I was constructed was moulded from it."[2] The virtues of Asychis and Mykerinos helped to counteract the bad impression which Kheops and Khephren had left behind them. Among the five legislators of Egypt Asychis stood out as one of the best. He regulated, to minute details, the ceremonies of worship. He invented geometry and the art of observing the heavens.[3] He put forth a law on lending, in which he authorized the borrower to pledge in forfeit the mummy of his father, while the creditor had the right of treating as his own the tomb of the debtor: so that if the debt was not met, the latter could not obtain a last resting-place for himself or his family either in his paternal or any other tomb.[4]

History knows nothing either of this judicious sovereign or of many other Pharaohs of the same type, which the dragomans of the Greek period assiduously enforced upon the respectful attention of travellers. It merely affirms that the example given by Kheops, Khephren, and Mykerinos were by no means lost in later times. From the beginning of the IVth to the end of the XIVth dynasty—during more than fifteen hundred years—the construction of pyramids was a common State affair, provided for by the administration, secured by special services.[5] Not only did the Pharaohs build them for them-

[1] HERODOTUS, ii. 133.

[2] HERODOTUS, ii. 136.

[3] DIODORUS, i. 94. It seems probable that Diodorus had received knowledge from some Alexandrian writer, now lost, of traditions concerning the legislative acts of Shashanqû I. of the XXIInd dynasty; but the name of the king, commonly written Sesonkhis, had been corrupted by the dragoman into Sasykhis (WILKINSON, in G. RAWLINSON, *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 182, note 7).

[4] HERODOTUS, ii. 136.

[5] On the construction of pyramids in general, cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp.

selves, but the princes and princesses belonging to the family of the Pharaohs constructed theirs, each one according to his resources; three of these secondary mausoleums are ranged opposite the eastern side of "the Horizon," three opposite the southern face of "the Supreme," and everywhere else—near Abousir, at Saqqâra, at Dahshûr or in the Fayûm—the majority of the royal pyramids attracted around them a more or less numerous cortège of pyramids of princely foundation often debased in shape and faulty in proportion.[1] The materials for them were brought from the Arabian chain. A spur of the latter, projecting in a straight line towards the Nile, as far as the village of Troiû, is nothing but a mass of the finest and whitest limestone.[2] The Egyptians had quarries here from the earliest times. By cutting off the stone in every direction, they lowered the point of this spur for a depth of some hundreds of metres. The appearance of these quarries is almost as astonishing as that of the monuments made out of their material. The extraction of the stone was carried on with a skill and regularity which denoted ages of experience. The tunnels were so made as to exhaust the finest and whitest seams without waste, and the chambers were of an enormous extent; the walls were dressed, the pillars and roofs neatly finished, the passages and doorways made of a regular width, so that the whole presented more the appearance of a subterranean temple than of a place for the extraction of building materials.[3] Hastily written graffiti, in red and black ink, preserve the names of workmen, overseers, and engineers, who had laboured here at certain dates, calculations of pay or rations, diagrams of interesting details, as well as capitals and shafts of columns, which were shaped out on the spot to reduce their weight for transport. Here and there true official stelæ are to be found set apart in a suitable place, recording that after a long interruption such or such an illustrious sovereign had resumed the excavations, and opened fresh chambers.[4] Alabaster was met with not far from here in the Wady

195–246; PETRIE, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 162–172; MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 126–128.

[1] The description of these pyramids may be found for the most part in VYSE-PERRING, *Operations at the Pyramids in 1837*, vol. ii. The smaller pyramids in the Fayûm have been quite recently cleared by PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 4, 5.

[2] Troiû is the Troja of classical writers (BRUGSCH, *Das Ægyptische Troja*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1867, pp. 89–93), which D'Anville (*Mémoires sur l'Égypte Ancienne et Moderne*, p. 175) had previously identified with the modern village of Turah; cf. the map of the Delta at p. 75 of this History.

[3] The description of the quarries of Turah, as they were at the beginning of the century, was somewhat briefly given by Jomard (*Description générale de Memphis et des Pyramides*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v. pp. 672–674), afterwards more completely by Perring (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii. p. 90, et seq.). During the last thirty years the Cairo masons have destroyed the greater part of the ancient remains formerly existing in this district, and have completely changed the appearance of the place.

[4] Stelæ of Amenemhâît III. of the XIIth dynasty (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii., plate facing p. 94; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 143 *i*), of Âhmosis I. (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii. p. 94; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii.

Gerrauî. The Pharaohs of very early times established a regular colony here, in the very middle of the desert, to cut the material into small blocks for transport: a strongly built dam, thrown across the valley, served to store up the winter and spring rains, and formed a pond whence the workers could always supply themselves with water.[1] Kheops and his successors drew their alabaster from Hâtnûbû,[2] in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis, their granite from Syene, their diorite and other hard rocks, the favourite material for their sarcophagi, from the volcanic valleys which separate the Nile from the Red Sea—especially from the Wady Hammamât. As these were the only materials of which the quantity required could not be determined in advance, and which had to be brought from a distance, every king was accustomed to send the principal persons of his court to the quarries of Upper Egypt, and the rapidity with which they brought back the stone constituted a high claim on the favour of their master. If the building was to be of brick, the bricks were made on the spot, in the plain at the foot of the hills. If it was to be a limestone structure, the neighbouring parts of the plateau furnished the rough material in abundance. For the construction of chambers and for casing walls, the rose granite of Elephantinê and the limestone of Troiu were commonly employed, but they were spared the labour of procuring these specially for the occasion. The city of the White Wall had always at hand a supply of them in its stores, and they might be drawn upon freely for public buildings, and consequently for the royal tomb. The blocks chosen from this reserve, and conveyed in boats close under the mountain-side, were drawn up slightly inclined causeways by oxen to the place selected by the architect.[3]

The internal arrangements, the length of the passages and the height of the pyramids, varied much: the least of them had a height of some thirty-three feet merely. As it is difficult to determine the motives which influenced the Pharaohs in building them of different sizes, some writers have thought that the mass of each increased in proportion to the time bestowed upon its construction—that is to say, to the length of each reign. As soon as a prince mounted the

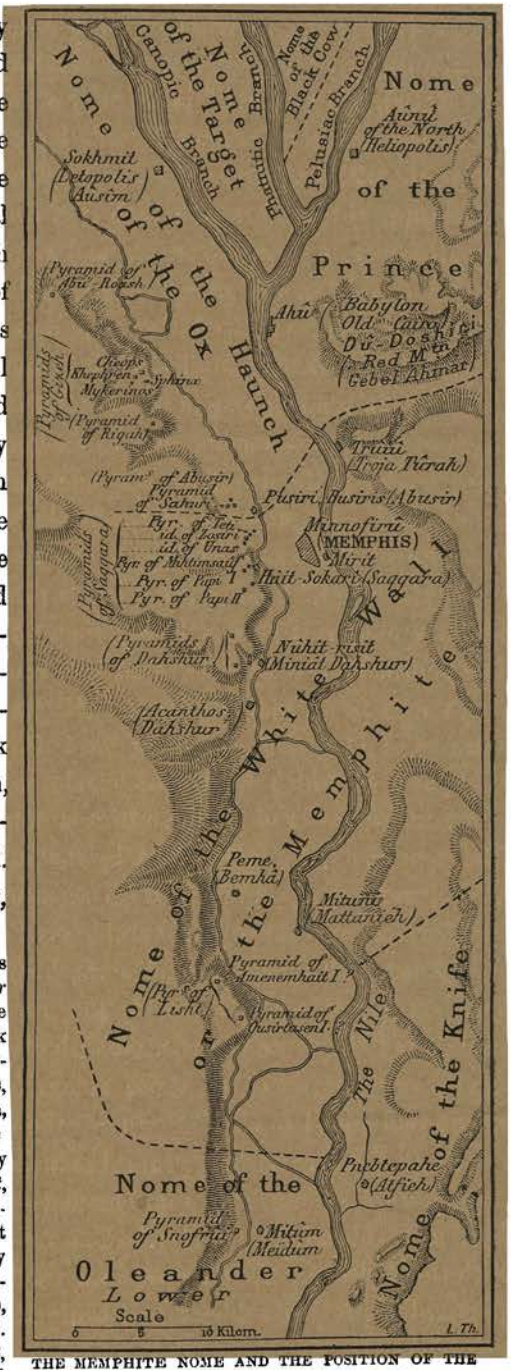
3 *a*, *b*) of Âkhopîrûrî (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii. p. 95), of Amenôthes III. (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii. p. 96; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, *III.* 71 *a*, *b*) of the XVIIIth dynasty, and finally Nectanebo II. of the XXXth (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii. 99; BRUGSCH, *Reiseberichte*, p. 46, et seq.).

[1] SCHWEINFURTH, *Sur une ancienne digue de pierre aux environs d'Hélouan*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. vi. pp. 139–145. Schweinfurth thinks that the alabaster employed in building the temple of the Sphinx came very probably from the quarries of Wady Gerrauî.

[2] The quarries of Hâtnûbû were discovered by Mr. Newberry in 1891 (*Egypt Exploration Fund*, Report of the Fifth Ordinary General Meeting, 1890–91, pp. 27, 28; cf. G. WILLOUGHBY-FRAZER, *Hat-nub*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xvi. 1893–94, pp. 73–82; GRIFFITH, *El Bersheh*, vol. ii. pp. 47–54).

[3] One of the stelæ of Turah shows us a block of limestone placed upon a sledge drawn by six large oxen (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii., plate facing p. 99; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 3 *a*).

throne, he would probably begin by roughly sketching out a pyramid sufficiently capacious to contain the essential elements of the tomb; he would then, from year to year, have added fresh layers to the original nucleus, until the day of his death put an end for ever to the growth of the monument.[1] This hypothesis is not borne out by facts: such a small pyramid as that of Saqqâra belonged to a Pharaoh who reigned thirty years,[2] while "the Horizon" of Gîzeh is the work of Kheops, whose rule lasted only twenty-three years. The plan of each pyramid was arranged once for all by the architect, according to the instructions he had received, and the resources at his command. Once set on foot, the work was continued until its completion, without addition or diminution, unless something unforeseen occurred. The pyramids, like the mastabas,



THE MEMPHITE NOME AND THE POSITION OF THE PYRAMIDS OF THE ANCIENT EMPIRE.

[1] This was the theory formulated by Lepsius (*Ueber den Bau der Pyramiden*, in the *Berliner Monatsberichte*, 1843, pp. 177–203), after the researches made by himself, and the work done by Erbkam, and the majority of Egyptologists adopted it, and still maintain it (EBERS, *Cicerone durch das Alte und Neue Ægypten*, vol. i. pp. 133, 134; WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 181, 182). It was vigorously attacked by Perrot-Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 214–221) and by Petrie (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 163–166); it was afterwards revived, with amendments, by Borchardt (*Lepsius's Theorie des Pyramidenbaues*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. pp. 102–106), whose conclusions have been accepted by Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 106, et seq.). The examinations which I have had the opportunity of bestowing on the pyramids of Saqqâra, Abusir, Dahshûr, Rîgah, and Lisht have shown me that the theory is not applicable to any of these monuments.

[2] Such, also, is the white limestone pyramid of Ûnas, of which the dimensions are still less.

ought to present their faces to the four cardinal points; but owing to unskilfulness or negligence, the majority of them are not very accurately orientated, and several of them vary sensibly from the true north. The great pyramid of Saqqâra does not describe a perfect square at its base, but is an oblong rectangle, with its longest sides east and west: it is stepped—that is to say, the six sloping sided cubes of which it is composed are placed upon one another so as to form a series of treads and risers, the former being about two yards wide and the latter of unequal heights.[1] The highest of the stone pyramids of Dahshûr makes at its lower part an angle of 54° 41′ with the horizon, but at half its height the angle becomes suddenly more acute and is reduced to 42° 59′. It reminds one of a mastaba with a sort of huge attic on the top.[2] Each of these monuments had its enclosing wall, its chapel and its college of priests, who performed there for ages sacred rites in honour of the deceased prince, while its property in mortmain was administered by the chief of the "priests of the double." Each one received a name, such as "the Fresh," "the Beautiful," "the Divine in its places,"[3] which conferred upon it a personality and, as it were, a living soul. These pyramids formed to the west of the White Wall a long serrated line whose extremities were lost towards the south and north in the distant horizon: Pharaoh could see them from the terraces of his palace, from the gardens of his villa, and from every point in the plain in which he might reside between Heliopolis and Mêdûm—as a constant reminder of the lot which awaited him in spite of his divine origin. The people, awed and inspired by the number of them, and by the variety of their form and appearance, were accustomed to tell stories of them to one another, in which the supernatural played a predominant part. They were able to estimate within a few ounces the heaps of gold and silver, the jewels and precious stones, which adorned the royal mummies or filled the sepulchral chambers: they were acquainted with every precaution taken by the architects to ensure the safety of all these riches from robbers, and were convinced that magic had added to such safeguards the more effective protection of talismans and genii. There was no pyramid so insignificant that it had not its mysterious protectors, associated with some amulet—in most cases with a statue, animated by the double of the founder.[4] The Arabs of to-day are still well acquainted with these protectors, and possess a traditional respect for them. The great pyramid concealed a black and white image, seated on a throne and invested

[1] See pp. 242–244 of this History for a more complete description of this pyramid.

[2] VYSE, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids in 1837*, vol. iii. pp. 65–70.

[3] "The Fresh," QOBHÛ, was the pyramid of Shopsiskaf, the last king of the IVth dynasty (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les Monuments*, p. 74); "the Beautiful," NOFIR, that of Dadkerî Assi (*id.*, p. 100); and "the Divine in its places," NÛTIR ISÛÎTÛ (*id.*, p. 99), that of Menkaûhorû, who belonged to the Vth dynasty.

[4] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 77, et seq.

with the kingly sceptre. He who looked upon the statue "heard a terrible noise proceeding from it which almost caused his heart to stop beating, and he who had heard this noise would die." An image of rose-coloured granite watched over the pyramid of Khephren, standing upright, a sceptre in his hand and the uræus on its brow, "which serpent threw himself upon him who approached it, coiled itself around his neck, and killed him."[1] A sorcerer had invested these protectors of the ancient Pharaohs with their powers, but another equally potent magician could elude their vigilance, paralyze their energies, if not for ever, at least for a sufficient length of time to ferret out the treasure and rifle the mummy. The cupidity of the fellahîn, highly inflamed by the stories which they were accustomed to hear, gained the mastery over their terror, and emboldened them to risk their lives in these well-guarded tombs. How many pyramids had been already rifled at the beginning of the second Theban empire![2]

The IVth dynasty became extinct in the person of Shopsiskaf, the successor and probably the son of Mykerinos.[3] The learned of the time of Ramses II. regarded the family which replaced this dynasty as merely a secondary branch of the line of Snofrûi, raised to power by the capricious laws which settled hereditary questions.[4] Nothing on the contemporary monuments, it is true, gives indication of a violent change attended by civil war, or resulting from a revolution at court: the construction and decoration of the tombs continued without interruption and without indication of haste, the sons-in-law of Shopsiskaf and of Mykerinos, their daughters and grandchildren, possess under the new kings, the same favour, the same property, the same privileges, which they had enjoyed previously.[5] It was stated, however, in the time of

[1] *Les Merveilles de l'Égypt de Mourtadi*, from the translation of M. Pierre Vattier, pp. 46–48.

[2] The pyramid of Mêdûm, for instance; cf. p. 360 of this History.

[3] The series of kings beginning with Mykerinos was drawn up for the first time in an accurate manner by E. de Rougé, *Recherches sur les Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, pp. 66–84. M. de Rougé's results have been since adopted by all Egyptologists (Brugsch, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 84, et seq.; Lauth, *Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 129, et seq.; Wiedemann, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 193–197; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 129, et seq.). The table of the IVth dynasty, restored as far as possible with the approximate dates, is subjoined:—

According to the Turin Canon and the Monuments.		According to Manetho.	
Snofrûi (4100–4076?)	24	Soris	29
Khûfûi (4075–4052?)	23	Souphis I.	63
Dadufrî (4051–4043?)	8	Souphis II.	66
Khafri (4042–?)	?	Menkheres	63
Menkaûrî	?	Ratoises	25
Shopsiskaf	?	Bikheres	22
		Sebekkheres	7
		Tamphthis	9

[4] The fragments of the royal Turin Papyrus exhibit, in fact, no separation between the kings which Manetho attributes to the IVth dynasty and those which he ascribes to the Vth, which seems to show that the Egyptian annalist considered them all as belonging to one and the same family of Pharaohs.

[5] The most striking example is that of Sakhemkarî, son of Khephren, who died at earliest under the Pharaoh Sahurî (E. de Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 77, 78; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, ii. 42).

the Ptolemies, that the Vth dynasty had no connection with the IVth; it was regarded at Memphis as an intruder, and it was asserted that it came from Elephantinê.[1] The tradition was a very old one, and its influence is betrayed in a popular story, which was current at Thebes in the first years of the New Empire.[2] Kheops, while in search of the mysterious books of Thot in order to transcribe from them the text for his sepulchral chamber,[3] had asked the magician Didi to be good enough to procure them for him; but the latter refused the perilous task imposed upon him. "'Sire, my lord, it is not I who shall bring them to thee.' His Majesty asks: 'Who, then, will bring them to me?' Didi replies, 'It is the eldest of the three children who are in the womb of Rudîtdidît who will bring them to thee.' His Majesty says: 'By the love of Râ! what is this that thou tellest me; and who is she, this Rudîtdidît?' Didi says to him: 'She is the wife of a priest of Râ, lord of Sakhîbû. She carries in her womb three children of Râ, lord of Sakhîbû, and the god has promised to her that they shall fulfil this beneficent office in this whole earth,[4] and that the eldest shall be the high priest at Heliopolis.' His Majesty, his heart was troubled at it, but Didi says to him: 'What are these thoughts, sire, my lord? Is it because of these three children? Then I say to thee: Thy son, his son, then one of these.'"[5] The good king Kheops doubtless tried to lay his hands upon this threatening trio at the moment of their birth; but Râ had anticipated this, and saved his offspring. When the time for their birth drew near, the Majesty of Râ, lord of Sakhîbû, gave orders to Isis, Nephthys, Maskhonît,[6] Hiqît,[7] and Khnûmû:

[1] Such is the tradition accepted by Manetho (UNGER'S edition, pp. 96, 97). Lepsius thinks that the copyists of Manetho were under some distracting influence, which made them transfer the record of the origin of the VIth dynasty to the Vth: it must have been the VIth dynasty which took its origin from Elephantinê (*Königsbuch der Alten Ægypter*, pp. 20, 21). I think the safest plan is to respect the text of Manetho until we know more, and to admit that he knew of a tradition ascribing the origin of the Vth dynasty to Elephantinê.

[2] ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, pl. ix. pp. 11–13; MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 73–86.

[3] The Great Pyramid is mute, but we find in other pyramids inscriptions of some hundreds of lines. The author of the story, who knew how much certain kings of the VIth dynasty had laboured to have extracts of the sacred books engraved within their tombs, fancied, no doubt, that his Kheops had done the like, but had not succeeded in procuring the texts in question, probably on account of the impiety ascribed to him by the legends. It was one of the methods of explaining the absence of any religious or funereal inscription in the Great Pyramid.

[4] This kind of circumlocution is employed on several occasions in the old texts to designate royalty. It was contrary to etiquette to mention directly, in common speech, the Pharaoh, or anything belonging to his functions or his family. Cf. pp. 263, 264 of this History.

[5] This phrase is couched in oracular form, as befitting the reply of a magician. It appears to have been intended to reassure the king in affirming that the advent of the three sons of Râ would not be immediate: his son, then a son of this son, would succeed him before destiny would be accomplished, and one of these divine children succeed to the throne in his turn. The author of the story took no notice of Dadufrî or Shopsiskaf, of whose reigns little was known in his time.

[6] See pp. 81, 82 of this History for a notice of Maskhonît, and the *rôle* she played at the birth of children.

[7] Hiqît as the frog-goddess, or with a frog's head (LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pp. 852–855), was one of the midwives who is present at the birth of the sun every morning. Her presence is, therefore, natural in the case of the spouse about to give birth to royal sons of the sun.

"Come, make haste and run to deliver Rudîtdidît of these three children which she carries in her womb to fulfil that beneficent office in this whole earth, and they will build you temples, they will furnish your altars with offerings, they will supply your tables with libations, and they will increase your mortmain possessions." The goddesses disguised themselves as dancers and itinerant musicians: Khnûmû assumed the character of servant to this band of nautch-girls and filled the bag with provisions, and they all then proceeded together to knock at the door of the house in which Rudîtdidît was awaiting her delivery. The earthly husband Raûsîr, unconscious of the honour that the gods had in store for him, introduced them to the presence of his wife, and immediately three male children were brought into the world one after the other. Isis named them, Maskhonît predicted for them their royal fortune, while Khnûmû infused into their limbs vigour and health; the eldest was called Ûsirkaf, the second Sahûrî, the third Kakiû. Raûsîr was anxious to discharge his obligation to these unknown persons, and proposed to do so in wheat, as if they were ordinary mortals: they had accepted it without compunction, and were already on their way to the firmament, when Isis recalled them to a sense of their dignity, and commanded them to store the honorarium bestowed upon them in one of the chambers of the house, where henceforth prodigies of the strangest character never ceased to manifest themselves. Every time one entered the place a murmur was heard of singing, music, and dancing, while acclamations such as those with which kings are wont to be received gave sure presage of the destiny which awaited the newly born. The manuscript is mutilated, and we do not know how the prediction was fulfilled. If we may trust the romance, the three first princes of the Vth dynasty were brothers, and of priestly descent, but our experience of similar stories does not encourage us to take this one very seriously: did not such tales affirm that Kheops and Khephren were brothers also?

The Vth dynasty manifested itself in every respect as the sequel and complement of the IVth.[1] It reckons nine Pharaohs after the three which tradition made

[1] A list is appended of the known Pharaohs of the Vth dynasty, restored as far as can be, with the closest approximate dates of their reigns:—

From the Turin Canon and the Monuments.		From Manetho.	
Ûsirkaf (3990–3962?)	28	Ousirkheres	28
Sahûrî (3961–3957?)	4	Sephres	13
Kakiû (3956–3954?)	2		
Nofiririkerî (3953–3946?)	7		
Sen (3945–3933?)	12	Neferkheres	20
Shopsiskerî (3932–3922?)	?	Sisires	7
Akaûhorû (3921–3914?)	7	Kheres	20
	?		
Ûsirnirî Ânû (3900–3875?)	25	Rathoures	44
Menkaûhorû (3874–3866?)	8	Menkheres	9
Dadkerî Assi (3865–3837?)	28	Tankheres	44
Ûnas (3834–3804?)	30	Obnos	33

sons of the god Râ himself and of Rudîtdidît. They reigned for a century and a half; the majority of them have left monuments, and the last four, at least, Ûsirnirî, Ânû, Menkaûhorû, Dadkerî Assi, and Ûnas, appear to have ruled gloriously. They all built pyramids,[1] they repaired temples and founded cities.[2] The Bedouin of the Sinaitic peninsula gave them much to do. Sahûrî brought these nomads to reason, and perpetuated the memory of his victories by a stele, engraved on the face of one of the rocks in the Wady Magharah; Ânû obtained some successes over them, and Assi repulsed them in the fourth year of his reign.[3] On the whole, they maintained Egypt in the position of prosperity and splendour to which their predecessors had raised it.

STATUE IN ROSE-COLOURED GRANITE OF THE PHARAOH ÂNÛ, IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[4]

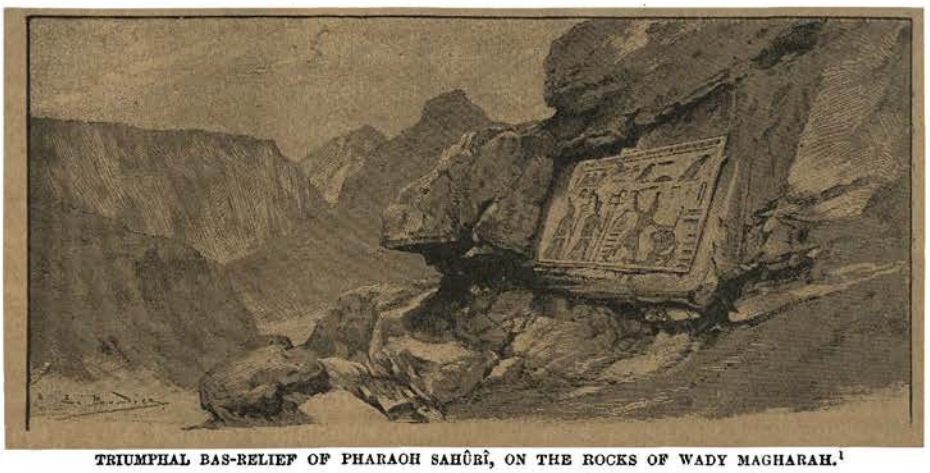
In one respect they even increased it. Egypt was not so far

[1] It is pretty generally admitted, but without convincing proofs, that the pyramids of Abûsîr served as tombs for the Pharaohs of the Vth dynasty, one for Sahûrî (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii., plate facing pp. 14, 35, 36; cf. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 39 *g*), another to Ûsirnirî Ânû (VYSE, *Operations*, vol. iii., plate facing pp. 17, 24, et seq.; J. DE MORGAN, *Découverte du Mastaba de Ptah-Chepsès dans la nécropole d'Abûsîr*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, 1894, vol. xxiv. p. 33; cf. LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. vii.), although Wiedemann considers that the truncated pyramid of Dahshûr was the tomb of this king. I am inclined to think that one of the pyramids of Saqqâra was constructed by Assi; the pyramid of Ûnas was opened in 1881, and the results made known by MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, vol. i. p. 150, et seq., and *Recueil de Travaux*, vols. iv. and v. The names of the majority of the pyramids are known to us from the monuments: that of Ûsirkaf was called "Ûâbisîtu" E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 80); that of Sahûrî, "Khâbi" (*id.*, p. 41); that of Nofiririkerî, "Bi" (*id.*, p. 85); that of Anû, "Min-isûîtû" (*id.*, p. 89); that of Menkaûhorû, "Nûtir-isûîtû" (*id.*, p. 99); that of Assi, "Nûtir" (*id.*, p. 100); that of Ûnas, "Nofir-isûîtû" (*id.*, p. 103).

[2] Pa-Sahûrî (DÜMICHEN, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 61), near Esneh, for instance, was built by Sahûrî (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 93). The modern name of the village of Sahoura still preserves, on the same spot, without the inhabitants suspecting it, the name of the ancient Pharaoh.

[3] Stelæ of Sahûrî (LABORDE, *Voyage de l'Arabie*, pl. 5, No. 3; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 39 *a*; LOTTIN DE LAVAL, *Voyage dans la péninsule Arabique*, Ins. Hiér., pl. 2, No. 2; *Account of the Survey*, p. 172); of Ûsirnirî Ânû (LEPSIUS, ii. 152 *a*; *Account of the Survey*, p. 172); of Dadkerî Assi (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. pl. xxxix. *d*; BIRCH, *Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 29, and *Account of the Survey*, p. 172; EBERS, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 536); of Menkaûhorû, with the date of the fourth year of his reign (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 39 *e*; *Account of the Survey*, p. 172); all of them are found scattered in the Wady Magharah, and commemorate the petty victories obtained over the Bedouin of the neighbourhood.

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch (cf. GRÉBAUT, *Le Musée Egyptien*, pl. x.).



TRIUMPHAL BAS-RELIEF OF PHARAOH SAHÛRÎ, ON THE ROCKS OF WADY MAGHARAH.[1]

isolated from the rest of the world as to prevent her inhabitants from knowing, either by personal contact or by hearsay, at least some of the peoples dwelling outside Africa, to the north and east. They knew that beyond the "Very Green," almost at the foot of the mountains behind which the sun travelled during the night, stretched fertile islands[2] or countries and nations without number, some barbarous or semi-barbarous, others as civilized as they were themselves. They cared but little by what names they were known, but called them all by a common epithet, the Peoples beyond the Seas, "Haûi-nîbû."[3] If they

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the water-colour published in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, i. pl. 8, No. 2.

[2] The "Islands of the Very Green" are mentioned under the XIIth dynasty by the *Berlin Papyrus* (l. 211), in a set formula, which was certainly worded long previous to that period, and which in its earlier form seems to belong to the times of the Ancient Empire.

[3] This name was first pointed out by Champollion and Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. pp. 1, 421–426), who applied it to the Greeks in the texts of the Ptolemaic period, and who read it "Yûnan, Yûni," which permitted them to identify it with the Javan of the Bible and the Ionians of Asia Minor, even on the monuments of Thûtmosis IV. and of Seti I. Birch (*Gallery of Antiquities*, p. 89) thought that it denoted "all the peoples of the North," and soon after E. de Rougé (*Essai sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Ahmès*, pp. 43, 44) gave the meaning of its two variants as being "all the Northerns" when applied to the Greek people, and as "the Northern lords" when applied to the Greek kings. At the instigation of Ernest Curtis (*Die Joner vor der Jonischen Wanderung*, pp. 10, 11, 48), Lepsius, reviving the hypothesis of the earlier Egyptologists, strove to show that the name designated not the Greeks in general, but the Ionians of Asia Minor, and that it was a daring transcription of the word Ἰαόνες (*Ueber den Namen der Ioner auf den Ægyptischen Denkmälern*, in the *Monatsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin, 1855, p. 497, et seq.), but Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschriften*, vol. iii. p. 47) defined it as "a general term for all the people and tribes inhabiting the large and small islands of the Ûaz-ûr—that is to say, the Eastern Mediterranean." The now accepted translation, "the People from Behind," appears to have been proposed by Chabas (*Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin*, p. 66, note 1), who was also the first to declare unhesitatingly that "from the time of the Ancient Empire, the Egyptians had pushed their expeditions far afield, and were certainly acquainted with a considerable part of the coasts of the Mediterranean. They had bound themselves in close commerce with the Hanebu, among whom were comprised Europeans" (*id.*, p. 58). The formulæ of the pyramids show the correctness of this observation: the way in which they speak of the Haûi-nîbû proves that the existence of these peoples was already known long before the time when these texts were worded (*Teti*, ll. 274, 275; *Papi I.*, ll. 27, 28, 122; *Mirniri*, ll. 38, 91, 142). Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 30, 31) seems inclined to think that, at the outset, the Haûi-nîbû were the half-savage hordes who peopled the marshes of the Delta on the Mediterranean shores.

travelled in person to collect the riches which were offered to them by these peoples in exchange for the products of the Nile, the Egyptians could not have been the unadventurous and home-loving people we have imagined.[1] They willingly left their own towns in pursuit of fortune or adventure, and the sea did not inspire them with fear or religious horror. The ships which they launched upon it were built on the model of the Nile boats, and only differed from the latter in details which would now pass unnoticed. The hull, which was built on a curved keel, was narrow, had a sharp stem and stern, was decked from end to end, low forward and much raised aft, and had a long deck cabin: the steering apparatus consisted of one or two large stout oars, each supported on a forked post and managed by a steersman. It had one mast, sometimes composed of a single tree, sometimes formed of a group of smaller masts planted at a slight distance from each other, but united at the top by strong ligatures and strengthened at intervals by crosspieces which made it look like a ladder; its single sail was bent sometimes to one yard, sometimes to two; while its complement consisted of some fifty men, oarsmen, sailors, pilots, and passengers. Such were the vessels for cruising or pleasure; the merchant ships resembled them, but they were of heavier build, of greater tonnage, and had a higher freeboard. They had no hold; the merchandise had to remain piled up on deck, leaving only just enough room for the working of the vessel.[2] They nevertheless succeeded in making lengthy voyages, and in transporting troops into the enemy's territory from the mouths of the Nile to the southern coast of Syria.[3] Inveterate prejudice alone could prevent us from admitting that the Egyptians of the Memphite period went to the ports of Asia and to the Haûi-nîbû by sea. Some, at all events, of the wood required for building[4] and for joiner's work of a civil or

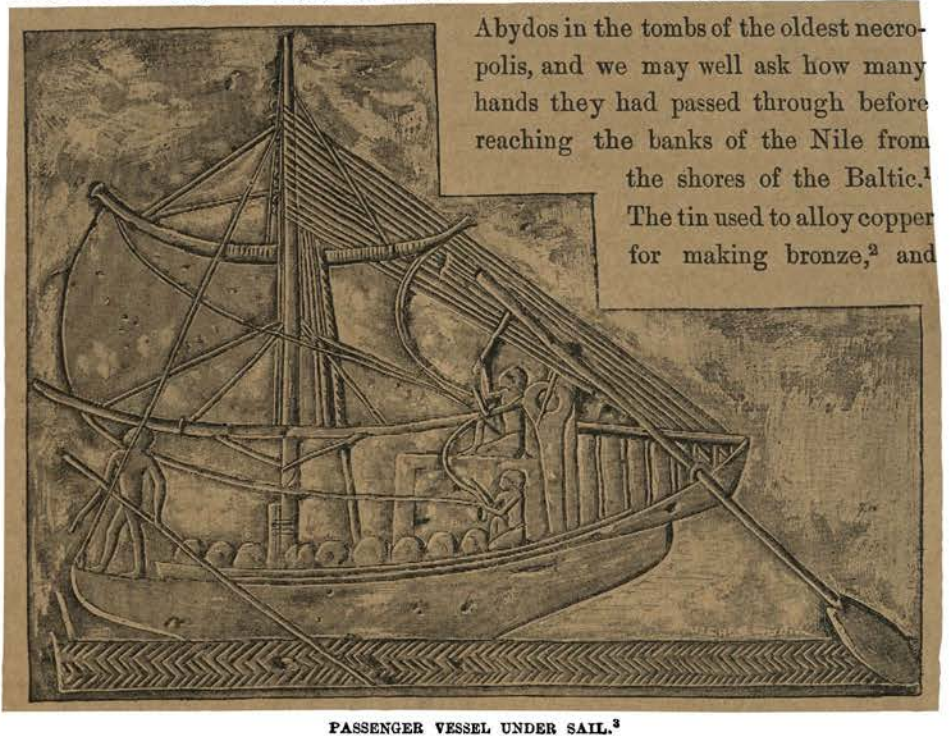
[1] Upon this stirring and adventurous side of the Egyptian character, disregarded by modern historians, the reader may consult MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Ancienne Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 83, et seq.

[2] See the representations of ships reproduced in DÜMICHEN, *Die Flotte einer Ægyptischen Königin*, pls. XXV.–XXX., and *Historische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pls. ix.–xi. The Egyptian navy has been studied in general by B. GLASER, *Ueber das Seewesen der Alten Ægypter*, pp. 1–27 (in DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i.), and under the XVIIIth dynasty by MASPERO, *De quelques navigations des Égyptiens sur la mer Erythrée* (in the *Revue Historique*, 1879): the results of this latter work are given here with a few modifications which a fresh study of the representations of Egyptian ships has suggested to me.

[3] Under Papi I., Ûni thus conveys by sea the body of troops destined to attack the Hirû-Shaîtû (*Inscription d'Ûni*, ll. 29, 30; cf. p. 421 of this History).

[4] Cedar-wood must have been continually imported into Egypt. It is mentioned in the Pyramid texts (*Ûnas*, ll. 569–585; *Papi I.*, l. 669; *Mirniri*, l. 779); in the tomb of Ti, and in the other tombs of Saqqâra or Gîzeh, workmen are represented making furniture of it (BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptische Gräberwelt*, vol. iii., No. 124; LORET, *La Flore pharaonique d'après les documents hiéroglyphiques*, No. 52, pp. 41, 42). Chips of wood from the coffins of the VIth dynasty, detached in ancient times and found in several mastabas at Saqqâra, have been pronounced to be, some cedar of Lebanon, others a species of pine which still grows in Cilicia and in the north of Syria.

funereal character, such as pine, cypress or cedar, was brought from the forests of Lebanon or those of Amanus. Beads of amber are still found near Abydos in the tombs of the oldest necropolis, and we may well ask how many hands they had passed through before reaching the banks of the Nile from the shores of the Baltic.[1] The tin used to alloy copper for making bronze,[2] and



PASSENGER VESSEL UNDER SAIL.[3]

perhaps bronze itself, entered doubtless by the same route as the amber.[4] The tribes of unknown race who then peopled the coasts of the Ægean Sea, were amongst the latest to receive these metals, and they transmitted them either directly to the Egyptians or Asiatic intermediaries, who carried them to the Nile Valley. Asia Minor had, moreover, its treasures of metal as well as those of wood—copper, lead, and iron, which certain tribes of miners and

[1] I have picked up in the tombs of the VIth dynasty at Kom-es-Sultan, and in the part of the necropolis of Abydos containing the tombs of the XIth and XIIth dynasties, a number of amber beads, most of which were very small. Mariette, who had found some on the same site, and who had placed them in the Boulaq Museum, mistook them for corroded yellow or brown glass beads. The electric properties which they still possess have established their identity.

[2] I may recall the fact that the analysis of some objects discovered at Mêdûm by Professor Petrie proved that they were made of bronze, and contained 9·1 per cent. of tin (J. H. GLADSTONE, *On Metallic Copper, Tin, and Antimony from Ancient Egypt*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1892, vol. xiv. pp. 223–226): the Egyptians, therefore, used bronze from the IVth dynasty downwards, side by side with pure copper.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey: the picture is taken from one of the walls of the tomb of Api, discovered at Saqqâra, and now preserved in the Gîzeh Museum (VIth dynasty). The man standing at the bow is the fore-pilot, whose duty it is to take soundings of the channel, and to indicate the direction of the vessel to the pilot aft, who works the rudder-oars.

[4] SALOMON REINACH, *L'Étain celtique*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1892, p. 280, note 5 (cf. the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. p. 139, note 1), and *Le Mirage oriental* (taken from *L'Anthropologie*, 1891, p. 29, et seq.), where opinions are expressed analogous to those I have stated in the text.

smiths had worked from the earliest times. Caravans plied between Egypt and the lands of Chaldæan civilization, crossing Syria and Mesopotamia, perhaps even by the shortest desert route, as far as Ur and Babylon. The communications between nation and nation were frequent from this time forward, and very productive, but their existence and importance are matters of inference, as we have no direct evidence of them. The relations with these nations continued to be pacific, and, with the exception of Sinai, Pharaoh had no desire to leave the Nile Valley and take long journeys to pillage or subjugate countries from whence came so much treasure. The desert and the sea which protected Egypt on the north and east from Asiatic cupidity, protected Asia with equal security from the greed of Egypt.

On the other hand, towards the south, the Nile afforded an easy means of access to those who wished to penetrate into the heart of Africa. The Egyptians had, at the outset, possessed only the northern extremity of the valley, from the sea to the narrow pass of Silsileh; they had then advanced as far as the first cataract, and Syene for some time marked the extreme limit of their empire.[1] At what period did they cross this second frontier and resume their march southwards, as if again to seek the cradle of their race? They had approached nearer and nearer to the great bend described by the river near the present village of Korosko,[2] but the territory thus conquered had, under the Vth dynasty, not as yet either name or separate organization: it was a dependency of the fiefdom of Elephantinê, and was under the immediate authority of its princes. Those natives who dwelt on the banks of the river appear to have offered but a slight resistance to the invaders: the desert tribes proved more difficult to conquer. The Nile divided them into two distinct bodies. On the right side, the confederation of the Ûaûaiû spread in the direction of the Red Sea, from the district around Ombos to the neighbourhood of Korosko, in the valleys now occupied by the Ababdehs:[3] it was bounded on the south by the Mâzaiû tribes, from whom our contemporary Mâazeh have probably descended.[4] The Amamiû were settled on

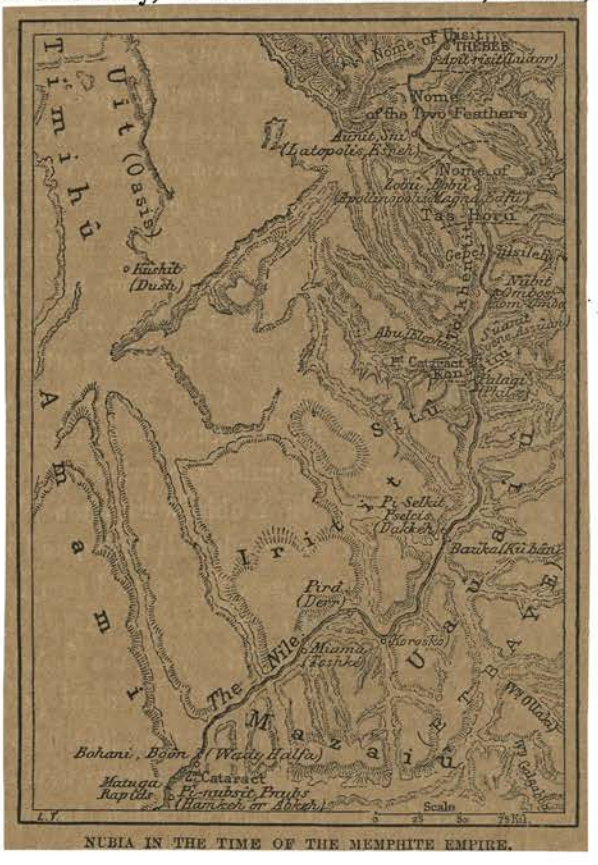
[1] See pp. 44, 45, and 74 of this History for information on the early frontiers of Egypt to the south.

[2] This appears to follow from a passage in the inscription of Ûni. This minister was raising troops and exacting wood for building among the desert tribes whose territories adjoined at this part of the valley: the manner in which the requisitions were effected (ll. 15, 16, 18, 45–47) shows that it was not a question of a new exaction, but a familiar operation, and consequently that the peoples mentioned had been under regular treaty obligations to the Egyptians, at least for some time previously.

[3] The position of the Ûaûaiû was correctly determined by Brugsch (*Die Negerstämme der Una Inschrift*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 31). Their name was assimilated by the Egyptians to the root *ûaû*, to *cry*, to *scream*, and denoted the *bawlers*, the *screamers*; and later, the people who cry, who conspire against Horus the younger, and who support Sît, the murderer of Osiris.

[4] The Mâzaiû, from information furnished by the inscriptions of Ûni and Hirkhûf, are contiguous on the north with the Ûaûaiû. They had relations with Pûanît, and their country was that encountered

the left bank opposite to the Mâzaiû, and the country of Iritît lay facing the territory of the Ûaûaiû.[1] None of these barbarous peoples were subject to Egypt, but they all acknowledged its suzerainty,—a somewhat dubious one, indeed, analogous to that exercised over their descendants by the Khedives of to-day. The desert does not furnish them with the means of subsistence: the scanty pasturages of their wadys support a few flocks of sheep and asses, and still fewer oxen, but the patches of cultivation which they attempt in the neighbourhood of springs, yield only a poor produce of vegetables or dourah.[2] They would literally die of starvation were they not able to have access to the banks of the Nile for provisions. On the other hand, it is a great temptation to them to fall unawares on villages or isolated habitations on the outskirts of the fertile lands, and to carry off cattle, grain, and male and female slaves; they would almost always have time to reach the mountains again with their spoil and to protect themselves there from pursuit, before even the news of the attack could reach the nearest police station. Under treaties concluded



NUBIA IN THE TIME OF THE MEMPHITE EMPIRE.

by the sun in his course along this region (BRUGSCH, *Die Negerstämme der Una Inschrift*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 35); like the Ûaûaiû, they bordered the coast of the Red Sea (BRUGSCH, *Die Altægyptische Völkertafel*, in the *Abhandlungen des 5ten Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, vol. ii. p. 61), and it is possible that the town of Massowah still preserves their name.

[1] As to the position of these peoples, see MASPERO, *Sur le Pays de Sîtû*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 104. The Ûaûaiû, the Mâzaiû, the tribes of the Amamît and the Iritît, finally became so blent in the Egyptian mind, that they were called in the time of the XIIth dynasty "the four foreign peoples" (*Inscription d'Amoni-Amenemhât à Beni-Hassan*, l. 2).

[2] The account of a raid made by Ûsirtasen III. describes these countries (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 126 *h*, ll. 14–16): "I took their women, I brought away their slaves, seizing their wells, harrying their oxen, destroying and setting fire to their harvests." One of the princes of the Amami gave asses to Hirkhûf for his caravan (SCHIAPARELLI, *Una tomba Egiziana inedita della VI^{a} dinastia*, p. 23).

with the authorities of the country, they are permitted to descend into the plain in order to exchange peaceably for corn and dourah, the acacia-wood of their forests, the charcoal that they make, gums, game, skins of animals, and the gold and precious stones which they get from their mines: they agree in return to refrain from any act of plunder, and to constitute a desert police, provided that they receive a regular pay. The same arrangement existed in ancient times.[1] The tribes hired themselves out to Pharaoh. They brought him beams of "sont" at the first demand, when he was in need of materials to build a fleet beyond the first cataract.[2] They provided him with bands of men ready armed, when a campaign against the Libyans or the Asiatic tribes forced him to seek recruits for his armies:[3] the Mâzaiû entered the Egyptian service in such numbers, that their name served to designate the soldiery in general, just as in Cairo porters and night watchmen are all called Berberines.[4] Among these people respect for their oath of fealty yielded sometimes to their natural disposition, and they allowed themselves to be carried away to plunder the principalities which they had agreed to defend: the colonists in Nubia were often obliged to complain of their exactions. When these exceeded all limits, and it became impossible to wink at their misdoings any longer, light-armed troops were sent against them, who quickly brought them to reason. As at Sinai, these were easy victories. They recovered in one expedition what the Ûaûaiû had stolen in ten, both in flocks and fellahîn, and the successful general perpetuated the memory of his exploits by inscribing, as he returned, the name of Pharaoh on some rock at Syene or Elephantinê: we may surmise that it was after this fashion that Ûsirkaf, Nofiririkerî, and Ûnas carried on the wars in Nubia.[5] Their armies probably never went beyond the second cataract, if they even reached so far: further south the country was only known by the accounts of the natives or by the few merchants who had made their way into it. Beyond the Mâzaiû, but still between the Nile and the Red Sea, lay the country of Pûanît, rich in ivory, ebony, gold, metals, gums, and sweet-smelling resins.[6] When

[1] See on this subject, Du Boys-Aymé, *Mémoires sur les Tribus arabes des deserts de l'Égypte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xii. pp. 330, 332; and *Mémoire sur la ville de Qocéyr*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xi. pp. 389, 390.

[2] *Inscription of Ûni*, ll. 46, 47. On the acacia, *sont*, see note 4, p. 30, of this History.

[3] *Inscription of Ûni*, ll. 15, 16, 18, where the methods of recruiting are indicated; cf. pp. 419, 420.

[4] The word Mati, Matoi, which in Coptic signifies merely "soldier," is a regularly derived form of the name of the tribe Mazai, in the plural Mâzaiû (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, p. 631).

[5] Votive tablets of Ûsirkaf (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. liv. *e*), of Nofiririkerî (*id.*, pl. liv. *f*), and of Ûnas (Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, p. 7, and pl. xii., No. 212) in the island of Elephantinê.

[6] Puanît was the country situated between the Nile and the Red Sea (Krall, *Das Land Punt*, in

some Egyptian, bolder than his fellows, ventured to travel thither, he could choose one of several routes for approaching it by land or sea. The navigation of the Red Sea was, indeed, far more frequent than is usually believed, and the same kind of vessels in which the Egyptians coasted along the Mediterranean, conveyed them, by following the coast of Africa, as far as the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.[1] They preferred, however, to reach it by land, and they returned with caravans of heavily laden asses and slaves.[2] All that lay beyond Pûanît was held to be a fabulous region, a kind of intermediate boundary land between the world of men and that of the gods, the "Island of the Double," "Land of the Shades," where the living came into close contact with the souls of the departed. It was inhabited by the Dangas, tribes of half-savage dwarfs, whose grotesque faces and wild gestures reminded the Egyptians of the god Bîsû (Bes).[4] The chances of war or trade brought some of them from time to time to Pûanît, or among the Amamiû: the merchant who succeeded in acquiring and bringing them to Egypt had his fortune made. Pharaoh valued the Dangas highly, and was anxious to have some of them at any price among

HEAD OF AN INHABITANT OF PÛANÎT.[3]

the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences at Vienna, vol. cxxi. p. 75), from a line drawn between Suakin and Berber to the foot of the mountains of Abyssinia; the name was afterwards extended to all the coast of the Red Sea, and to Somali-land, possibly even to a part of Arabia. In the XIIth dynasty it was reckoned only two months of navigation from the "Island of the Double"—a fabulous country situated beyond Pûanît—to Egypt (MASPERO, *Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 144, 145).

[1] Cf. the voyage of Papinakhîti on the Red Sea, on pp. 433, 434 of this History.

[2] The expeditions, for instance, of Hirkhûf to the Amami and Iritît, in the time of the VIth dynasty (SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana inedita*, pp. 18, et seq.), and that of Biûrdidi to Pûanît, in the Vth (*ibid.*, pp. 20, 22). It was from Pûanît, doubtless, that the Nahsi—the "black"—came, who is represented on a tomb (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 23).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Professor Petrie. This head was taken from the bas-relief at Karnak, on which the Pharaoh Harmhabi of the XVIIIth dynasty recorded his victories over the peoples of the south of Egypt (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. 88, and p. 27).

[4] The part played by the Danga was first brought to light by SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana*, p. 30, et seq.; cf. ERMAN, in the *Zeitschrift d. D. Morgen. Gesell.*, vol. xlvi. p. 579, and MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 429, et seq.

the dwarfs with whom he loved to be surrounded; none knew better than they the dance of the god—that to which Bîsû unrestrainedly gave way in his merry moments. Towards the end of his reign Assi procured one which a certain Biûrdidi had purchased in Pûanît.[1] Was this the first which had made its appearance at court, or had others preceded it in the good graces of the Pharaohs? His wildness and activity, and the extraordinary positions which he assumed, made a lively impression upon the courtiers of the time, and nearly a century later there were still reminiscences of him.

A great official born in the time of Shopsiskaf, and living on to a great age into the reign of Nofiririkerî, is described on his tomb as the "Scribe of the House of Books."[2] This simple designation, occurring incidentally among two higher titles, would have been sufficient in itself to indicate the extraordinary development which Egyptian civilization had attained at this time. The "House of Books" was doubtless, in the first place, a depository of official documents, such as the registers of the survey and taxes, the correspondence between the court and the provincial governors or feudal lords, deeds of gift to temples or individuals, and all kinds of papers required in the administration of the State. It contained also, however, literary works, many of which even at this early date were already old, prayers drawn up during the first dynasties, devout poetry belonging to times prior to the misty personage called Mîni—hymns to the gods of light, formulæ of black magic, collections of mystical works, such as the "Book of the Dead"[3] and the "Ritual of the Tomb;"[4] scientific treatises on medicine, geometry, mathematics, and astronomy;[5] manuals of practical morals; and lastly, romances, or those marvellous stories which preceded the romance among Oriental peoples.[6] All these, if we had them, would form "a library much more precious to us than that of Alexandria;"

[1] SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana inedita della VI^a dinastia*, pp. 20, 22.

[2] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 50; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, pp. 73, 74.

[3] The "Book of the Dead" must have existed from prehistoric times, certain chapters excepted, whose relatively modern origin has been indicated by those who ascribe the editing of the work to the time of the first human dynasties (MASPERO, *Études sur la Mythologie*, etc., vol. i. pp. 367, 369).

[4] This is the designation I assign, until the Egyptian name is discovered, to the collection of texts engraved in the Royal Pyramids of the Vth and VIth dynasties.

[5] Cf. on pp. 238, 239 of this History the account of the works attributed in legends to the kings of the first human dynasties, the books on anatomy of Athothis (MANETHO, UNGER'S edition, p. 78), the book of Husapaîti, inserted, as chap. lxiv., in the "Book of the Dead" (LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, Preface, p. 11; GOODWIN, *On a text of the Book of the Dead, belonging to the Old Kingdom*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1866, pp. 55, 56), and the book of Kheops (MANETHO, UNGER'S edition, p. 91; BERTHELOT, *Collections des Anciens Alchimistes grecs*, vol. i. pp. 211–214; cf. p. 380, note 3, of this History).

[6] A fragment of a story, preserved in the Berlin Papyrus 3 (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, vi. 112, ll. 156–194), dates back, perhaps, to the Ancient Empire (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 73–80).

unfortunately up to the present we have been able to collect only insignificant remains of such rich stores.[1] In the tombs have been found here and there fragments of popular songs.[2] The pyramids have furnished almost intact a ritual of the dead which is distinguished by its verbosity, its numerous pious platitudes, and obscure allusions to things of the other world; but, among all this trash, are certain portions full of movement and savage vigour, in which poetic glow and religious emotion reveal their presence in a mass of mythological phraseology. In the Berlin Papyrus we may read the end of a philosophic dialogue between an Egyptian and his soul, in which the latter applies himself to show that death has nothing terrifying to man. "I say to myself every day: As is the convalescence of a sick person, who goes to the court after his affliction, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day: As is the inhaling of the scent of a perfume, as a seat under the protection of an outstretched curtain, on that day, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day: As the inhaling of the odour of a garden of flowers, as a seat upon the mountain of the Country of Intoxication, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day: As a road which passes over the flood of inundation, as a man who goes as a soldier whom nothing resists, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day: As the clearing again of the sky, as a man who goes out to catch birds with a net, and suddenly finds himself in an unknown district, such is death."[3] Another papyrus, presented by Prisse d'Avennes to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, contains the only complete work of their primitive wisdom which has come down to us.[4] It was certainly transcribed before the XVIIIth dynasty, and contains the works of two classic writers, one of whom is assumed to have lived under the IIIrd and the other under the Vth dynasty; it is not without reason, therefore, that it has been called "the oldest book in the world." The first leaves are wanting, and the portion preserved has, towards its end, the

[1] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments*, p. 73.

[2] MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74, 81–85, 89; cf. pp. 339–341 of this History.

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, vi. 112, ll. 130–140. The translation given in the text is not literal: it is a paraphrase of the Egyptian original, which is too concise to be easily understood.

[4] It was published at Paris in 1847 by PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Facsimile d'un Papyrus Égyptien en caractères hiératiques trouvé à Thèbes*, afterwards analysed by CHABAS, *Le plus ancien Livre du monde, Étude sur le Papyrus Prisse* (in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xiv. pp. 1–25). It was translated into English by HEATH, *A Record of the Patriarchal Age, or the Proverbs of Aphobis;* into German by LAUTH, *I. Der Autor Kadjimna vor 5400 Jahren; II. Ueber Chufu's Bau und Buch; III. Der Prinz Ptahhotep ueber das Alter, de Senectute*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Sciences of Munich, 1869, vol. ii. pp. 530, 579; 1870, vol. i. pp. 245–274, and vol. ii., *Beilage*, pp. 1–140; into French by VIREY, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse: le Livre de Kaqimna et les leçons de Ptahhotep.* Mr. Griffith has recently discovered in the British Museum fragments of a second manuscript, in later handwriting, which contains numerous portions of the Proverbs of Phtahhotpû (*Notes on Egyptian Texts of the Middle Kingdom*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiii. pp. 72–76, 145–147).

beginning of a moral treatise attributed to Qaqimnî, a contemporary of Hûni. Then followed a work now lost: one of the ancient possessors of the papyrus having effaced it with the view of substituting for it another piece, which was never transcribed. The last fifteen pages are occupied by a kind of pamphlet, which has had a considerable reputation, under the name of the "Proverbs of Phtahhotpû."

This Phtahhotpû, a king's son, flourished under Menkaûhorû and Assi: his tomb is still to be seen in the necropolis of Saqqâra.[1] He had sufficient reputation to permit the ascription to him, without violence to probability, of the editing of a collection of political and moral maxims which indicate a profound knowledge of the court and of men generally. It is supposed that he presented himself, in his declining years, before the Pharaoh Assi, exhibited to him the piteous state to which old age had reduced him, and asked authority to hand down for the benefit of posterity the treasures of wisdom which he had stored up in his long career. The nomarch Phtahhotpû says: "'Sire, my lord, when age is at that point, and decrepitude has arrived, debility comes and a second infancy, upon which misery falls heavily every day: the eyes become smaller, the ears narrower, strength is worn out while the heart continues to beat; the mouth is silent and speaks no more; the heart becomes darkened and no longer remembers yesterday; the bones become painful, everything which was good becomes bad, taste vanishes entirely; old age renders a man miserable in every respect, for his nostrils close up, and he breathes no longer, whether he rises up or sits down. If the humble servant who is in thy presence receives an order to enter on a discourse befitting an old man, then I will tell to thee the language of those who know the history of the past, of those who have heard the gods; for if thou conductest thyself like them, discontent shall disappear from among men, and the two lands shall work for thee!' The majesty of this god says: 'Instruct me in the language of old times, for it will work a wonder for the children of the nobles; whosoever enters and understands it, his heart weighs carefully what it says, and it does not produce satiety.'"[2] We must not expect to find in this work any great profundity of thought. Clever analyses, subtle discussions, metaphysical abstractions, were not in fashion in the time of Phtahhotpû. Actual facts were preferred to speculative fancies: man himself was the subject of observation, his passions, his habits, his temptations and his defects, not for the purpose of constructing a

[1] He calls himself son of a king (pl. v. ll. 6, 7); he addresses his work to Assi (pl. iv. l. 1), and the name of Menkaûhorû is found in his tomb (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les Monuments*, p. 99; DÜMICHEN, *Resultate*, vol. i. pls. viii.–xv.; E. MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, pp. 350–356). A certain Qaqimnî has been found to belong to the Vth dynasty (STEINDORFF, *die Mastaba des Ka-bi-n dans la Zeitschrift*, t. xxxiii. p. 72.

[2] *Prisse Papyrus*, pl. iv. l. 2; pl. v. l. 6; cf. VIREY, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse*, pp. 27–32.

system therefrom, but in the hope of reforming the imperfections of his nature and of pointing out to him the road to fortune. Ptahhotpû, therefore, does not show much invention or make deductions. He writes down his reflections just as they occur to him, without formulating them or drawing any conclusion from them as a whole. Knowledge is indispensable to getting on in the world; hence he recommends knowledge.[1] Gentleness to subordinates is politic, and shows good education; hence he praises gentleness.[2] He mingles advice throughout on the behaviour to be observed in the various circumstances of life, on being introduced into the presence of a haughty and choleric man,[3] on entering society, on the occasion of dining with a dignitary,[4] on being married. "If thou art wise, thou wilt go up into thine house, and love thy wife at home; thou wilt give her abundance of food, thou wilt clothe her back with garments; all that covers her limbs, her perfumes, is the joy of her life; as long as thou lookest to this, she is as a profitable field to her master."[5] To analyse such a work in detail is impossible: it is still more impossible to translate the whole of it. The nature of the subject, the strangeness of certain precepts, the character of the style, all tend to disconcert the reader and to mislead him in his interpretations. From the very earliest times ethics has been considered as a healthy and praiseworthy subject in itself, but so hackneyed was it, that a change in the mode of expressing it could alone give it freshness. Ptahhotpû is a victim to the exigencies of the style he adopted. Others before him had given utterance to the truths he wished to convey: he was obliged to clothe them in a startling and interesting form to arrest the attention of his readers. In some places he has expressed his thought with such subtlety, that the meaning is lost in the jingle of the words.

The art of the Memphite dynasties has suffered as much as the literature from the hand of time, but in the case of the former the fragments are at least numerous and accessible to all. The kings of this period erected temples in their cities, and, not to speak of the chapel of the Sphinx, we find in the remains still existing of these buildings[6] chambers of granite, alabaster and limestone, covered with religious scenes like those of more recent periods, although in some cases the walls are left bare. Their public buildings have all, or nearly

[1] *Prisse Papyrus*, pl. xv. l. 8; pl. xvi. l. 1; cf. VIREY, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse*, pp. 91–95.

[2] *Idem*, pl. vi. l. 3, p. 10; pl. vii. ll. 5–7; cf. VIREY, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–41, 45–47.

[3] *Idem*, pl. v. l. 10; pl. vi. l. 3; pl. viii. ll. 7–9, etc.; cf. VIREY, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–38, 47–49.

[4] *Idem*, pl. vi. l. 11; pl. vii. l. 3; pl. xiv. l. 6; cf. VIREY, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–44, 85–87. See also pl. i. l. 3, et seq., and VIREY, *op. cit.*, p. 16, et seq.

[5] *Idem*, pl. x. ll. 8–10; cf. VIREY, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68.

[6] I discovered in the masonry of one of the pyramids of Lisht, the remains of a temple built by Khephren (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 148, 149); and Naville drew attention to the fragments of another temple, decorated by the same king and his predecessor Kheops, at Bubastis (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pl. xxxii. *a-b*, pp. 3, 5, 6, 10).

all, perished; breaches have been made in them by invading armies or by civil wars, and they have been altered, enlarged, and restored scores of times in the course of ages; but the tombs of the old kings remain, and afford proof of the skill and perseverance exhibited by the architects in devising and carrying out their plans.[1] Many of the mastabas occurring at intervals between Gîzeh and Mêdûm have, indeed, been hastily and carelessly built, as if by those who were anxious to get them finished, or who had an eye to economy; we may observe in all of them neglect and imperfection,—all the trade-tricks which an unscrupulous jerry-builder then, as now, could be guilty of, in order to keep down the net cost and satisfy the natural parsimony of his patrons without lessening his own profits.[2] Where, however, the master-mason has not been hampered by being forced to work hastily or cheaply, he displays his conscientiousness, and the choice of materials, the regularity of the courses, and the homogeneousness of the building leave nothing to be desired; the blocks are adjusted with such precision that the joints are almost invisible, and the mortar between them has been spread with such a skilful hand that there is scarcely an appreciable difference in its uniform thickness.[3] The long low flat mass which the finished tomb presented to the eye is wanting in grace, but it has the characteristics of strength and indestructibility well suited to an "eternal house." The façade, however, was not wanting in a certain graceful severity: the play of light and shade distributed over its surface by the stelæ, niches, and deep-set doorways, varied its aspect in the course of the day, without lessening the impression of its majesty and serenity which nothing could disturb. The pyramids themselves are not, as we might imagine, the coarse and ill-considered reproduction of a mathematical figure disproportionately enlarged. The architect who made an estimate for that of Kheops, must have carefully thought out the relative value of the elements contained in the problem which had to be solved—the vertical height of the summit, the length of the sides on the ground line, the angle of pitch, the inclination of the lateral faces to one another—before he discovered the exact proportions and the arrangement of lines which render his monument a true work of art, and not merely a costly and mechanical arrangement of

[1] See the part devoted to the study of mastabas in Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 168-194).

[2] The similarity of the materials and technicalities of construction and decoration seem to me to prove that the majority of the tombs were built by a small number of contractors or corporations, lay or ecclesiastical, both at Memphis, under the Ancient, as well as at Thebes, under the New Empire.

[3] Speaking of the Great Pyramid and of its casing, Professor Petrie says: "Though the stones were brought as close as $\frac{1}{500}$ inch, or, in fact, into contact, and the mean opening of the joint was but $\frac{1}{50}$ inch, yet the builders managed to fill the joint with cement, despite the great area of it, and the weight of the stone to be moved—some 16 tons. To merely place such stones in exact contact at the sides would be careful work; but to do so with cement in the joint seems almost impossible" (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 44.)

stones.[1] The impressions which he desired to excite, have been felt by all who came after him when brought face to face with the pyramids. From a great distance they appear like mountain-peaks, breaking the monotony of the Libyan horizon; as we approach them they apparently decrease in size, and seem to be merely unimportant inequalities of ground on the surface of the plain. It is not till we reach their bases that we guess their enormous size. The lower courses then stretch seemingly into infinity to right and left, while the summit soars up out of our sight into the sky. "The effect is gained by majesty and simplicity of form, in the contrast and disproportion between the stature of man and the immensity of his handiwork: the eye fails to take it in; it is even difficult for the mind to grasp it. We see, we may touch hundreds of courses formed of blocks, two hundred cubic feet in size, . . . and thousands of others scarcely less in bulk, and we are at a loss to know what force has moved, transported, and raised so great a number of colossal stones, how many men were needed for the work, what amount of time was required for it, what machinery they used; and in proportion to our inability to answer these questions, we increasingly admire the power which regarded such obstacles as trifles." [2]

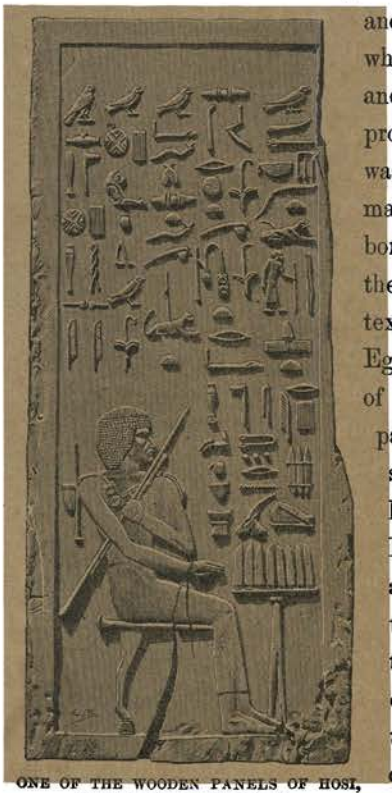
We are not acquainted with the names of any of the men who conceived these prodigious works. The inscriptions mention in detail the princes, nobles, and scribes who presided over all the works undertaken by the sovereign, but they have never deigned to record the name of a single architect.[3] They were people of humble extraction, living hard lives under fear of the stick, and their ordinary assistants, the draughtsmen, painters, and sculptors, were no better off than themselves; they were looked upon as mechanics of the same social status as the neighbouring shoemaker or carpenter. The majority of them

[1] Cf. BORCHARDT's article, *Wie wurden die Böschungen der Pyramiden bestimmt?* (in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxi. pp. 9–17), in which the author—an architect by profession as well as an Egyptologist—interprets the theories and problems of the *Rhind mathematical Papyrus* in a new manner (EISENLOHR, *Ein Mathematisches Handbuch der Alten Ægypten*, pl. xviii. pp. 116–131), comparing the result with his own calculations, made from measurements of pyramids still standing, and in which he shows, by an examination of the diagrams discovered on the wall of a mastaba at Mêdûm, that the Egyptian contractors of the Memphite period were, at that early date, applying the rules and methods of procedure which we find set forth in the Papyri of Theban times (PETRIE, *Medum*, pp. 12, 13, and pl. 8; cf. GRIFFITH, *Medum*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiv. 1891–92, p. 486).

[2] JOMARD, *Description générale de Memphis et des Pyramides*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v. pp. 597, 598.

[3] The title "mir kaûtû nîbû nîti sûton," frequently met with under the Ancient Empire, does not designate the architects, as many Egyptologists have thought: it signifies "director of all the king's works," and is applicable to irrigation, dykes and canals, mines and quarries, and all branches of an engineer's profession, as well as to those of the architect's. The "directors of all the king's works" were dignitaries deputed by Pharaoh to take the necessary measurements for the building of temples, for dredging canals, for quarrying stone and minerals; they were administrators, and not professionals possessing the technical knowledge of an architect or engineer. Cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 627–630.

were, in fact, clever mechanical workers of varying capability, accustomed to chisel out a bas-relief or set a statue firmly on its legs, in accordance with invariable rules which they transmitted unaltered from one generation to another: some were found among them, however, who displayed unmistakable genius in their art, and who, rising above the general mediocrity, produced masterpieces. Their equipment of tools was very simple—iron picks with wooden handles, mallets of wood, small hammers, and a bow for boring holes.[1] The sycamore and acacia furnished them with a material of a delicate grain and soft texture, which they used to good advantage: Egyptian art has left us nothing which, in purity of line and delicacy of modelling, surpasses the panels of the tomb of Hosi,[2] with their seated or standing male figures and their vigorously cut hieroglyphs in the same relief as the picture. Egypt possesses, however, but few trees of suitable fibre for sculptural purposes, and even those which were fitted for this use were too small and stunted to furnish blocks of any considerable size. The sculptor, therefore, turned by preference to the soft white limestone of Turah. He quickly detached the general form of his statue from the mass of stone, fixed the limits of its contour by means of dimension guides applied horizontally from top to bottom, and then cut away the angles projecting beyond the guides, and softened off the outline till he made his modelling correct. This simple and regular method of procedure was not suited to hard stone: the latter had to be first chiselled, but when by dint of patience the rough hewing had reached the desired stage, the work of completion was not entrusted to metal tools. Stone hatchets were used for smoothing off the superficial roughnesses, and it was assiduously polished to efface the various tool-marks left upon its surface. The



ONE OF THE WOODEN PANELS OF HOSI, IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[3]

[1] PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 753–764; MASPERO, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 188–195.

[2] MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1876, pp. 284–292, Nos. 989–994; MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 213, 214, Nos. 1037–1039. They are published in MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 12, and in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 640–645.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey (cf. MARIETTE, *Album photographique*, pl. 12). The original is now in the Gîzeh Museum.

statues did not present that variety of gesture, expression, and attitude which we aim at to-day. They were, above all things, the accessories of a temple or tomb, and their appearance reflects the particular ideas entertained with regard to their nature. The artists did not seek to embody in them the ideal type of male or female beauty: they were representatives made to perpetuate the existence of the model. The Egyptians wished the double to

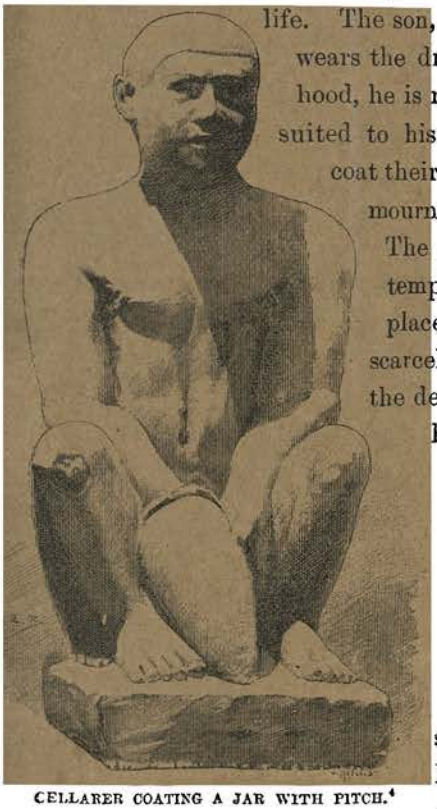
A SCULPTOR'S STUDIO, AND EGYPTIAN PAINTERS AT WORK.[1]

be able to adapt itself easily to its image, and in order to compass that end, it was imperative that the stone presentment should be at least an approximate likeness, and should reproduce the proportions and peculiarities of the living prototype for whom it was meant. The head had to be the faithful portrait of the individual: it was enough for the body to be, so to speak, an average one, showing him at his fullest development and in the complete enjoyment of his physical powers. The men were always represented in their maturity, the women never lost the rounded breast and slight hips of their girlhood, but a dwarf always preserved his congenital ugliness, for his salvation in the other world demanded that it should be so.[2] Had he been given normal stature, the double, accustomed to the deformity of his members in this world, would have been unable to accommodate himself to an upright carriage, and would not have been in a fit condition to resume his course of life. The particular pose of the statue was dependent on the social position of the person. The king, the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a chromolithograph by PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*. The original is in the tomb of Rakhmirî, who lived at Thebes under the XVIIIth dynasty (cf. VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmarâ*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission française du Caire*, vol. v. pls. xiii., xvii., xviii.). The methods which were used did not differ from those employed by the sculptors and painters of the Memphite period more than two thousand years previously.

[2] Cf. on p. 280 of this History the painted limestone statue of the dwarf Khnûmhotpû.

nobleman, and the master are always standing or sitting: it was in these postures they received the homage of their vassals or relatives. The wife shares her husband's seat, stands upright beside him, or crouches at his feet as in daily life. The son, if his statue was ordered while he was a child, wears the dress of childhood; if he had arrived to manhood, he is represented in the dress and with the attitude suited to his calling. Slaves grind the grain,[1] cellarers coat their amphoræ with pitch, bakers knead their dough, mourners make lamentation and tear their hair.[2] The exigencies of rank clung to the Egyptians in temple and tomb, wherever their statues were placed, and left the sculptor who represented them scarcely any liberty. He might be allowed to vary the details and arrange the accessories to his taste; he might alter nothing in the attitude or the general likeness without compromising the end and aim of his work.[3]



CELLARER COATING A JAR WITH PITCH.[4]

The statues of the Memphite period may be counted at the present day by hundreds. Some are in the heavy and barbaric style which has caused them to be mistaken for primæval monuments: as, for instance, the statues of Sapi and his wife, now in the Louvre, which are attributed to the beginning of the IIIrd dynasty or even earlier.[5] Groups exactly resembling these in appearance are often found in the tombs of the Vth and VIth dynasties, which according to this reckoning would be still older than that of Sapi: they were productions of an inferior studio, and their supposed archaism is merely the want of skill of an ignorant sculptor. The majority of the remaining statues are not characterized either by glaring faults

[1] See on p. 320 of this History the figure of one of the women crushing grain in the Gîzeh Museum, and on p. 346 as a tail-piece the head and bust of the woman grinding it, now in the Florence Museum (cf. SCHIAPARELLI, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Antichità Egizie*, p. 189, No. 1494).

[2] See the vignette at the opening of Chapter IV., p. 247 of this History, the mourner in the Gîzeh Museum.

[3] PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 631, 636; MASPERO, *Tête de scribe égyptien*, and *Pehournowri*, in the first volume of RAYET, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, and *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 203–206; ERMAN, *Ægypten*, pp. 545, et seq. The admirable head of the Egyptian scribe, possessed by the Louvre, is reproduced on p. 345 of this History as a heading to the present chapter.

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey (cf. MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20). The original is now in the Gîzeh Museum.

[5] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice sommaire des Monuments Égyptiens*, p. 50; PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 636–638. This opinion, contested by MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 200, is accepted by STEINDORFF, *Ueber archaische ägyptesche Statuen*, p. 65.

or by striking merits: they constitute an array of honest good-natured folk, without much individuality of character and no originality. They may be easily divided into five or six groups, each having a style in common, and all apparently having been executed on the lines of a few chosen models; the sculptors who worked for the mastaba contractors were distributed among a very few studios, in which a traditional routine was observed for centuries. They did not always wait for orders, but, like our modern tombstone-makers, kept by them a tolerable assortment of half-finished statues, from which the purchaser could choose according to his taste. The hands, feet, and bust lacked only the colouring and final polish, but the head was merely rough-hewn, and there were no indications of dress; when the future occupant of the tomb or his family had made their choice, a few hours of work were sufficient to transform the rough sketch into a portrait, such as it was, of the deceased they desired to commemorate, and to arrange his garment according to the latest fashion.[1] If, however, the relatives or the sovereign [2] declined to be satisfied with these commonplace images, and demanded a less conventional treatment of body for the double of him whom they had lost, there were always some among the assistants to be found capable of entering into their wishes, and of seizing the lifelike expression of limbs and features. We possess at the present day, scattered about in museums, some score of statues of this period, examples of consummate art,—the Khephrens, the Kheops, the Anû, the Nofrît, the Râhotpû I have already mentioned,[4] the "Sheîkh-el-Beled" and his wife, the sitting scribe of the Louvre and that of Gîzeh, and the kneeling scribe. Kaâpirû, the "Sheîkh-el-Beled," was probably one of the

BAKER KNEADING HIS DOUGH.[3]

[1] MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 308, 309; *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 194; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 635.

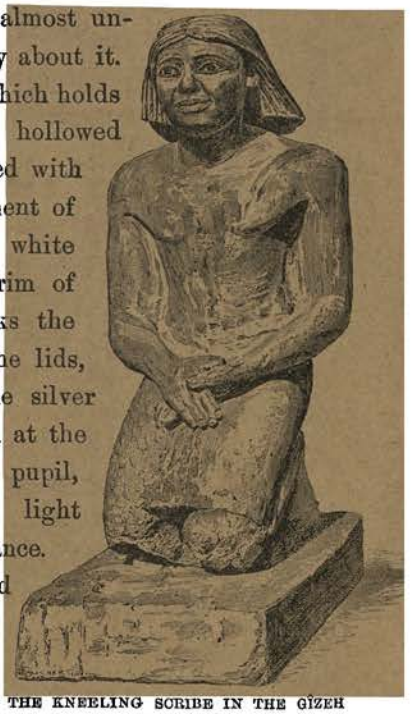
[2] It must not be forgotten that the statues were often, like the tomb itself, given by the king to the man whose services he desired to reward. His burying-place then bore the formulary, "By the favour of the king," as I have mentioned previously; cf. p. 302, note 5, of this History.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Béchard (cf. MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20). The original is now in the Gîzeh Museum (cf. MASPERO, *Guide de Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 220, No. 1015).

[4] For the Khephren, cf. p. 379 of this History; for the Kheops, p. 364; for Ânû, p. 390; for Nofrît, p. 356. The head of Râhotpû is given in the initial vignette to this chapter, p. 347.

directors of the corvée employed to build the Great Pyramid.[1] He seems to be coming forward to meet the beholder, with an acacia staff in his hand. Heavy, thick-set, broad and fleshy, he has the head and shoulders of a bull, and a common cast of countenance, whose vulgarity is not wanting in energy. The large, widely open eye has, by a trick of the sculptor, an almost uncanny reality about it. The socket which holds it has been hollowed out and filled with an arrangement of black and white enamel; a rim of bronze marks the outline of the lids, while a little silver peg, inserted at the back of the pupil, reflects the light and gives the effect of the sparkle of a living glance. The statue, which is short in height, is of wood, and one would be inclined to think that the relative plasticity of the material counts for something in the boldness of the execution, were it not that though the sitting scribe of the Louvre is of limestone, the sculptor has not shown less freedom in its composition. We recognize in

THE SHEÎKH-EL-BELED IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[2]



THE KNEELING SCRIBE IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[3]

[1] It was discovered by Mariette at Saqqâra. "The head, torso, arms, and even the staff, were intact; but the pedestal and legs were hopelessly decayed, and the statue was only kept upright by the sand which surrounded it" (MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas*, p. 129). The staff has since been broken, and is replaced by a more recent one exactly like it. In order to set up the figure, Mariette was obliged to supply new feet, which retain the colour of the fresh wood. By a curious coincidence, Kaâpirû was an exact portrait of one of the "Sheîkhs el-Beled," or mayors of the village of Saqqâra: the Arab workmen, always quick to see a likeness, immediately called it the "Sheîkh el-Beled," and the name has been retained ever since (MARIETTE, *Notes des principaux monuments*, 1876, p. 194, No. 492, and *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pls. 18, 19; ROUGÉ-BANVILLE, *Album de la Mission photographique de M. de Rougé*, Nos. 95, 96).—IVth dynasty.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey (cf. MARIETTE, *Album photographique*, pl. 18).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey (cf. MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 20; MASPERO, in O. RAYET, *Les Monuments de l'Art Antique*, vol. i.).

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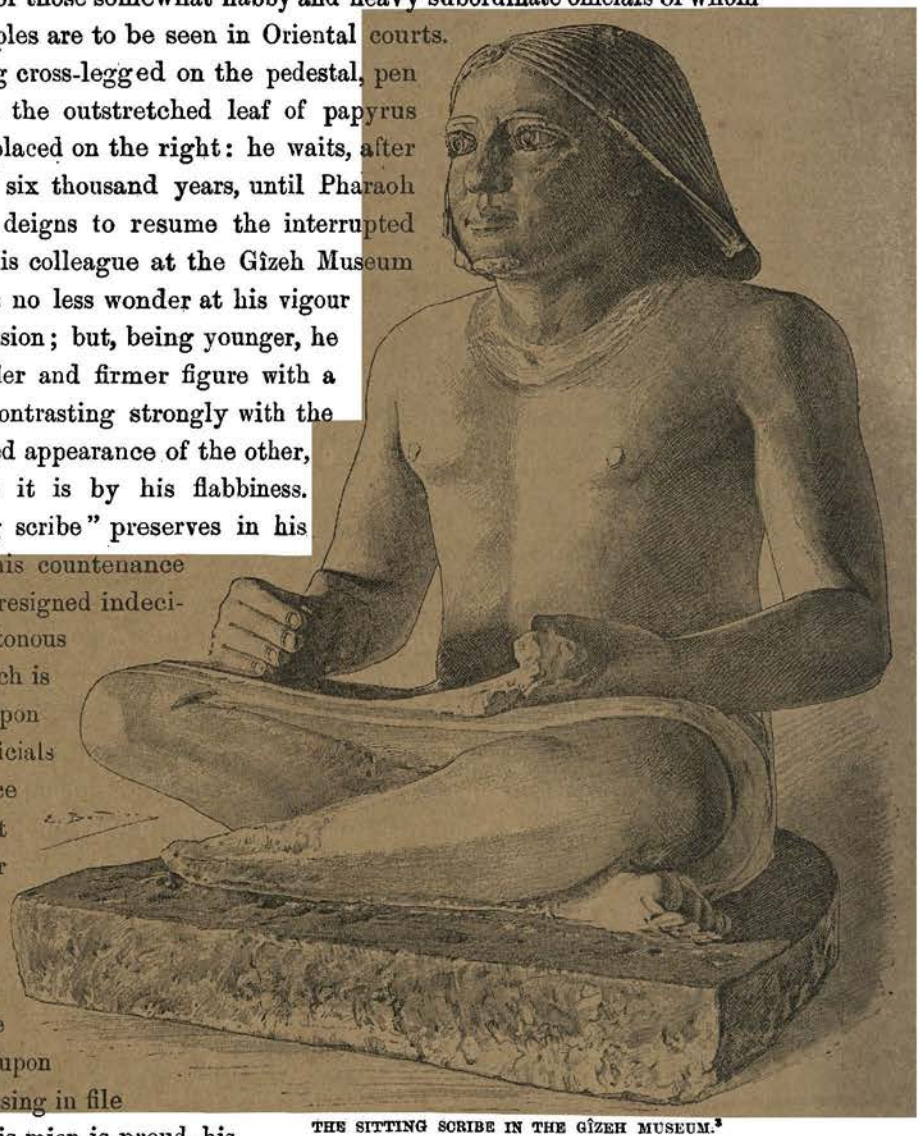
The Sitting Scribe

(In the Louvre)

this figure one of those somewhat flabby and heavy subordinate officials of whom so many examples are to be seen in Oriental courts. He is squatting cross-legged on the pedestal, pen in hand, with the outstretched leaf of papyrus conveniently placed on the right: he waits, after an interval of six thousand years, until Pharaoh or his vizier deigns to resume the interrupted dictation.[1] His colleague at the Gîzeh Museum awakens in us no less wonder at his vigour and self-possession; but, being younger, he exhibits a fuller and firmer figure with a smooth skin, contrasting strongly with the deeply wrinkled appearance of the other, aggravated as it is by his flabbiness. The "kneeling scribe" preserves in his pose and on his countenance that stamp of resigned indecision and monotonous gentleness which is impressed upon subordinate officials by the influence of a life spent entirely under the fear of the stick.[2] Ranofir, on the contrary, is a noble lord looking upon his vassals passing in file before him: his mien is proud, his head disdainful, and he has that air of haughty indifference which is befitting a favourite of the Pharaoh, possessor of generously bestowed sinecures, and lord



THE SITTING SCRIBE IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[3]

[1] Discovered by Mariette during the excavations at the Serapeum, and published in the *Choix de Monuments et de Dessins du Sérapéum de Memphis*, pl. x. (ROUGÉ-BANVILLE, *Album photographique de la Mission*, Nos. 106, 107; MASPERO, in the *Monuments de l'Art Antique* by O. RAYET, vol. i.). It comes from the tomb of, and represents, *Sakhemka* (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice sommaire*, 1855, p. 66), of the Vth dynasty.

[2] Discovered by Mariette at Saqqâra (*Notices des principaux Monuments*, 1876, p. 235, No. 769); reproduced in the *Album photographique*, pl. 20, by Mariette himself; afterwards by Perrot-Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 657, No. 440) and by Maspero, in O. RAYET, *Les Monuments de l'Art Antique*, vol. i., and in the *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 211, 212, and fig. 186.—V^th^ dynasty.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. This scribe was discovered at

of a score of domains.[1] The same haughtiness of attitude distinguishes the director of the granaries, Nofir. We rarely encounter a small statue so expressive of vigour and energy.[2] Sometimes there may be found among these short-garmented people an individual wrapped and almost smothered in an immense *abayah*;[3] or a naked man, representing a peasant on his way to market, his bag on his left shoulder, slightly bent under the weight, carrying his sandals in his other hand, lest they should be worn out too quickly in walking.[4] Everywhere we observe the traits of character distinctive of the individual and his position, rendered with a scrupulous fidelity: nothing is omitted, no detail of the characteristics of the model is suppressed. Idealisation we must not expect, but we have here an intelligent and sometimes too realistic fidelity. Portraits have been conceived among other peoples and in other periods in a different way: they have never been better executed.[5]

PEASANT GOING TO MARKET.[6]

The decoration of the sepulchres provided employment for scores of draughtsmen, sculptors, and painters, whose business it was to multiply in these tombs scenes of everyday life which were indispensable to the happiness or comfort of the double. The walls are sometimes decorated with isolated pictures only, each one of which represents a distinct operation; more frequently we find traced upon them a single subject whose episodes are superimposed one upon the other from the ground to the ceiling, and represent an Egyptian panorama from the Nile to the desert. In the lower portion, boats pass to and

Saqqâra by M. de Morgan in the beginning of 1893, and published by MASPERO, *Le Nouveau Scribe du Musée de Gizeh*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd series, vol. ix. pp. 265-270, and with a coloured plate in the collection of the *Fondation Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, vol. i. pl. i., and pp. 1–6.

[1] Discovered at Saqqâra by Mariette (*Lettre à M. de Rougé*, p. 11; *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 121–123; *Notices des principaux Monuments*, 1876, p. 216, No. 582): the original lived in the first half of the IVth dynasty. It was reproduced in PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 10, fig. 6; p. 655, No. 436, and at p. 47 of this History.

[2] MARIETTE, *Notices des principaux Monuments*, 1876, p. 187, No. 458; MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 244, No. 4454. It was reproduced by PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 628, from a drawing by Bourgoin.—V^th^ dynasty.

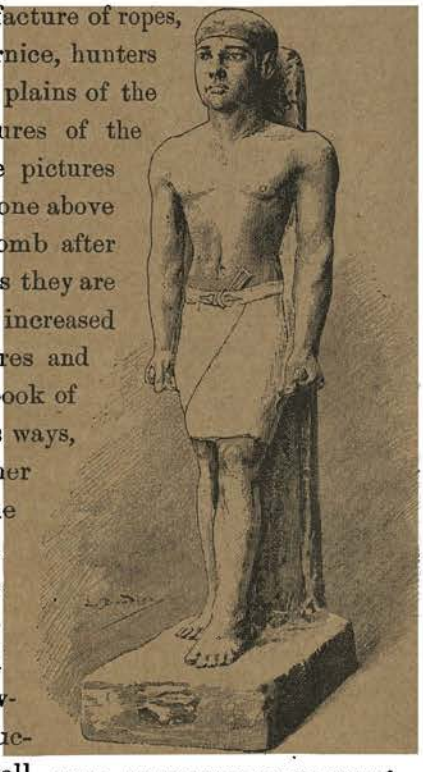
[3] Discovered at Saqqâra by Mariette (*Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1876, pp. 235, 236, No. 770); reproduced by him (*Album photographique*, p. 20) and by PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 657, No. 439; cf. the drawing of this curious figure, p. 55 of this History.—IVth dynasty.

[4] Discovered at Saqqâra by Mariette (*Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1876, p. 236, No. 771); reproduced by PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 73, No. 47; pp. 660, 661, No. 445, where the sandals have been mistakenly regarded as a bouquet of flowers.—V^th^ dynasty.

[5] PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 655, et seq.; MASPERO, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 206–214.

[6] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Béchard (MARIETTE, *Album photographique*, pl. 20). The original is at Gîzeh.—V^th^ dynasty.

fro, and collide with each other, while the boatmen come to blows with their boat-hooks within sight of hippopotami and crocodiles. In the upper portions we see a band of slaves engaged in fowling among the thickets of the river-bank, or in the making of small boats, the manufacture of ropes, the scraping and salting of fish. Under the cornice, hunters and dogs drive the gazelle across the undulating plains of the desert. Every row represents one of the features of the country; but the artist, instead of arranging the pictures in perspective, separated them and depicted them one above the other.[1] The groups are repeated in one tomb after another; they are always the same, but sometimes they are reduced to two or three individuals, sometimes increased in number, spread out and crowded with figures and inscriptions. Each chief draughtsman had his book of subjects and texts, which he combined in various ways, at one time bringing them close together, at another duplicating or extending them according to the means put at his disposal or the space he had to cover. The same men, the same animals, the same features of the landscape, the same accessories, appear everywhere: it is industrial and mechanical art at its highest. The whole is, however, harmonious, agreeable to the eye, and instructive. The conventionalisms of the drawing as well as those of the composition are very different from ours. Whether it is man or beast, the subject is invariably presented in outline by the brush, or by the graving tool in sharp relief upon the background; but the animals are represented in action, with their usual gait, movement, and play of limbs distinguishing each species. The slow and measured walk of the ox, the short step, meditative ears, and ironical mouth of the ass, the calm strength of the lion at rest, the grimaces of the monkeys, the slender gracefulness of the gazelle and antelope, are invariably presented with a consummate skill in drawing and expression. The human figure is the least perfect: every one is acquainted with those strange figures, whose heads in profile, with the eye drawn in full face, are attached to a torso seen from the front and supported by limbs



NOFIR, THE DIRECTOR OF GRANARIES.[2]

[1] MASPERO, *Les Peintures des Tombeaux égyptiens, et la Mosaïque de Palestrine* (extracted from the *Melanges publiés par la Section historique et philologique de l'École des Hautes Études pour le dixième anniversaire de sa fondation*, pp. 45–47; and from the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1879, pp. 1–3), *l'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 182–185.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. The original is in the Gîzeh Museum.—V^th^ dynasty.

in profile. These are truly anatomical monsters, and yet the appearance they present to us is neither laughable nor grotesque. The defective limbs are so deftly connected with those which are normal, that the whole becomes natural: the correct and fictitious lines are so ingeniously blent together that they seem to rise necessarily from each other. The actors in these dramas are constructed in such a paradoxical fashion that they could not exist in this world of ours; they live notwithstanding, in spite of the ordinary laws of physiology, and to any one who will take the trouble to regard them without prejudice, their strangeness will add a charm which is lacking in works more conformable to nature.[1] A layer of colour spread over the whole heightens and completes them. This colouring is never quite true to nature nor yet entirely false. It approaches reality as far as possible, but without pretending to copy it in a servile way. The water is always a uniform blue, or broken up by black zigzag lines; the skin of the men is invariably brown, that of the women pale yellow. The shade befitting each being or object was taught in the workshops, and once the receipt for it was drawn up, it was never varied in application. The effect produced by these conventional colours, however, was neither discordant nor jarring. The most brilliant colours were placed alongside each other with extreme audacity, but with a perfect knowledge of their mutual relations and combined effect. They do not jar with, or exaggerate, or kill each other: they enhance each other's value, and by their contact give rise to half-shades which harmonize with them.[3] The sepulchral chapels, in cases where their decoration had been completed, and where they have reached us intact, appear to us as chambers hung with beautifully luminous and interesting tapestry, in which rest ought to be pleasant during the heat of the day to the soul which dwells within them, and to the friends who come there to hold intercourse with the dead.

BAS-RELIEF ON IVORY.[2]

The decoration of palaces and houses was not less sumptuous than that of the sepulchres, but it has been so completely destroyed that we should find it difficult to form an idea of the furniture of the living if we did not see it frequently depicted in the abode of the double. The great armchairs, folding

[1] PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 741, et seq.; MASPERO, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 168–172; ERMAN, *Ægypten und das Ægyptische Leben im Altertum*, p. 530, et seq.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Bouriant. The original is in private possession.

[3] PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 781–792; MASPERO, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 197–199.

seats, footstools, and beds of carved wood, painted and inlaid, the vases of hard stone, metal, or enamelled ware, the necklaces, bracelets, and ornaments on the walls, even the common pottery of which we find the remains in the neighbourhood of the pyramids, are generally distinguished by an elegance and grace reflecting credit on the workmanship and taste of the makers.[1] The squares of ivory which they applied to their linen-chests and their jewel-cases often contained actual bas-reliefs in miniature of as bold workmanship and as skilful execution as the most beautiful pictures in the tombs: on these, moreover, were scenes of private life—dancing or processions bringing offerings and animals.[2] One would like to possess some of those copper and golden statues which the Pharaoh Kheops consecrated to Isis in honour of his daughter: only the representation of them upon a stele has come down to us; and the fragments of sceptres or other objects which too rarely have reached us, have unfortunately no

STELE OF THE DAUGHTER OF KHEOPS.[3]

[1] The study of the alabaster and diorite vases found near the pyramids has furnished Petrie (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 173, et seq.) with very ingenious views on the methods among the Egyptians of working hard stone. Examples of stone toilet or sacrificial bottles are not unfrequent in our museums: I may mention those in the Louvre which bear the cartouches of Dadkerî Assi (No. 343), of Papi I. (Nos. 351–354), and of Papi II. (Nos. 346–348), the son of Papi I. (PIERRET, *Catalogue de la Salle Historique*, pp. 84–86); not that they are to be reckoned among the finest, but because the cartouches fix the date of their manufacture. They came from the pyramids of these sovereigns, opened by the Arabs at the beginning of this century: the vase of the VIth dynasty, which is in the Museum at Florence, was brought from Abydos (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. part 1, p. 5).

[2] M. Grébaut bought at the Great Pyramids, in 1887, a series of these ivory sculptures of the Ancient Empire. They are now at the Gîzeh Museum. Others belonging to the same find are dispersed among private collections: one of them is reproduced on p. 412 of this History.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Béchard (cf. MARIETTE, *Album photographique du Musée de Boulaq*, pl. 27; and *Monuments divers*, pl. 53, p. 17).

artistic value.[1] A taste for pretty things was common, at least among the upper classes, including not only those about the court, but also those in the most distant nomes of Egypt. The provincial lords, like the courtiers of the palace, took a pride in collecting around them in the other world everything of the finest that the art of the architect, sculptor, and painter could conceive and execute. Their mansions as well as their temples have disappeared, but we find, here and there on the sides of the hills, the sepulchres which they had prepared for themselves in rivalry with those of the courtiers or the members of the reigning family. They turned the valley into a vast series of catacombs, so that wherever we look the horizon is bounded by a row of historic tombs. Thanks to their rock-cut sepulchres, we are beginning to know the Nomarchs of the Gazelle and the Hare,[2] those of the Serpent-Mountain,[3] of Akhmîm,[4] Thinis,[5] Qasr-es-Sayad,[6] and Aswân,[7]—all the scions, in fact, of that feudal government which preceded the royal sovereignty on the banks of the Nile, and of which royalty was never able to entirely disembarrass itself. The Pharaohs of the IVth dynasty had kept them in such check that we can hardly find any indications during their reigns of the existence of these great barons: the heads of the Pharaonic administration were not recruited from among the latter, but from the family and domestic circle of the sovereign. It was in the time of the kings of the Vth dynasty, it would appear, that the barons again entered into favour and gradually gained the upper hand; we find them in increasing numbers about Ânû, Menkaûhorû, and Assi. Did Ûnas,

[1] For example, the two bronze vases with the name of Ûni who lived under the VIth dynasty (PIERRET, *Catalogue de la Salle Historique*, p. 85, No. 350), and the ends of the sceptre of Papi I., now in the British Museum (LEEMANS, *Monuments Égyptiens portant des Légendes Royales*, pl. xxx., No. 302; ARUNDALE-BONOMI-BIRCH, *Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities*, pl. 30, No. 144, and p. 72; PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Notices sur les Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée Britannique*, p. 23; cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. iii. p. 713). One of the latter, analysed by Berthelot (*Annales de Chimie et de Physique*, 6th series, vol. xii. p. 129), was of copper, without a trace of tin: implements found by Petrie in his excavations at Mêdûm were, on the contrary, of true bronze, made in the same manner as our own (J. H. GLADSTONE, *On Metallic Copper, Tin and Antimony, from Ancient Egypt*, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. xiv. p. 225).

[2] In the tombs of Kom-el-Ahmar, of Zawyet-el-Meiyetîn, and of Sheîkh-Said (*Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. pp. 355–360, and A. T. V., pl. lxviii.; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 441–445; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 105–113).

[3] At Beni-Mohammed-el-Kufur, on the right bank of the Nile (SAYCE, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 65–67, and the observations of MASPERO, *ibid.*, pp. 68-71).

[4] MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. xxi. *b* and text, p. 6; SCHIAPARELLI, *Chemmis-Achmin e la sua antica Necropoli*, in the *Études Archéologiques, historiques et linguistiques, dédiées à Dr. C. Leemans*, pp. 85-88: some fragments of sculpture from these tombs are of a beautiful type.

[5] At Beni-Mohammed-el-Kufur (SAYCE, *Gleanings*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiii. p. 67), and at Negadîyeh, further south, opposite Girgeh (*ib.*, pp. 63, 64, and NESTOR L'HÔTE, in the *Recueil*, xiii. 71, 72).

[6] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 113 *g*, 114; PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Lettre à Champollion-Figeac*, in the *Revue Arch.*, 1st series, vol. i. pp. 731–738; N. L'HÔTE, *Papiers inédits*, vol. iii., in the *Bibl. Nat.*

[7] BUDGE, *Excavations made at Asuân*, in the *Proc. Bib. Arch. Soc.*, vol. x. pp. 4–40; BOURIANT, *Les Tombeaux d'Assouân*, in the *Recueil*, vol. x. pp. 181–198.

who was the last ruler of the dynasty of Elephantinê, die without issue, or were his children prevented from succeeding him by force? The Egyptian annals of the time of the Ramessides bring the direct line of Menes to an end with this king. A new line of Memphite origin begins after him.[1] It is almost certain that the transmission of power was not accomplished without contention, and that there were many claimants to the crown.[2] One of the latter, Imhotpû, whose legitimacy was always disputed, has left hardly any traces of his accession to power,[3] but Ati established himself firmly on the throne for a year at least:[4] he pushed on actively the construction of his pyramid, and sent to the valley of Hammamât for the stone of his sarcophagus. We know not whether revolution or sudden death put an end to his activity: the "Mastabat-el-Faraun" of Saqqâra, in which he hoped to rest, never exceeded the height which it has at present.[6] His name was, however, inscribed in certain official

THE PHARAOH MENKAÛHORÛ.[5]

[1] ED. MEYER, *Geschichte der Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 132, 133.

[2] The Royal Canon of Turin (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. iv. col. iv.–vi., fragm. 34, 59) inserts after Ûnas a *résumé* of the reigns and intervening years since Menes.

[3] The monuments furnish proof that their contemporaries considered these ephemeral rulers as so many illegitimate pretenders. Phtahshopsîsû and his son Sabû-Abibi, who exercised important functions at the court, mention only Ûnas and Teti III. (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les Monuments*, etc., pp. 108–114); Ûni, who took office under Teti III., mentions after this king only Papi I. and Mihtimsaûf I. (*ib.*, pp. 117, 118, 135, et seq.). The official succession was, therefore, regulated at this epoch in the same way as we afterwards find it in the table of Saqqâra, Ûnas, Teti III., Papi I., Mihtimsaûf I., and in the Royal Canon of Turin (MASPERO, *Études de Mythol. et d'Archéol. Égypt.*, vol. ii. pp. 440–442), without the intercalation of any other king (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, p. 148, et seq.).

[4] Brugsch, in his *Histoire d'Égypte*, pp. 44, 45, had identified this king with the first Metesouphis of Manetho: E. de Rougé prefers to transfer him to one of the two Memphite series after the VIth dynasty (*Recherches*, pp. 149, 152), and his opinion has been adopted by Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 220). The position occupied by his inscription among those of Hammamât (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 115 *h*; cf. MASPERO, *Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Vallée de Hammamât*, in the *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, 1877, pp. 328, 329) has decided me in placing him at the end of the Vth or beginning of the VIth dynasty: this E. Meyer has also done (*Gesch. des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 132, 133).

[5] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Faucher-Gudin. The original, which came from Mariette's excavations at the Serapeum, is in the Louvre (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice sommaire des Monuments Égyptiens*, 1855, p. 51, B 48, and *Album photographique de la Mission de M. de Rougé*, No. 102). It is a work of the time of Seti I., and not a contemporary production of the time of Menkaûhorû.

[6] Ati is known only from the Hammamât, inscription dated in the first year of his reign (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 115 *f*; cf. MASPERO, *Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Vallée de Hammamât*, in the *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, 1877, pp. 329, 330). He was identified by Brugsch (*Histoire d'Égypte*,

lists,[1] and a tradition of the Greek period maintained that he had been assassinated by his guards.[2] Teti III. was the actual founder of the VIth dynasty,[3] historians representing him as having been the immediate successor of Ûnas.[4] He lived long enough to build at Saqqâra a pyramid whose internal chambers are covered with inscriptions,[5] and his son succeeded him without opposition. Papi I.[6] reigned at least twenty years.[7] He manifested his activity in all corners of his empire, in the nomes of the Said as well as in those of the Delta, and his authority extended beyond the frontiers by which the power of his immediate predecessors had been limited. He owned sufficient territory south of Elephantinê to regard Nubia as a new kingdom added to those which constituted ancient Egypt: we therefore see him entitled in his preamble "the triple Golden Horus," "the triple Conqueror-Horus," "the Delta-Horus," "the Said-Horus," "the Nubia-Horus."[8] The tribes of the desert furnished him, as was customary, with recruits for his army, for which he had need enough, for the Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula were on the move, and were even becoming dangerous. Papi, aided by Ûni, his prime minister, undertook against them a series of

pp. 44, 45) with the Othoes of Manetho, and this identification has been generally adopted (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, pp. 108, 109, 148, 149; WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 207; LAUTH, *Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 149, et seq.; E. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, pp. 132, 133). M. de Rougé (*Recherches*, p. 146) is inclined to attribute to him as *prænomen* the cartouche Ûsirkerî, which is given in the Table of Abydos between those of Teti III. and Papi I. Mariette (*Table d'Abydos*, p. 15) prefers to recognise in Ûrikeri an independent Pharaoh of short reign. Several blocks of the Mastabat-el-Faraun at Saqqâra contain the cartouche of Ûnas, a fact which induced Mariette to regard this as the tomb of the Pharaoh. The excavations of 1881 showed that Ûnas was entombed elsewhere, and the indications are in favour of attributing the mastaba to Ati. We know, indeed, the pyramids of Teti III., of the two Papis, and of Metesouphis I.; Ati is the only prince of this period with whose tomb we are unacquainted. It is thus by elimination, and not by direct evidence, that the identification has been arrived at: Ati may have drawn upon the workshops of his predecessor Ûnas, which fact would explain the presence on these blocks of the cartouche of the latter.

[1] Upon that of Abydos, if we agree with E. de Rougé (*Recherches*, p. 149) that the cartouche Ûsirkeri contains his *prænomen;* upon that from which Manetho borrowed, if we admit his identification with Othoes. Cf. MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points*, dans le *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 56–64.

[2] Manetho (UNGER'S edition, p. 101), where the form of the name is Othoes.

[3] He is called Teti Menephtah, with the cartouche *prænomen* of Seti I., on a monument of the early part of the XIXth dynasty, in the Museum at Marseilles (E. NAVILLE, *Le Roi Teti Merenphtah*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, pp. 69, 72): we see him in his pyramid represented as standing. This pyramid was opened in 1881, and its chambers are covered with long funerary inscriptions.

[4] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 441, 442.

[5] MASPERO, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 147, and the *Recueil*, vol. v. pp. 1–59. His cartouche has been recently found in the quarries of Hâtnûbû (BLACKDEN-FRAZER, *Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Quarry of Hat-nub*, pl. xv. 6).

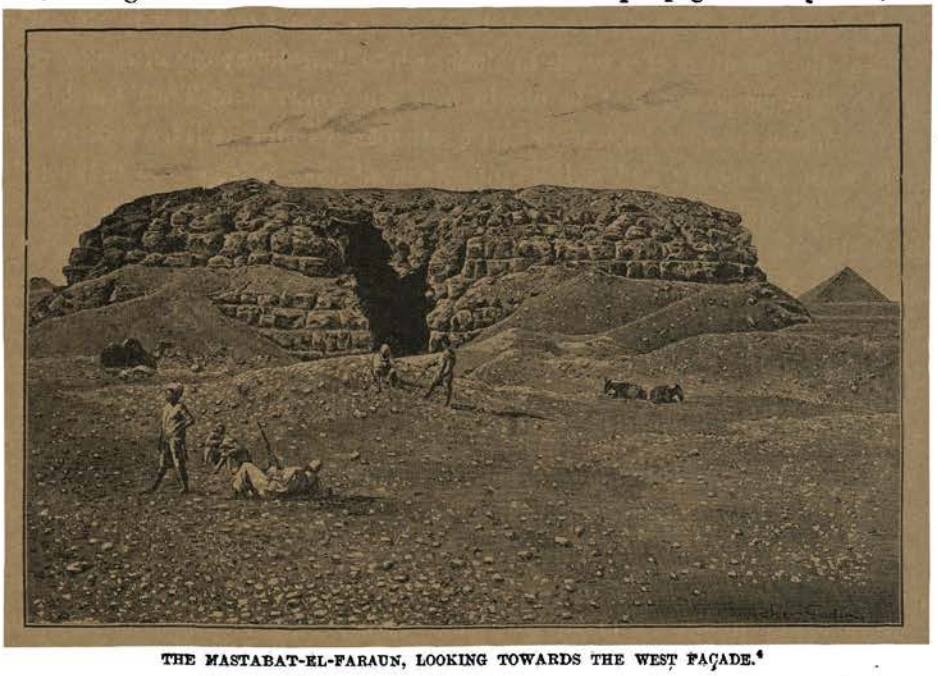
[6] The true pronunciation of this name would be Pipi, and of the one before it Titi. The two other Tetis are Teti I. of the 1st dynasty, and Zosir-Teti, or Teti II., of the IIIrd.

[7] From fragment 59 of the Royal Canon of Turin (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. iv. col. vi. l. 3; cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. p. 441). An inscription in the quarries of Hât-nûbû bears the date of the year 24 (BLACKDEN-FRAZER, work cited above, pl. xv. 1): if it has been correctly copied, the reign must have been four years at least longer than the chronologists of the time of the Ramessides thought.

[8] This title is met with at Hammamât (BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. x.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 115 *c*), at Tanis (PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. pl. i., and p. 4; ii. p. 15), at Bubastis (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pl. xxxii. *c*, *d*, and pp. 5, 6. The explanation of it has been given by E. de Rougé (*Recherches*, pp. 116, 117).

campaigns, in which he reduced them to a state of helplessness, and extended the sovereignty of Egypt for the time over regions hitherto unconquered.[1]

Ûni began his career under Teti.[2] At first a simple page in the palace,[3] he



THE MASTABAT-EL-FARAUN, LOOKING TOWARDS THE WEST FAÇADE.[4]

succeeded in obtaining a post in the administration of the treasury, and afterwards that of inspector of the woods of the royal domain.[5] Papi took him into his friendship at the beginning of his reign, and conferred upon him the title of "friend,"[6] and the office of head of the cabinet, in which position he

[1] The inscription of the tomb of Ûni, which is the principal monument of the reign of Papi I. and of his two successors, was discovered by Mariette in the necropolis of Abydos (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pls. xliv., xlv., and *Catalogue Général*, p. 84, No. 522). It was taken to the Boulaq Museum (MARIETTE, *Notices des principaux Monuments*, 1876, pp. 280, 281, No. 922). Published and analysed by E. de Rougé (*Recherches*, pls. vii., viii., and pp. 117–144), partially translated by Maspero (*Histoire Ancienne*, 4th edit., pp. 81–85) and by Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 95–102), it was completely translated into English by Birch (*Inscription of Una*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 1–8) and by Maspero (*Inscription of Uni*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 1–10), into German by Erman (*Commentar zur Inschrift des Una*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 1–29; cf. *Ægypten*, pp. 688–692).

[2] The beginning of the first line is wanting, and I have restored it from other inscriptions of the same kind: "I was born under Ûnas" (*Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 4). Ûni could not have been born before Ûnas; the first office that he filled under Teti III. was while he was a child or youth, while the reign of Ûnas lasted thirty years (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. iv. col. iv. fragm. 34).

[3] Literally, "crown-bearer." This was a title applied probably to children who served the king in his private apartments, and who wore crowns of natural flowers on their heads: the crown was doubtless of the same form as those which we see upon the brows of women on several tombs of the Memphite epoch (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 46, 47, 71 *a*, etc.).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Béchard.

[5] The word "Khonîti" probably indicates lands with plantations of palms or acacias, the thinly wooded forests of Egypt, and also of the vines which belonged to the personal domain of the Pharaoh (MASPERO, *Sur l'inscription de Zâû*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiii. pp. 69, 70).

[6] See, for the part played by these "friends," and for the position occupied by them according to the laws of precedence in the court of the Pharaohs, what is said on pp. 276, note 1, and 281 of this History.

acquitted himself with credit. Alone, without other help than that of a subordinate scribe, he transacted all the business and drew up all the documents connected with the harem and the privy council. He obtained an ample reward for his services. Pharaoh granted to him, as a proof of his complete satisfaction, the furniture of a tomb in choice white limestone; one of the officials of the necropolis was sent to obtain from the quarries at Troiû the blocks required, and brought back with him a sarcophagus and its lid, a door-shaped stele with its setting and a table of offerings.[1] He affirms with much self-satisfaction that never before had such a thing happened to any one; moreover, he adds, "my wisdom charmed his Majesty, my zeal pleased him, and his Majesty's heart was delighted with me." All this is pure hyperbole, but no one was surprised at it in Egypt; etiquette required that a faithful subject should declare the favours of his sovereign to be something new and unprecedented, even when they presented nothing extraordinary or out of the common. Gifts of sepulchral furniture were of frequent occurrence, and we know of more than one instance of them previous to the VIth dynasty—for example, the case of the physician Sokhîtniônkhû, whose tomb still exists at Saqqâra, and whom Pharaoh Sahurî rewarded by presenting him with a monumental stele in stone from Turah.[2] Henceforth Uni could face without apprehension the future which awaited him in the other world; at the same time, he continued to make his way no less quickly in this, and was soon afterwards promoted to the rank of "sole friend" and superintendent of the irrigated lands of the king. The "sole friends" were closely attached to the person of their master.[3] In all ceremonies, their appointed place was immediately behind him, a place of the highest honour and trust, for those who occupied it literally held his life in their hands. They made all the arrangements for his processions and journeys, and saw that the proper ceremonial was everywhere observed, and that no accident was allowed to interrupt the progress of his train. Lastly, they had to take care that none of the nobles ever departed from the precise position to which his birth or office entitled him. This was a task which required a great deal of tact, for questions of precedence gave rise to nearly as many heart-burnings in Egypt as in modern courts.

[1] For an explanation of the limestone monuments given to Ûni, see MASPERO, *De quelques termes d'architecture égyptienne*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xi. p. 309, et seq.

[2] MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 202–205; cf. MASPERO, *De quelques termes d'architecture égyptienne*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. xi. p. 304, et seq. Under Papi II., Zâû, prince of the Serpent-Mountain, received from the king a coffin and the necessary swathing for his mummy (SAYCE, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 66; and MASPERO, *Sur l'inscription de Zâou*, *ibid.*, pp. 69, 70).

[3] This definition of the functions of the "sole friend" appears to me to follow from the passage itself of the inscription of Ûni (ll. 8, 9). The translation of the title "Samîrû ûâiti" was supplied by E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les Monuments*, p. 57; in regard to the objections raised by LEPAGE-RENOUF, *On the priestly Character of the Egyptian Civilization*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xii. p. 359, cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. p. 290, note 1.

Ûni acquitted himself so dexterously, that he was called upon to act in a still more delicate capacity. Queen Amîtsi was the king's chief consort. Whether she had dabbled in some intrigue of the palace, or had been guilty of unfaithfulness in act or in intention, or had been mixed up in one of those feminine dramas which so frequently disturb the peace of harems, we do not know. At any rate, Papi considered it necessary to proceed against her, and appointed Ûni to judge the case. Aided only by his secretary, he drew up the indictment and decided the action so discreetly, that to this day we do not know of what crime Amîtsi was accused or how the matter ended.[1] Ûni felt great pride at having been preferred before all others for this affair, and not without reason, "for," says he, "my duties were to superintend the royal forests, and never before me had a man in my position been initiated into the secrets of the Royal Harem; but his Majesty initiated me into them because my wisdom pleased his Majesty more than that of any other of his lieges, more than that of any other of his mamelukes, more than that of any other of his servants."[2]

These antecedents did not seem calculated to mark out Ûni as a future minister of war; but in the East, when a man has given proofs of his ability in one branch of administration, there is a tendency to consider him equally well fitted for service in any of the others, and the fiat of a prince transforms the clever scribe of to-day into the general of to-morrow. No one is surprised, not even the person promoted; he accepts his new duties without flinching, and frequently distinguishes himself as much in their performance as though he had been bred to them from his youth up. When Papi had resolved to give a lesson to the Bedouin of Sinai, he at once thought of Ûni, his "sole friend," who had so skilfully conducted the case of Queen Amîtsi.[3] The expedition was not one of those which could be brought to a successful issue by the troops of the frontier nomes; it required a considerable force, and the whole military organization of the country had to be brought into play. "His Majesty raised troops to the number of several myriads, in the whole of the south from Elephantinê to the nome of the Haunch, in the Delta, in the two halves of the valley, in each fort of the forts of the desert, in the land of Iritît, among the blacks of the land of Maza,[4] among the blacks of the land of Amamît, among the blacks of the land of Ûaûait, among the blacks of the land of Kaaû, among the blacks of To-Tamû, and his Majesty sent me at the

[1] This episode in the life of Ûni, which E. de Rougé was unable to explain with certainty at the moment of the discovery (*Recherches sur les Monuments*, p. 121), has since been unravelled and made clear by ERMAN, *Commentar zur Inschrift des Una*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 10–12.

[2] *Inscription of Ûni*, ll. 11–13.

[3] The inscription of Ûni distinctly states (l. 13) that Papi I. intended to *repulse* the Bedouin. The Egyptian expedition had, therefore, been provoked by some previous attack of the nomads.

[4] The word in the text is "Zama," but this is an accidental inversion of the two signs used in writing the name of Mâza; the list of Nubian races would not be complete unless the name of the "Mâzaiû" appeared in it.

head of this army. It is true, there were chiefs there, there were mamelukes of the king there, there were sole friends of the Great House there, there were princes and governors of castles from the south and from the north, 'gilded friends,' directors of the prophets from the south and the north, directors of districts at the head of troops from the south and the north, of castles and towns that each one ruled, and also blacks from the regions which I have mentioned, but it was I who gave them their orders—although my post was only that of superintendent of the irrigated lands of Pharaoh,—so much so that every one of them obeyed me like the others." It was not without much difficulty that he brought this motley crowd into order, equipped them, and supplied them with rations. At length he succeeded in arranging everything satisfactorily; by dint of patience and perseverance, "each one took his biscuit and sandals for the march, and each one of them took bread from the towns, and each one of them took goats from the peasants."[1] He collected his forces on the frontier of the Delta, in the "Isle of the North," between the "Gate of Imhotpû" and the "Tell of Horû nib-mâît," and set out into the desert.[2] He advanced, probably by Gebel Magharah and Gebel Helal, as far as Wady-el-Arîsh, into the rich and populous country which lay between the southern slopes of Gebel Tîh and the south of the Dead Sea:[3] once there he acted with all the rigour permitted by the articles of war, and paid back with interest the ill usage which the Bedouin had inflicted on Egypt. "This army came in peace, it completely destroyed the country of the Lords of the Sands. This army came in peace, it pulverized the country of the Lords of the Sands. This army came in peace, it demolished their 'douars.' This army came in peace, it cut down their fig trees and their vines. This army came in peace, it burnt the houses of all their people. This army came in peace, it slaughtered their troops to the numbers of many myriads. This army came in peace, it brought back great numbers of their people as living captives, for which thing his

[1] *Inscription of Ûni*, ll. 14–21.

[2] With regard to the name of these localities, see ERMAN'S remarks in *Der Ausdruck TP-RS*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxix. p. 120, note 1. In the name of the latter of these two localities, the double title "Horû nib-mâît" indicates Snofrû, as pointed out by K. SETHE, *Ein neuer Horusname*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. p. 62. The "Isle of the North" and the two fortresses must have been situated between Ismaîliah and Tel-Defenneh, at the starting-point of the land route which crosses the desert of Tih; cf. p. 351 of the present work.

[3] The locality of the tribes against which Ûni waged war can, I think, be fixed by certain details of the campaign, especially the mention of the oval or circular enclosures—ÛANÎT—within which they entrenched themselves. These enclosures, or *dûars*, correspond to the *naûami* which are mentioned by travellers in these regions (E. H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 321, 322), and which are singularly characteristic (cf. pp. 352, 353 of this History). The "Lords of the Sands" mentioned by Ûni occupied the *naûami* country, *i.e.* the Negeb regions situated on the edge of the desert of Tih, round about Aîn-Qadis, and beyond it as far as Akabah and the Dead Sea (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 30, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiv. 1891–92, pp. 326, 327). Assuming this hypothesis to be correct, the route followed by Ûni must have been the same as that which was discovered and described nearly twenty years ago, by HOLLAND, *A Journey on foot through Arabia Petræa*, in the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1878, pp. 70–72, and *Notes to accompany a Map, ibid.*, 1884, pp. 4–15.

Majesty praised me more than for aught else." As a matter of fact, these poor wretches were sent off as soon as taken to the quarries or to the dock-yards, thus relieving the king from the necessity of imposing compulsory labour too frequently on his Egyptian subjects.[1] "His Majesty sent me five times to lead this army in order to penetrate into the country of the Lords of the Sands, on each occasion of their revolt against this army, and I bore myself so well that his Majesty praised me beyond everything."[2] The Bedouin at length submitted, but the neighbouring tribes to the north of them, who had no doubt assisted them, threatened to dispute with Egypt the possession of the territory which it had just conquered. As these tribes had a seaboard on the Mediterranean, Ûni decided to attack them by sea, and got together a fleet in which he embarked his army.[3] The troops landed on the coast of the district of Tiba,[4] to the north of the country of the Lords of the Sands, thereupon "they set out. I went, I smote all the barbarians, and I killed all those of them who resisted." On his return, Ûni obtained the most distinguished marks of favour that a subject could receive, the right to carry a staff and to wear his sandals in the palace in the presence of Pharaoh.[5]

These wars had occupied the latter part of the reign; the last of them took place very shortly before the death of the sovereign.[6] The domestic administration of Papi I. seems to have been as successful in its results, as was his activity abroad. He successfully worked the mines of Sinai, caused them to be regularly inspected, and obtained an unusual quantity of minerals from them; the expedition he sent thither, in the eighteenth year of his reign, left behind it a bas-relief in which are recorded the victories of Ûni over the barbarians

[1] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 128.

[2] *Inscription d'Ûni*, ll. 23–28. The expression "came in peace," which our text repeats with emphasis, must be taken in the same sense as its Arabic counterpart *bi's-salâmah*, and means that the expedition was successful—*not* that it met with no resistance on the part of the enemy.

[3] For a description of the Egyptian vessels, see p. 392 of the present work, and the illustration of one of them which is given on p. 393; as stated in the passage referred to, the sea-going craft cannot have differed materially from the large boats which were in use on the Nile at the same period.

[4] The name was first read as "Takhiba" (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les Monuments*, p. 125). The reading "Tiba" (MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 64) has been disputed (PIEHL, *Varia*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1888, p. 111), but, I think, on insufficient grounds (MASPERO, *Inscription of Ûni*, in *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 8, note 2). KRALL (*Studien zur Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, iii. p. 22) identifies it with the name of Tebûi, which we meet with in the text of Edfû (DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. lxxiii. 2, and *Die Oasen der lybischen Wüste*, pl. xvi. e), but which Brugsch (*Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, p. 92) is unable to localise. The passage in the inscription of Ûni (ll. 30, 31), which tells us that the country of Tiba lay to the north of the country of the "Lords of the Sands," obliges us to recognize in it the region which extends between Lake Sirbonis and Gaza, probably the northern parts of Wady-el-Arîsh, and the neighbouring country in an eastward direction.

[5] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les Monuments*, p. 128. With regard to the wars which were undertaken about this time against the "Lords of the Sands," cf. KRALL, *Die Vorläufer der Hyksos*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 64–67.

[6] This seems to be proved by the fact that immediately after making mention of the recompense received on account of his victories, Ûni goes on to enumerate the favours which were granted him by Pharaoh Mirnirî (ll. 32, 33).

and the grants of territory made to the goddess Hâthor.[1] Work was carried on uninterruptedly at the quarries of Hatnûbû[2] and Rohanû;[3] building operations were carried on at Memphis, where the pyramid[4] was in course of erection, at Abydos, whither the oracle of Osîris was already attracting large numbers of pilgrims,[5] at Tanis,[6] at Bubastis,[7] and at Heliopolis.[8] The temple of Dendera was falling into ruins; it was restored on the lines of the original plans which were accidentally discovered,[9] and this piety displayed towards one of the most honoured deities was rewarded, as it deserved to be, by the insertion of the title of "son of Hâthor" in the royal cartouche.[10] The vassals rivalled their sovereign in activity, and built new towns on all sides to serve them as residences, more than one of which was named after the Pharaoh.[11] The death of Papi I. did nothing to interrupt this movement; the elder of his two sons by his second wife, Mirirî-ônkhnas, succeeded him without opposition.[12] Mirnirî Mihtimsaûf I. (Metesouphis)[13] was almost a child when he ascended the throne. The recently conquered Bedouin gave him

[1] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 116 *a*; LOTTIN DE LAVAL, *Voyage dans la péninsule Arabique*, Ins. hiér., pl. 1, No. 2; *Account of the Survey*, pp. 173, 174. The king is represented in the act of running, as in the scenes representing the foundation of a temple, which would appear to indicate that he claimed to have built the chapel of the goddess: the text further informs us that he had given a field to the local deities, in honour of a solemn jubilee which he celebrated in this year on the anniversary of his accession to the throne.

[2] BLACKDEN-FRAZER, *Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarry of Hat-nub*, pl. xv. 1, 4, no doubt *à propos* of the mission of Ûni, of which mention is made on p. 423 of the present work.

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 115 *a–c*, *e*, *g*, *i–k*; BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. x.; PRISSE D'AVENNES. *Monuments*, pl. vi. 4; cf. MASPERO, *Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Vallée de Hammamât*, in the *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, 1877, p. 330, et seq.

[4] The texts have been published by MASPERO, *La Pyramide de Papi I.*, in *Recueil de Travaux*, vols. v., vii., viii.

[5] See MARIETTE, *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos*, pp. 83–92, for monuments of the time of Papi I., which show how active public life was, even at that time, in this little town.

[6] PETRIE, *Tanis*, ii., pls. 1, 2; cf. p. 416, note 8, of the present work, in which the inscription has already been quoted.

[7] ED. NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pl. xxxii. *c–d*, and pp. 5–8.

[8] Pliny tells us that an obelisk was set up in this town *a Phio*, by Phios, the Latin name of Papi I. (PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 8, 67); he had taken this information from some Alexandrian writer.

[9] DÜMICHEN, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, pl xv. ll. 36–40, and pp. 18, 19; MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, vol. iii. pls. 71, 72, and *Text*, p. 54, et seq.; cf. CHABAS'S remarks, *Sur l'antiquité de Dendérah*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1865, pp. 92–98.

[10] We read this title on the blocks found at Tanis and at Bubastis; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, pp. 115, 116; NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pl. xxx. vol. i. *c–d*, pp. 5–8; also p. 416 of the present work.

[11] Thus, Hâît-Papi—the Citadel of Papi—in the Hermopolitan nome (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 112 *d–e*).

[12] The genealogy of the whole of this family has been made out by E. DE ROUGÉ (*Recherches sur les Monuments*, pp. 129–184) from the monuments discovered by Mariette at Abydos. Queen Mirirî-ônknas was the daughter of Khûi and of the lady Nîbît, who appears to have been of royal blood, and to have made her husband a participator in her rights to the crown (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches*, p. 132, note 1; cf. p. 274, note 1, of the present work); she had a brother named Zaû (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. i. pl. 2 *a*; and *Catalogue Général*, p. 84, No. 523), whose son was prince of the Serpent Mountain under Papi II. (MASPERO, *Sur l'inscription de Zâou*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 68). She had two sons by Papi I., both of whom succeeded their father, viz. Metesouphis I. and Papi II.

[13] The name has been read successively "Mentemsaf" (MARIETTE, *La Nouvelle Table d'Abydos*, p. 16; cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xiii. p. 88), "Huremsaf" (BRUGSCH, *Zwei Pyramiden mit Inschriften*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 9), "Sokarimsaf" (MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 347, No. 5150, and *passim*). The true reading, "Mihtimsaf," or rather "Mihtimsaûf," was pointed out almost simultaneously by Lauth (*Pyramidentexte*, pp. 317, 318; cf. *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy, 1881, vol. ii.) and by Maspero.

no trouble; the memory of their reverses was still too recent to encourage them to take advantage of his minority and renew hostilities. Ûni, moreover, was at hand, ready to recommence his campaigns at the slightest provocation. Metesouphis had retained him in all his offices, and had even entrusted him with new duties. "Pharaoh appointed me governor-general of Upper Egypt, from Elephantinê in the south to Letopolis in the north, because my wisdom was pleasing to his Majesty, because my zeal was pleasing to his Majesty, because the heart of his Majesty was satisfied with me. . . . When I was in my place I was above all his vassals, all his mamelukes, and all his servants, for never had so great a dignity been previously conferred upon a mere subject. I fulfilled to the satisfaction of the king my office as superintendent of the South, so satisfactorily, that it was granted to me to be second in rank to him, accomplishing all the duties of a superintendent of works, judging all the cases which the royal administration had to judge in the south of Egypt as second judge, to render judgment at all hours determined by the royal administration in this south of Egypt as second judge,[1] transacting as a governor all the business there was to do in this south of Egypt." [2] The honour of fetching the hard stone blocks intended for the king's pyramid fell to him by right: he proceeded to the quarries of Abhaît,[3] opposite Sehêl, to select the granite for the royal sarcophagus and its cover, and to those of Hatnûbû for the alabaster for the table of offerings. The transport of the table was a matter of considerable difficulty, for the Nile was low, and the stone of colossal size: Ûni constructed on the spot a raft to carry it, and brought it promptly to Saqqâra in spite of the sandbanks which obstruct navigation when the river is low.[4] This was not the limit of his enterprise: the Pharaohs had not as yet a fleet in Nubia, and even if they had had, the condition of the channel was such as to prevent it from making the passage of the cataract. He demanded acacia-wood from the tribes of the desert,

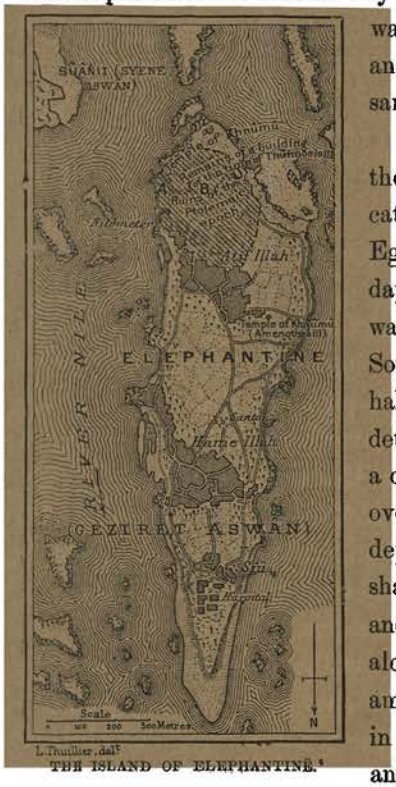
[1] The first judge was, of course, Pharaoh himself; this is, therefore, Ûni's way of saying that he was made Viceroy of Upper Egypt. As to the right of acting as judges in their respective districts, enjoyed by political administrators, cf. p. 336 of the present work.

[2] *Inscription of Ûni*, ll. 34–37.

[3] Abhaît is, perhaps, Mahallah, opposite Sehel, where fairly extensive reefs of grey granite have been found (MASPERO, *De quelques termes d'architecture égyptienne*, p. 8, note 1, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xi. p. 311). M. SCHIAPARELLI (*La Catena Orientale dell' Egitto*, p. 31, note 2) identifies this locality with a certain Abhaît in the vicinity of Wady Hammamât, far away in the desert: the inscription of Ûni states (ll. 41, 42) that the Abhaît referred to by Ûni was accessible by water, as was Elephantinê itself; Schiaparelli's hypothesis may, therefore, be dismissed as untenable.

[4] *Inscription of Ûni*, ll. 37–45. Prof. PETRIE (*A Season in Egypt*, 1887, pp. 19–21) has tried to prove from the passage which relates to the transport, that the date of the reign of Papi I. must have been within sixty years of 3240 B.C.; this date I believe to be at least four centuries too late. It is, perhaps, to this voyage of Ûni that the inscription of the Vth year of Metesouphis I. refers, given by BLACKDEN-FRAZER in *A Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarry of Hat-nub* pl. xv. 2.

the peoples of Iritit and Ûaûaît, and from the Mâzaiû, laid down his ships on the stocks, built three galleys and two large lighters in a single year; during this time the river-side labourers had cleared five channels through which the flotilla passed and made its way to Memphis with its ballast of granite.[1] This was Ûni's last exploit; he died shortly afterwards, and was buried in the cemetery at Abydos, in the sarcophagus which had been given him by Papi I.[2]



THE ISLAND OF ELEPHANTINE.[4]

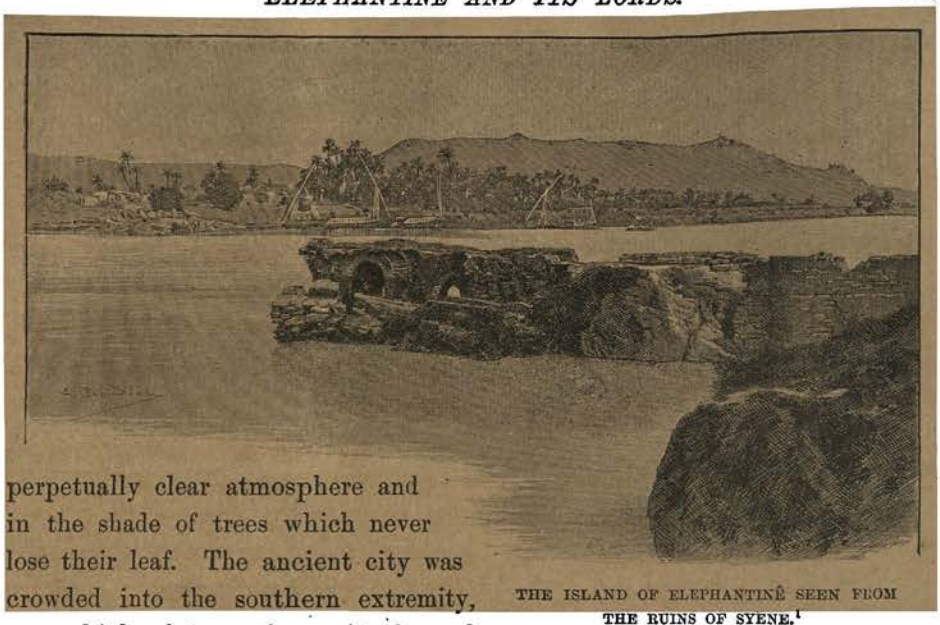
Was it solely to obtain materials for building the pyramid that he had re-established communication by water between Egypt and Nubia? The Egyptians were gaining ground in the south every day, and under their rule the town of Elephantinê was fast becoming a depôt for trade with the Soudan.[3] The town occupied only the smaller half of a long narrow island, which was composed of detached masses of granite, formed gradually into a compact whole by accumulations of sand, and over which the Nile, from time immemorial, had deposited a thick coating of its mud. It is now shaded by acacias, mulberry trees, date trees, and dôm palms, growing in some places in lines along the pathways, in others distributed in groups among the fields. Half a dozen saqiyehs, ranged in a line along the river-bank, raise water day and night, with scarcely any cessation of their monotonous creaking. The inhabitants do not allow a foot of their narrow domain to lie idle; they have cultivated wherever it is possible small plots of durra and barley, bersîm and beds of vegetables. A few scattered buffaloes and cows graze in corners, while fowls and pigeons without number roam about in flocks on the look-out for what they can pick up. It is a world in miniature, tranquil and pleasant, where life is passed without effort, in a

[1] *Inscription of Ûni*, ll. 45–50. As to the canal works executed by Ûni at the first cataract, cf. Maspero's note in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 203, 204.

[2] Papi II. Nofirkerî is nowhere named in the inscription, which shows that Ûni did not live during his reign. The tomb of Ûni was constructed in the form of a mastaba; it was placed on the top of the hill commanding what Mariette calls the Necropolis of the Centre (MARIETTE, *Catalogue Général*, p. 84, No. 522). The stele of Ûni is in the Museum of Gîzeh (MARIETTE, *Catalogue Général*, p. 90, No. 529).

[3] The growing importance of Elephantinê is shown by the dimensions of the tombs which its princes had built for themselves, as well as by the number of graffiti commemorating the visits of princes and functionaries, and still remaining at the present day (PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. xii. Nos. 309, 311, 312).

[4] Plan drawn up by Thuillier, from the Map of the *Commission d'Égypte* (*Ant.*, vol. i. pl. 31); cf. MORGAN, *Catalogue Général*, vol. i. *de la frontière de Nubie à Kom-Ombos*, p. 106.



THE ISLAND OF ELEPHANTINÊ SEEN FROM THE RUINS OF SYENE.[1]

perpetually clear atmosphere and in the shade of trees which never lose their leaf. The ancient city was crowded into the southern extremity, on a high plateau of granite beyond the reach of inundations.[2] Its ruins, occupying a space half a mile in circumference, are heaped around a shattered temple of Khnûmû, of which the most ancient parts do not date back beyond the sixteenth century before our era.[3] It was surrounded with walls, and a fortress of sun-dried brick perched upon a neighbouring island to the south-west, gave it complete command over the passages of the cataract. An arm of the river ninety yards wide separated it from Sûanît, whose closely built habitations were ranged along the steep bank, and formed, as it were, a suburb.[4] Marshy pasturages occupied the modern site of Syene; beyond these were gardens, vines, furnishing wine celebrated throughout the whole of Egypt,[5] and a forest of date palms running towards the north along the banks of the stream. The princes of the nome of Nubia encamped here, so to speak, as frontier-posts of civilization, and maintained frequent but variable relations with the people of the desert. It gave the former no trouble to throw, as occasion demanded it, bodies of troops on the right or left sides of the valley, in the direction of the

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato. In the foreground are the ruins of the Roman mole built of brick, which protected the entrance to the harbour of Syene; in the distance is the Libyan range, surmounted by the ruins of several mosques and of a Coptic monastery. Cf. the wood-cut on p. 431 of the present work.

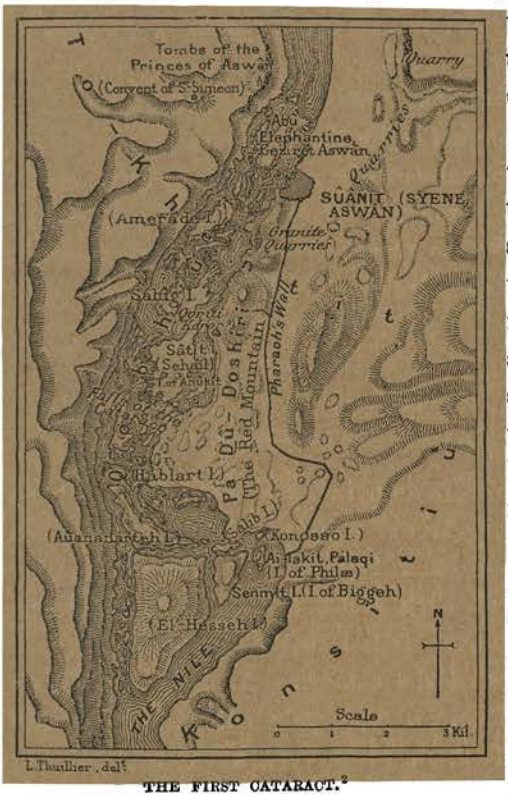
[2] JOMARD, *Description de l'île de Éléphantine*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 175–181.

[3] This is a gateway in red granite of the time of Thûtmosis III., but restored and remodelled under Alexander the Great; the other ruins date, for the most part, from the time of Amenôthes III.

[4] As to the site occupied by the Pharaonic and Græco-Roman Syene in relation to the modern town, cf. JOMARD, *Description de Syène et des Cataractes*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 128, et seq.

[5] BRUGSCH (*Reise nach der Grossen Oase el-Khargeh*, p. 91) believes that this wine came, not from Aswân, near the cataract, but from an unknown Syene, situated in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, in the Mareotic nome.

Red Sea or in that of the Oasis; however little they might carry away in their raids—of oxen, slaves, wood, charcoal, gold dust, amethysts, cornelian or green felspar for the manufacture of ornaments—it was always so much to the good, and the treasury of the prince profited by it. They never went very far in their expeditions: if they desired to strike a blow at a distance, to reach, for example, those regions of Pûanît of whose riches the barbarians were wont to boast, the aridity of the district around the second cataract would arrest the advance of their foot-soldiers, while the rapids of Wady Halfa would offer an almost impassable barrier to their ships. In such distant operations they did not have recourse to arms, but disguised themselves as peaceful merchants. An easy road led almost direct from their capital to Ras Banât, which they called the "Head of Nekhabît," on the Red Sea; arrived at the spot where in later times stood one of the numerous Berenices, and having quickly put together a boat from the wood of the neighbouring forest, they made voyages along the coast, as far as the Sinaitic peninsula and the Hirû-Shâîtû on the north, as well as to the land of Pûanît itself on the south.[3] The small size of these improvised vessels rendered such expeditions dangerous, while it limited their gain; they preferred, therefore, for the most part the land journey. It was fatiguing and interminable: donkeys—the only beast of burden they were acquainted with, or, at least, employed—could make but short stages, and they spent months upon months in passing through countries



THE FIRST CATARACT.[2]

[1] This was the route traversed in 1889, and described by GOLÉNISCHEFF in *Une Excursion à Bérénice*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 89–93, on his return from Berenice. The Arab graffiti, with which the rocks of certain wadys are covered, show that this route has been used almost up to our own times.

[2] Map by Thuillier, from *La Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. i. pl. 30, 1. I have added the ancient names in those cases where it has been possible to identify them with the modern localities.

[3] This was done by Papinakhîti, a member of the reigning family of Elephantinê, under Papi II. (cf. pp. 434, 435 of the present work); from the tone in which the inscription on his tomb speaks of this undertaking, we may assume that it was not considered an extraordinary exploit by his contemporaries.

which a caravan of camels would now traverse in a few weeks.[1] The roads upon which they ventured were those which, owing to the necessity for the frequent watering of the donkeys and the impossibility of carrying with them adequate supplies of water, were marked out at frequent intervals by wells and springs, and were therefore necessarily of a tortuous and devious character.

SMALL WADY, FIVE HOURS BEYOND ED-DOUEÎG, ON THE ROAD TO THE RED SEA.[2]

Their choice of objects for barter was determined by the smallness of their bulk and weight in comparison with their value. The Egyptians on the one side were provided with stocks of beads, ornaments, coarse cutlery, strong perfumes, and rolls of white or coloured cloth, which, after the lapse of thirty-five centuries, are objects still coveted by the peoples of Africa.[3] The aborigines paid for these articles of small value, in gold, either in dust or in bars, in ostrich feathers, lions' and leopards' skins, elephants' tusks, cowrie shells, billets of ebony, incense, and gum arabic.[4] Considerable value was attached to cynocephali and green monkeys, with which the kings or the nobles amused themselves, and which

[1] The *History of the Peasant*, in the Berlin Papyri Nos. ii. and iv., affords us a good example of the use made of pack-asses; the hero was on his way across the desert, from the Wady Natrûn to Henasieh, with a quantity of merchandise which he intended to sell, when an unscrupulous artisan, under cover of a plausible pretext, stole his train of pack-asses and their loads (MASPERO, *Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 41–43). Hirkhûf brought back with him a caravan of three hundred asses from one of his journeys; cf. p. 433 of the present work.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Golénischeff.

[3] These are the articles represented on the bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari, as used for barter between Egyptian sailors and the people of Pûanît, in the seventeenth century before the Christian era, under Queen Hâtshopsîtû of the XVIIIth dynasty (MARIETTE, *Deir-el-Bahari*, pl. v.).

[4] For a list of the commodities brought back by Hirkhûf from this last journey, see SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana inedita*, p. 23, ll. 4, 5; cf. pp. 432, 433 of the present work.

they were accustomed to fasten to the legs of their chairs on days of solemn reception; but the dwarf, the Danga, was the rare commodity which was always in demand, but hardly ever attainable.[1] Partly by commerce, and partly by pillage, the lords of Elephantinê became rapidly wealthy, and began to play an important part among the nobles of the Said: they were soon obliged to take serious precautions against the cupidity which their wealth excited among the tribes of Konusît.[2] They entrenched themselves behind a wall of sun-dried brick, some seven and a half miles long, of which the ruins are still an object of wonder to the traveller. It was flanked towards the north by the ramparts of Syene, and followed pretty regularly the lower course of the valley to its abutment at the port of Mahatta opposite Philæ: guards distributed along it, kept an eye upon the mountain, and uttered a call to arms, when the enemy came within sight.[3] Behind this bulwark the population felt quite at ease, and could work without fear at the granite quarries on behalf of the Pharaoh, or pursue in security their callings of fishermen and sailors. The inhabitants of the village of Satît and of the neighbouring islands claimed from earliest times the privilege of piloting the ships which went up and down the rapids, and of keeping clear the passages which were used for navigation.[4] They worked under the protection of their goddesses Anûkît and Satît: travellers of position were accustomed to sacrifice in the temple of the goddesses at Sehêl,[5] and to cut on the rock votive inscriptions in their honour, in gratitude for the prosperous voyage accorded to them. We meet their scrawls on every side, at the entrance and exit of the cataract, and on the small islands where they moored their boats at nightfall during the four or five days required for the passage; the bank of the stream between Elephantinê and Philæ is, as it were, an immense visitors' book, in which every generation of Ancient Egypt has in turn inscribed itself.[6] The markets and

[1] DÜMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. xxxi. l. 1, where the dwarfs and pigmies who came to the court of the king, in the period of the Ptolemies, to serve in his household, are mentioned (DÜMICHEN, *Geschichte des Alten Ægypten*, p. 9, note 1). Various races of diminutive stature, which have since been driven down to the upper basin of the Congo, formerly extended further northward, and dwelt between Darfûr and the marshes of Bahr-el-Ghazâl. As to the Danga, cf. what has been said on p. 397 of the present work.

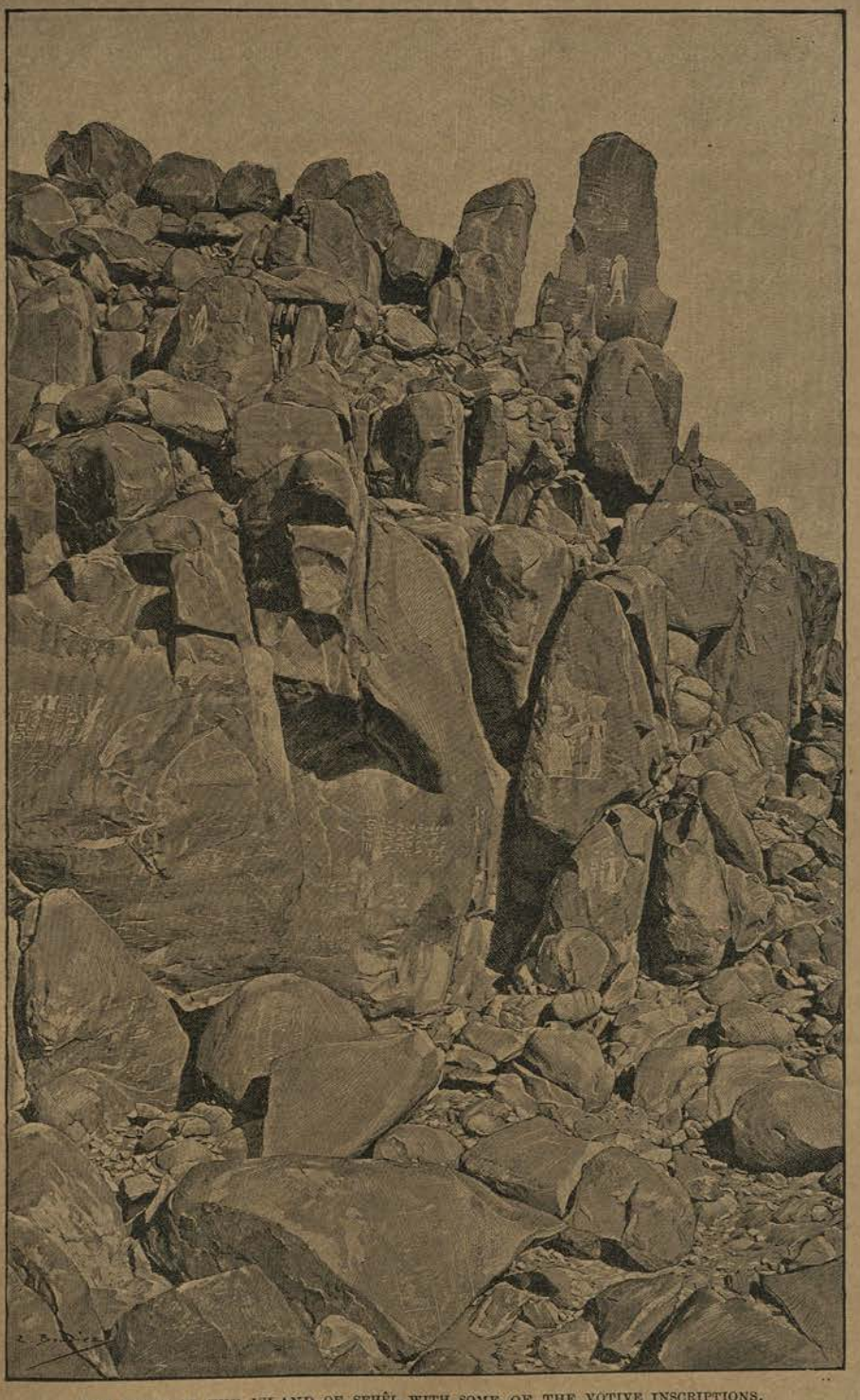
[2] The inscription attributed to King Zosiri expressly states that the wall was built for the purpose of repelling the attacks of the people of Konûsit (l. 11; cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, pp. 55, 56).

[3] LANCRET, *Description de l'île de Philæ*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 5-7). Lancret had recognized the great antiquity of this wall, though Letronne afterwards tried to make out that it was not built till the time of Diocletian (*Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 211, et seq.). I have already had occasion to state that it is much older than was supposed (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. p. 204), but I had not ventured to place it so far back as the XIIth dynasty.

[4] Cf. the inscription of the time of Ûsirtasen III., and that of the reign of Thûtmosis III., which have been published by WILBOUR, *Canalizing the Cataract*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 202, 203.

[5] BOURIANT, *Notes de Voyage*, § 20, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 187-189; J. DE MORGAN, *Notice sur les Fouilles*, p. 11, and *Catalogue Général*, vol. i. pp. 77, 78, 82, 83.

[6] They have been partly collected by Champollion, by Lepsius (*Denkm.*, ii. 116 *b*), by Mariette



THE ROCKS OF THE ISLAND OF SEHÊL WITH SOME OF THE VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken by Dévèria in 1864.

streets of the twin cities must have presented at that time the same motley blending of types and costumes which we might have found some years back in the bazaars of modern Syene. Nubians, negroes of the Soudan, perhaps people from Southern Arabia, jostled there with Libyans and Egyptians of the Delta. What the princes did to make the sojourn of strangers agreeable, what temples they consecrated to their god Khnûmû and his companions, in gratitude for the good things he had bestowed upon them, we have no means of knowing up to the present. Elephantinê and Syene have preserved for us nothing of their ancient edifices; but the tombs which they have left tell us their history. They honeycomb in long lines the sides of the steep hill which looks down upon the whole extent of the left bank of the Nile opposite the narrow channel of the port of Aswân. A rude flight of stone steps led from the bank to the level of the sepulchres. The mummy having been carried slowly on the shoulders of the bearers to the platform, was deposited for a moment at the entrance of the chapel. The decoration of the latter was rather meagre, and was distinguished neither by the delicacy of its execution nor by the variety of the subjects. More care was bestowed upon the exterior, and upon the walls on each side of the door, which could be seen from the river or from the streets of Elephantinê. An inscription borders the recess, and boasts to every visitor of the character of the occupant: the portrait of the deceased, and sometimes that of his son, stand to the right and left: the scenes devoted to the offerings come next, when an artist of sufficient skill could be found to engrave them.[1]

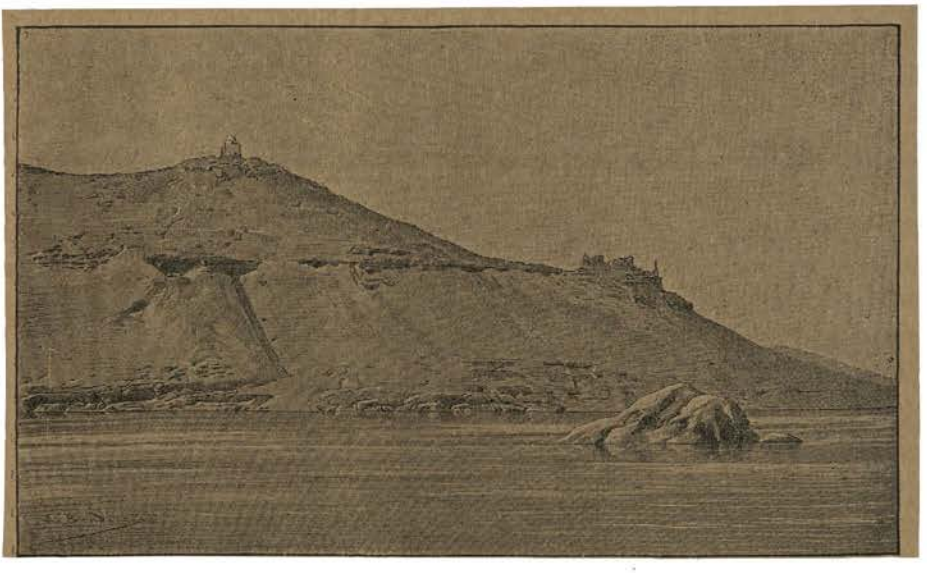
The expeditions of the lords of Elephantinê, crowned as they frequently were with success, soon attracted the attention of the Pharaohs: Metesouphis deigned to receive in person at the cataract the homage of the chiefs of Ûaûaît and Iritît and of the Mâzaiû during the early days of the fifth year of his reign.[2] The most celebrated caravan guide at this time was Hirkhûf, own cousin to Mikhû, Prince of Elephantinê. He had entered upon office under the auspices

(*Monuments divers*, pls. 70–73, pp. 23–25), by Petrie and Griffith (*A Season in Egypt*, pls. i.–xiii.), and by J. DE MORGAN, *Catalogue Général*, vol. i. pp. 2–44, 65–103, 128, 201–207.

[1] The tombs of Aswân, which had been long forgotten, have been excavated in succession from 1885 onwards, partly owing to the efforts of Sir F. Grenfell (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 246–251; E. W. BUDGE, *Excavations made at Assûan*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. x. pp. 4–40; BOURIANT, *Les Tombeau d'Assouân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. pp. 181–198; SCHEIL, *Note additionelle sur les tombeau d'Assouân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. pp. 94–96; E. SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana della VI^a Dinastia*, in the *Memorie della R. Acc. dei Lincei*, Ser. 4^a, vol. i. part 1, pp. 21–53).

[2] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. p. 214; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, 116 *b*; PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. xiii. No. 338. The words used in the inscription, "The king himself went and returned, ascending the mountain to see what there was on the mountain," prove that Metesouphis inspected the quarries in person. Another inscription, discovered in 1893, gives the year V. as the date of his journey to Elephantinê, and adds that he had negotiations with the heads of the four great Nubian races (SAYCE, *Gleanings from the Land of Egypt*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 147, 148).

of his father Iri, "the sole friend." A king whose name he does not mention, but who was perhaps Ûnas, more probably Papi I., despatched them both to the country of the Amamît. The voyage occupied seven months, and was extraordinarily successful:[1] the sovereign, encouraged by this unexpected good fortune, resolved to send out a fresh expedition. Hirkhûf had the sole command of it; he made his way through Iritît, explored the districts of Satir and Darros, and retraced his steps after an absence of eight months. He brought back



THE MOUNTAIN OF ASWÂN AND THE TOMBS OF THE PRINCES OF ELEPHANTINÊ.[2]

with him a quantity of valuable commodities, "the like of which no one had ever previously brought back." He was not inclined to regain his country by the ordinary route: he pushed boldly into the narrow wadys which furrow the territory of the people of Iritît, and emerged upon the region of Sitû, in the neighbourhood of the cataract, by paths in which no official traveller who had visited the Amamît had up to this time dared to travel.[3] A third expedition which started out a few years later brought him into regions still less frequented.[4] It set out by the Oasis route, proceeded towards the Amamît, and found the

[1] As to the first journey of Hirkhûf, which he undertook in partnership with his father Iri, cf. SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana inedita della VI^a Dinastia*, p. 18, ll. 4-6 of the inscription.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger. The entrances to the tombs are halfway up; the long trench, cutting the side of the mountain obliquely, shelters the still existing steps which led to the tombs of Pharaonic times. On the sky-line may be noted the ruins of several mosques and Coptic monasteries; cf. the woodcut on p. 425 of the present work.

[3] The second journey of Hirkhûf to Iritit, and his return *viâ* Sitû, are briefly recounted in SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana inedita della VI^a Dinastia*, pp. 18, 19, ll. 5-10 of the inscription.

[4] The rescript in regard to the *Danga* is really dated year II. of Papi II. Metesouphis I. reigned fourteen years, according to fragment 59 of the *Royal Canon of Turin* (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. iv. col. vi.), where ERMAN (*Das Brief des Königs Nefer-ke-re*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxi. p. 72) wishes to read "four" years.

country in an uproar. The sheikhs had convoked their tribes, and were making preparations to attack the Timihû "towards the west corner of the heaven," in that region where stand the pillars which support the iron firmament at the setting sun. The Timihû were probably Berbers by race and language.[1] Their tribes, coming from beyond the Sahara, wandered across the frightful solitudes which bound the Nile Valley on the west. The Egyptians had constantly to keep a sharp look out for them, and to take precautions against their incursions; having for a long time acted only on the defensive, they at length took the offensive, and decided, not without religious misgivings, to pursue them to their retreats. As the inhabitants of Mendes and of Busiris had relegated the abode of their departed to the recesses of the impenetrable marshes of the Delta, so those of Siût and Thinis had at first believed that the souls of the deceased sought a home beyond the sands: the good jackal Anubis acted as their guide, through the gorge of the Cleft or through the gate of the Oven, to the green islands scattered over the desert, where the blessed dwelt in peace at a convenient distance from their native cities and their tombs. They constituted, as we know, a singular folk, those *ûîti* whose members dwelt in coffins, and who had put on the swaddling clothes of the dead; the Egyptians called the Oasis which they had colonised, the land of the shrouded, or of mummies, *ûît*, and the name continued to designate it long after the advance of geographical knowledge had removed this paradise further towards the west.[2] The Oases fell one after the other into the hands of frontier princes—that of Bahnesa coming under the dominion of the lord of Oxyrrhynchus, that of Dakhel under the lords of Thinis.[3] The Nubians of Amamît had relations, probably, with the Timihû, who owned the Oasis of Dush—a prolongation of that of Dakhel, on the parallel of Elephantinê. Hirkhûf accompanied the expedition to the Amamît, succeeded in establishing peace among the rival tribes, and persuaded them "to worship all the gods of Pharaoh:" he afterwards reconciled the Iritît, Amamît, and Ûaûaît, who lived

[1] Until now, the earliest mention of the Timihû did not go further back than the XIIth dynasty (CHABAS, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin*, pp. 41, 42). DÉVÉRIA (*La Race supposée proto-celtique est-elle figurée sur les monuments égyptiens?* in the *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, vol. ix. pp. 38-48) connected them with the white races who peopled Northern Africa, especially Algeria, and General Faidherbe tried to identify their name with that of the Tamachek. The presence of Berber words, noticeable in Egyptian from the XIIth dynasty (MASPERO, *On the Name of an Egyptian Dog*, in the *Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. pp. 127, 128), added to the fact that the inhabitants of the oasis of Siûah still speak a Berber dialect (BASSET, *Le Dialecte de Syouah*), seems to prove that the Timihû belonged to the great race which now predominates in Northern Africa.

[2] MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 421-427; cf. p. 232 of the present work for information already given as to the mysterious character of the great Oasis.

[3] The first prince of Thinis and of the Oasis of whom we have any knowledge is the Antûf of Stele C 26 in the Louvre collection, who flourished at the beginning of the XIIth dynasty (BRUGSCH, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, pp. 62, 63).

in a state of perpetual hostility to each other, explored their valleys, and collected from them such quantities of incense, ebony, ivory, and skins that three hundred asses were required for their transport.[1] He was even fortunate enough to acquire a Danga from the land of ghosts, resembling the one brought from Pûanît by Biûrdidi in the reign of Assi eighty years before.[2] Metesouphis, in the mean time, had died, and his young brother and successor, Papi II., had already been a year upon the throne. The new king, delighted to possess a dwarf who could perform "the dance of the god," addressed a rescript to Hirkhûf to express his satisfaction; at the same time he sent him a special messenger, Ûni, a distant relative of Papi I.'s minister, who was to invite him to come and give an account of his expedition. The boat in which the explorer embarked to go down to Memphis, also brought the Danga, and from that moment the latter became the most important personage of the party. For him all the royal officials, lords, and sacerdotal colleges hastened to prepare provisions and means of conveyance; his health was of greater importance than that of his protector, and he was anxiously watched lest he should escape. "When he is with thee in the boat, let there be cautious persons about him, lest he should fall into the water; when he rests during the night, let careful people sleep beside him, in case of his escaping quickly in the night-time. For my Majesty desires to see this dwarf more than all the treasures

HIRKHÛF RECEIVING POSTHUMOUS HOMAGE AT THE DOOR OF HIS TOMB FROM HIS SON.[3]

[1] Hirkhûf's third expedition is described at greater length than the others. The part of the inscription which contained most detail has unfortunately suffered more than the remainder, and in several lines there are lacunæ difficult to fill up; cf. SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana inedita della VI^a Dinastia*, p. 19, ll. 10–14 of the hieroglyphic text, and pp. 22, 23.

[2] As to the Danga brought to Egypt in the time of Assi, see p. 397 of this History.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph, taken in 1892, by Alexander Gayet.

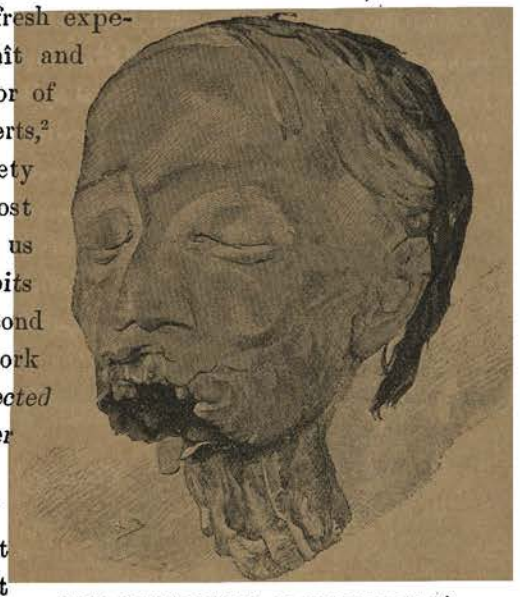
which are being imported from the land of Pûanît."[1] Hirkhûf, on his return to Elephantinê, engraved the royal letter and the detailed account of his journeys to the lands of the south, on the façade of his tomb.[2]

These repeated expeditions produced in course of time more important and permanent results than the capture of an accomplished dwarf, or the acquisition of a fortune by an adventurous nobleman. The nations which these merchants visited were accustomed to hear so much of Egypt, its industries, and its military force, that they came at last to entertain an admiration and respect for her, not unmingled with fear: they learned to look upon her as a power superior to all others, and upon her king as a god whom none might resist. They adopted Egyptian worship, yielded to Egypt their homage, and sent the Egyptians presents: they were won over by civilization before being subdued by arms. We are not acquainted with the manner in which Nofirkirî-Papi II. turned these friendly dispositions to good account in extending his empire to the south. The expeditions did not all prove so successful as that of Hirkhûf, and one at least of the princes of Elephantinê, Papinakhîti, met with his death in the course of one of them. Papi II. had sent him on a mission, after several others, "to make profit out of the Ûaûaiû and the Iritît." He killed considerable numbers in this raid, and brought back great spoil, which he shared with Pharaoh; "for he was at the head of many warriors, chosen from among the bravest," which was the cause of his success in the enterprise with which his Holiness had deigned to entrust him. Once, however, the king employed him in regions which were not so familiar to him as those of Nubia, and fate was against him. He had received orders to visit the Amû, the Asiatic tribes inhabiting the Sinaitic Peninsula, and to repeat on a smaller scale in the south the expedition which Ûni had led against them in the north; he proceeded thither, and his sojourn having come to an end, he chose to return by sea. To sail towards Pûanît, to coast up as far as the "Head of Nekhabît," to land there and make straight for Elephantinê by the shortest route, presented no unusual difficulties, and doubtless more than one traveller or general of those times had safely accomplished it; Papinakhîti failed miserably. As he was engaged in constructing his vessel, the Hirû-Shâîtû fell upon him and massacred him, as well as the detachment of troops who accompanied him: the remaining soldiers brought home his body, which was buried by the side of the other

[1] The rescript of Papi II. has been published by SCHIAPARELLI, *Una Tomba Egiziana*, pp. 19–22; cf. on the Danga in Egypt, MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Egyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 429–443.

[2] For the study of the inscriptions of Hirkhûf, see, besides the memoir of Schiaparelli just cited, the two articles by Erman, in the *Zeits. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, vol. xlvi. pp. 574–579, and in the *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, vol. xxxi. pp. 65–73; and that of Maspero, in the *Revue Critique*, 1892, vol. ii. pp. 357–366.

princes in the mountain opposite Syene.[1] Papi II. had ample leisure to avenge the death of his vassal and to send fresh expeditions to Iritît, among the Amamît and even beyond, if, indeed, as the author of the chronological Canon of Turin asserts,[2] he really reigned for more than ninety years; but the monuments are almost silent with regard to him, and give us no information about his possible exploits in Nubia. An inscription of his second year proves that he continued to work the Sinaitic mines, and that he *protected* them from the Bedouin.[3] On the other hand, the number and beauty of the tombs in which mention is made of him, bear witness to the fact that Egypt enjoyed continued prosperity.[5] Recent discoveries have done much to surround this king and his immediate predecessors with an air of reality which is lacking in many of the later Pharaohs. Their pyramids, whose familiar designations



HEAD OF THE MUMMY OF METESOUPHIS I.[4]

[1] Inscription from the tomb of Papinakhîti, discovered in 1892–93, and communicated by M. Bouriant.

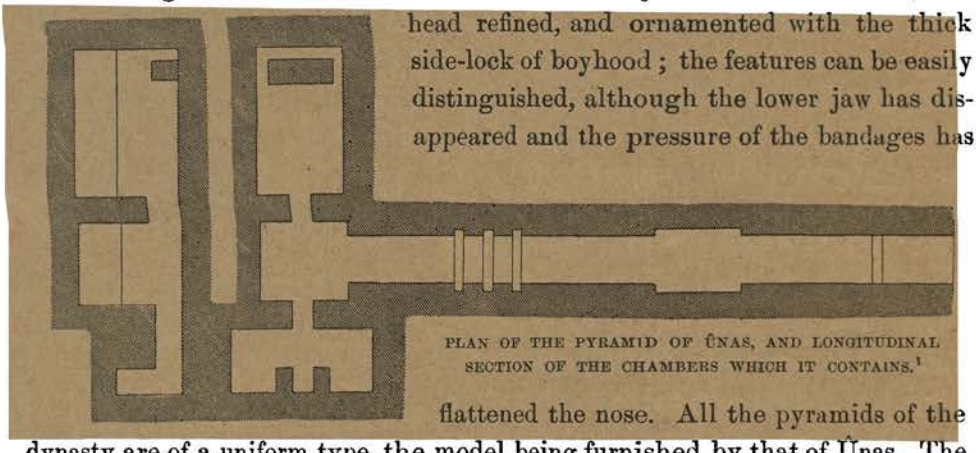
[2] LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. iv. col. vi. fragm. 59. The fragments of Manetho (UNGER'S edition, pp. 102, 106) and the Canon of Eratosthenes (*Fragm. Chronol.*, edited by C. MÜLLER, p. 183) agree in assigning to him a reign of a hundred years—a fact which seems to indicate that the missing unit in the Turin list was *nine*: Papi II. would have thus died in the hundredth year of his reign. A reign of a hundred years is impossible: Mihtimsaûf I. having reigned fourteen years, it would be necessary to assume that Papi II., son of Papi I., should have lived a hundred and fourteen years at the least, even on the supposition that he was a posthumous child. The simplest solution is to suppose (1) that Papi II. lived a hundred years, as Ramses II. did in later times, and that the years of his life were confounded with the years of his reign; or (2) that, being the brother of Mihtimsaûf I., he was considered as associated with him on the throne, and that the hundred years of his reign, including the fourteen of the latter prince, were identified with the years of his life. We may, moreover, believe that the chronologists, for lack of information on the VIth dynasty, have filled the blanks in their annals by lengthening the reign of Papi II., which in any case must have been very long.

[3] LOTTIN DE LAVAL, *Voyage dans le presqu'île du Sinaï*, Insc. Hiér., pl. 4, No. 1; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 116 *a*; *Account of the Survey*, p. 174. He worked also the quarries of Hatnûbû (BLACKDEN-FRAZER, *Collection of Graffiti from the Quarry of Hat-nub*, pl. xv. 3).

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. The mummy is now in the Gîzeh Museum (cf. MASPERO, *Guide au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 347, 348, No. 5250).

[5] At Qasr-es-Sayad, Nos. 1, 2 (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Lettre à M. Champollion-Figeac*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. i. pp. 732, 733, and *Monuments égyptiens*, pl. v.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 113 *g*, 114 *c-l*), at Aswân (BUDGE, *Excavations made at Aswân*, in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. x. p. 17, et seq.; BOURIANT, *Les Tombeaux d'Assouân*, in the *Recueil*, vol. x. p. 181, et seq.), at Mohammed-bene el-Kufûr (SAYCE, *Gleanings from Egypt*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xiii pp. 65–67; cf. MASPERO, *Sur l'inscription de Zaou*, *ibid.*, pp. 67–70), at Abydos (MARIETTE, *Catalogue Général*, p. 8, et seq.), at Saqqâra (MASPERO, *Quatre Années de fouilles* in the *Mémoires présentés par la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, vol. i. pp. 194–207).

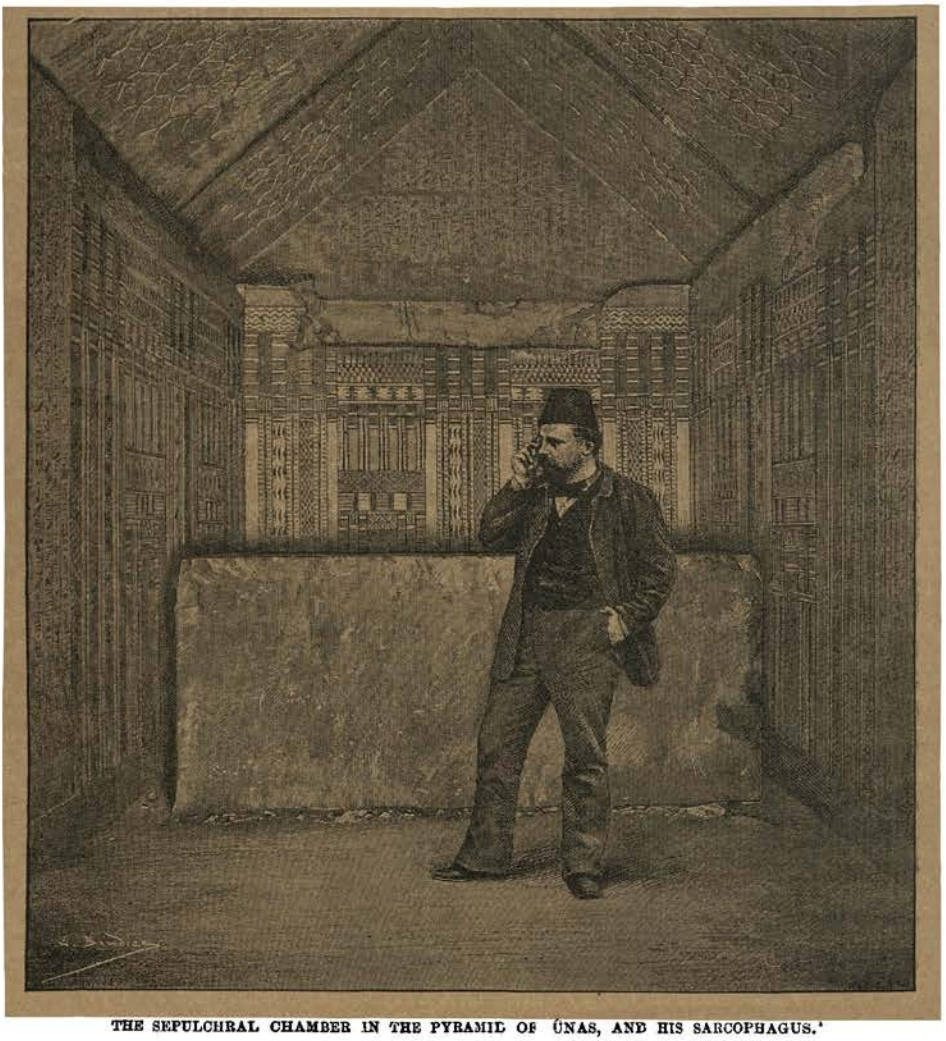
we have deciphered in the texts, have been uncovered at Saqqâra, and the inscriptions which they contain reveal to us the names of the sovereigns who reposed within. Ûnas, Teti III., Papi I., Metesouphis I., and Papi II. now have as clearly defined a personality for us as Ramses II. or Seti I.; even the mummy of Metesouphis has been discovered near his sarcophagus, and can be seen under glass in the Gîzeh Museum. The body is thin and slender; the head refined, and ornamented with the thick side-lock of boyhood; the features can be easily distinguished, although the lower jaw has disappeared and the pressure of the bandages has flattened the nose. All the pyramids of the dynasty are of a uniform type, the model being furnished by that of Ûnas. The entrance is in the centre of the northern façade, underneath the lowest course, and on the ground-level. An inclined passage, obstructed by enormous stones, leads to an antechamber, whose walls are partly bare, and partly covered with long columns of hieroglyphs: a level passage, blocked towards the middle by three granite barriers, ends in a nearly square chamber; on the left are three low cells devoid of ornament, and on the right an oblong chamber containing the sarcophagus. These two principal rooms had high-pitched roofs. They were composed of large slabs of limestone, the upper edges of which leaned one against the other, while the lower edges rested on a continuous ledge which ran round the chamber: the first row of slabs was surmounted by a second, and that again by a third, and the three together effectively protected the apartments of the dead against the thrust of the superincumbent mass, or from the attacks of robbers. The wall-surfaces close to the sarcophagus in the pyramid of Ûnas are decorated with many-coloured ornaments and sculptured and painted doors representing the front of a house: this was, in fact, the dwelling of the double, in which he resided with the dead body. The inscriptions, like the pictures in the tombs, were meant to furnish the sovereign with provisions, to dispel serpents and malevolent divinities, to keep his soul from death, and to lead him into the bark of the



PLAN OF THE PYRAMID OF ÛNAS, AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE CHAMBERS WHICH IT CONTAINS.[1]

[1] From drawings by MASPERO, *La Pyramide d'Ounas*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iv. p. 177.

sun or into the Paradise of Osiris. They constitute a portion of a vast book, whose chapters are found scattered over the monuments of subsequent periods. They are the means of restoring to us, not only the religion but the most



THE SEPULCHRAL CHAMBER IN THE PYRAMID OF ÚNAS, AND HIS SARCOPHAGUS.[1]

ancient language of Egypt: the majority of the formulas contained in them were drawn up in the time of the earliest human kings, perhaps even before Menes.[2]

The history of the VIth dynasty loses itself in legend and fable. Two more kings are supposed to have succeeded Papi Nofirkeri, Mirnirî Mihtimsaût

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph, taken in 1881, by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 132–136. The engraved texts in the chambers of these curious pyramids have been published *in extenso* in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vols. iv.–xiv.

(Metesouphis II.) and Nîtaûqrît (Nitokris).[1] Metesouphis II. was killed, so runs the tale, in a riot, a year after his accession.[2] His sister, Nitokris, the "rosy-cheeked," to whom, as was the custom, he was married, succeeded him and avenged his death. "She built an immense subterranean hall; under pretext of inaugurating its completion, but in reality with a totally different aim, she then invited to a great feast, and received in this hall, a considerable number of Egyptians from among those whom she knew to have been instigators of the crime. During the entertainment, she diverted the waters of the Nile into the hall by means of a canal which she had kept concealed. This is what is related of her. They add, that after this, the queen, of her own will, threw herself into a great chamber filled with ashes, in order to escape punishment."[3] She completed the pyramid of Mykerinos, by adding to it that costly casing of Syenite which excited the admiration of travellers; she reposed in a sarcophagus of blue basalt, in the very centre of the monument, above the secret chamber where the pious Pharaoh had hidden his mummy.[4] The Greeks, who had heard from their dragomans the story of the "Rosy-cheeked Beauty," metamorphosed the princess into a courtesan, and for the name of Nitokris, substituted the more harmonious one of Rhodopis, which was the exact translation of the characteristic epithet of the Egyptian queen.[5] One day while she was bathing in the river, an eagle stole one of her gilded sandals, carried it off in the direction of Memphis, and let it drop in the lap of the king, who was administering justice in the open air. The king, astonished at the singular occurrence, and at the beauty of the tiny shoe, caused a search to be made throughout the country for the woman to whom it belonged: Rhodopis thus became Queen of Egypt, and could build herself a pyramid.[6] Even

[1] Metesouphis II. is mentioned in the table of Abydos (MARIETTE, *La Nouvelle Table d'Abydos*, p. 16; cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xiii. p. 88), and in Manetho (UNGER'S edition, p. 106). Nitaûqrît is named in Manetho (UNGER'S edition, pp. 102, 106), in Eratosthenes (*Fragm. chronol.*, p. 183), and in the Royal Canon of Turin (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. iv. col. v. fragm. 43), in which it was discovered by E. de Rougé (*Examen de l'Ouvrage de M. le Chevalier de Bunsen*, ii. p. 5). Lesueur (*Chronologie des Rois d'Égypte*, pp. 223, 268), and afterwards Stern (*Die Randbemerkungen in dem Manethonischer Königscanon*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 92), have maintained that Nitaûqrît was not the name of a woman, and that Queen Nitokris was a Pharaoh called Nitaqerti. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 104, 105, and *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 139) does not believe that the Nitaûqrît of the Papyrus immediately followed Metesouphis, and inserts several kings between them.

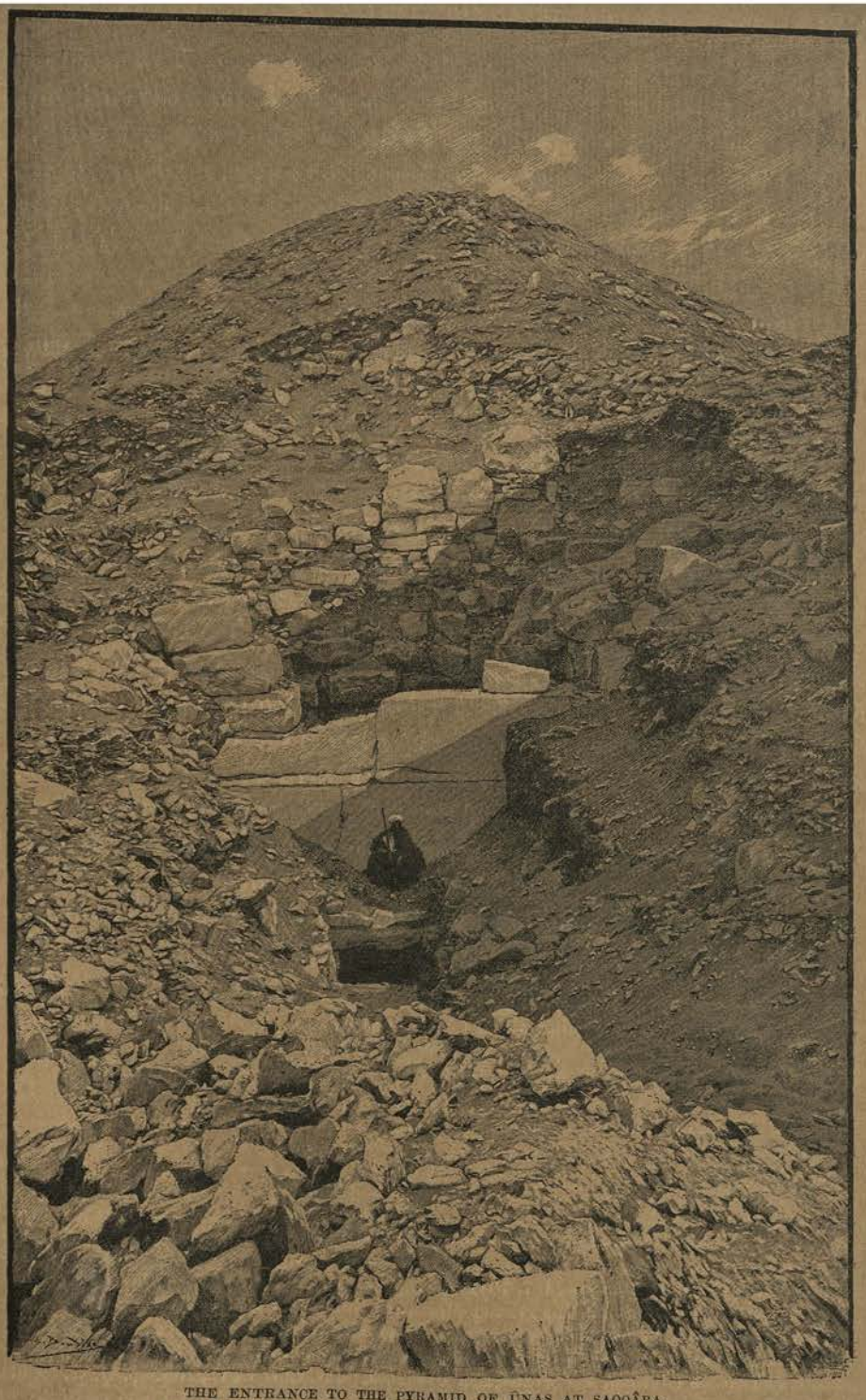
[2] MANETHO (UNGER'S edition, pp. 102, 106, 107) does not mention this fact, but the legend given by Herodotus says that Nitokris wished to avenge the king, her brother and predecessor, who was killed in a revolution; and it follows from the narrative of the facts that this anonymous brother was the Metesouphis of Manetho (HERODOTUS, ii. 100). The Turin Papyrus (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. iv. col. vi. fragm. 59) assigns a reign of a year and a month to Mihtimsaûf-Metesouphis II.

[3] HERODOTUS, ii. 100; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 399, 400.

[4] The legend which ascribes the building of the third pyramid to a woman has been preserved by Herodotus (ii. 134): E. de Bunsen, comparing it with the observations of Vyse, was inclined to attribute to Nitokris the enlarging of the monument (*Ægyptens Stelle*, vol. ii. pp. 236–238), which appears to me to have been the work of Mykerinos himself; cf. pp. 376, 380, 381 of this History.

[5] LEPSIUS, *Chronologie der Alten Ægypter*, p. 304, et seq.

[6] STRABO, xvii., I. § 33, p. 808: this is a form, as has been frequently remarked, of the story of "Cinderella." Piehl (*Notes de Phil. Égyptienne*, § 2, in the *Proceedings of the Bib. Arch. Soc.*



THE ENTRANCE TO THE PYRAMID OF ÛNAS AT SAQQÂRA.
Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch Bey.

Christianity and the Arab conquest did not entirely efface the remembrance of the courtesan-princess. "It is said that the spirit of the Southern Pyramid never appears abroad, except in the form of a naked woman, who is very beautiful, but whose manner of acting is such, that when she desires to make people fall in love with her, and lose their wits, she smiles upon them, and immediately they draw near to her, and she attracts them towards her, and makes them infatuated with love; so that they at once lose their wits, and wander aimlessly about the country. Many have seen her moving round the pyramid about midday and towards sunset."[1] It is Nitokris still haunting the monument of her shame and her magnificence.[2]

After her, even tradition is silent, and the history of Egypt remains a mere blank for several centuries. Manetho admits the existence of two other Memphite dynasties, of which the first contains seventy kings during as many days. Akhthoës, the most cruel of tyrants, followed next, and oppressed his subjects for a long period: he was at last the victim of raving madness, and met with his death from the jaws of a crocodile. It is related that he was of Heracleopolite extraction, and the two dynasties which succeeded him, the IXth and the Xth, were also Heracleopolitan.[3] The table of Abydos is incomplete,[4] and the Turin Papyrus, in the absence of other documents, too mutilated to furnish us with any exact information;[5] the contemporaries of the Ptolemies were almost entirely ignorant of what took place between the end of the VIth and the beginning of the XIIth dynasty; and Egyptologists, not finding any monuments which they could attribute to this period, thereupon concluded that Egypt had passed through some formidable crisis out of which she with difficulty extricated herself.[6] The so-called Heracleopolites of Manetho were assumed to

vol. xi. p. 221–223) has put forward the opinion that the epithet Rhodopis, *Red countenance*, was applied at first to the Great Sphinx of Gîzeh, whose face was actually painted red: in folk-etymology the epithet *Red-face* had been mistakenly applied to Nitaûqrît, and the evil genius of the red countenance who animated the Sphinx would thus have become the Rhodopis of the third pyramid.

[1] *L'Égypte de Murtadi fils du Gaphiphe*, translated by Vattier, Paris, 1666, p. 65.

[2] The lists of the VIth dynasty, with the approximate dates of the kings, are as follows:—

ACCORDING TO THE TURIN CANON AND THE MONUMENTS.		ACCORDING TO MANETHO.	
Teti III., 3808–3798?	?	Othoes	30
Miriri Papi I., 3797–3777?	20	Phios	53
Mirnirî I., Mihtimsaûf I., 3776–3762?	14	Metesouphis	7
Nofirkerî Papi II., 3761–3661?	90 + ?	Phiops	100
Mirnirî II., Mihtimsaûf II., 3660–3659?	1 y. 1 m.	Mentesouphis	1
Nitaûqrît, 3658?	?	Nitokris	12

[3] Manetho (Unger's edition, pp. 107, 108).

[4] It reckons between Metesouphis II. and Monthotpû Nibkhrôûri of the XIth dynasty eighteen kings, among whom we find no mention of some of the sovereigns just named.

[5] The fragments of the Royal Canon of Turin which belongs to this period have been incorrectly classified by Lepsius (*Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. iv. cols. v., vi., Nos. 43, 47, 48, 59, 61), more carefully by Lauth (*Manetho und der Turiner Königspapyrus*, cols. iv., v.), and especially by Lieblein (*Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, pls. ii., iii.).

[6] Marsham (*Canon Chronicus*, edition of Leipzig, 1676, p. 29) had already declared in the seventeenth century that he felt no hesitation in considering the Heracleopolites as identical with the

have been the chiefs of a barbaric people of Asiatic origin, those same "Lords of the Sands" so roughly handled by Ûni, but who are considered to have invaded the Delta soon after, settled themselves in Heracleopolis Parva as their capital, and from thence held sway over the whole valley. They appeared to have destroyed much and built nothing; the state of barbarism into which they sank, and to which they reduced the vanquished, explaining the absence of any monuments to mark their occupation. This hypothesis, however, is unsupported by any direct proof; even the dearth of monuments which has been cited as an argument in favour of the theory, is no longer a fact.[1] The sequence of reigns and details of the revolutions are wanting; but many of the kings and certain facts in their history are known, and we are able to catch a glimpse of the general course of events. The VIIth and VIIIth dynasties are Memphite, and the names of the kings themselves would be evidence in favour of their genuineness, even if we had not the direct testimony of Manetho: the one recurring most frequently is that of Nofirkerî, the prenomen of Papi II., and a third Papi figures in them, who calls himself Papi-Sonbû to distinguish himself from his namesakes.[2] The little recorded of them in Ptolemaic times, even the legend of the seventy Pharaohs reigning seventy days, betrays a troublous period and a rapid change of rulers.[3] We know as a fact that the successors of Nitokris, in the Royal Turin Papyrus, scarcely did more than appear upon the throne.[4]

successors of Menes-Misraîm, who reigned over the Mestræa, that is, over the Delta only. The idea of an Asiatic invasion, analogous to that of the Hyksos, which was put forward by Mariette (*Aperçu de l'Histoire d'Égypt*, 3rd edit., 1874, pp. 33, 34), and accepted by Fr. Lenormant (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, 3rd edit., vol. i. pp. 346, 347), has found its chief supporters in Germany. Bunsen (*Ægyptens Stelle*, vol. ii. pp. 264–270) made of the Heracleopolitan two subordinate dynasties reigning simultaneously in Lower Egypt, and originating at Heracleopolis in the Delta: they were supposed to have been contemporaries of the last Memphite and first Theban dynasties. Lepsius (*Königsbuch*, pp. 21–23) accepted and recognized in the Heracleopolitans of the Delta the predecessors of the Hyksos, an idea defended by Ebers (*Ægypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 153, et seq.), and developed by Krall in his identification of the unknown invaders with the Hirû-Shâîtû (*Die Vorläufer der Hyksos*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 34–36, 64–67; *Die Composition und die Schicksale des Manethonischen Geschichtswerkes*, p. 81, et seq.; and *Noch Einmal die Herusâ*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, pp. 121–123): it has been adopted by Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 105, et seq., and *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 141, et seq.), and by Petrie (*A History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 117–122).

[1] To speak correctly, it has never really existed, but the monuments belonging to the period have been badly classified. Cf. on this subject MASPERO, *Quatre Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 133–238, et seq.; LIEBLEIN (*Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, pp. 46–49; A. BAILLET, *Monuments des VIIIe–X^{e} dynasties*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xii. pp. 48–53).

[2] They have been recognized as Memphites by Mariette (*La Nouvelle Table d'Abydos*, p. 17; cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xiii. p. 90), by Lieblein (*Recherches sur la Chronologie*, p. 43, et seq.), and by Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 105, 106); Lauth (*Manetho*, p. 213, and *Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, p. 178, et seq.) proposes to identify them with the Heracleopolitans, in spite of the absence on this list of any royal names which the monuments have shown as belonging to the IXth and Xth dynasties.

[3] The explanation of Prof. Lauth (*Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, pp. 169, 170), according to which Manetho is supposed to have made an independent dynasty of the five Memphite priests who filled the interregnum of seventy days during the embalming of Nitokris, is certainly very ingenious, but that is all that can be said for it. The legendary source from which Manetho took his information distinctly recorded seventy successive kings, who reigned in all seventy days, a king a day.

[4] *Turin Papyrus*, frags. 53 and 61, in LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. iv.

Nofirkerî reigned a year, a month, and a day; Nofîrûs, four years, two months, and a day; Abû, two years, one month, and a day. Each of them hoped, no doubt, to enjoy the royal power for a longer period than his predecessors, and, like the Ati of the VIth dynasty, ordered a pyramid to be designed for him without delay: not one of them had time to complete the building, nor even to carry it sufficiently far to leave any trace behind. As none of them had any tomb to hand his name down to posterity, the remembrance of them perished with their contemporaries. By dint of such frequent changes in the succession, the royal authority became enfeebled, and its weakness favoured the growing influence of the feudal families and encouraged their ambition. The descendants of those great lords, who under Papi I. and II. made such magnificent tombs for themselves, were only nominally subject to the supremacy of the reigning sovereign; many of them were, indeed, grandchildren of princesses of the blood, and possessed, or imagined that they possessed, as good a right to the crown as the family on the throne. Memphis declined, became impoverished, and dwindled in population. Its inhabitants ceased to build those immense stone mastabas in which they had proudly displayed their wealth, and erected them merely of brick, in which the decoration was almost entirely confined to one narrow niche near the sarcophagus. Soon the mastaba itself was given up, and the necropolis of the city was reduced to the meagre proportions of a small provincial cemetery. The centre of that government, which had weighed so long and so heavily upon Egypt, was removed to the south, and fixed itself at Heracleopolis the Great.

THE FIRST THEBAN EMPIRE.

THE TWO HERACLEOPOLITAN DYNASTIES AND THE TWELFTH DYNASTY—THE CONQUEST OF ÆTHIOPIA, AND THE MAKING OF GREATER EGYPT BY THE THEBAN KINGS.

The principality of Heracleopolis: Akhthoës-Khîti and the Heracleopolitan dynasties—Supremacy of the great barons: the feudal fortresses, El-Kab and Abydos; ceaseless warfare, the army—Origin of the Theban principality: the principality of Siût, and the struggles of its lords against the princes of Thebes—The kings of the XIth dynasty and their buildings: the brick pyramids of Abydos and Thebes, and the rude character of early Theban art.

The XIIth dynasty: Amenemhâît I., his accession, his wars; he shares his throne with his son Ûsirtasen I., and the practice of a co-regnancy prevails among his immediate successors—The relations of Egypt with Asiâ: the Amû in Egypt and the Egyptians among the Bedouin; the Adventures of Sinûhît—The mining settlements in the Sinaitic peninsula: Sarbût-el-Khâdim and its chapel to Hâthor.

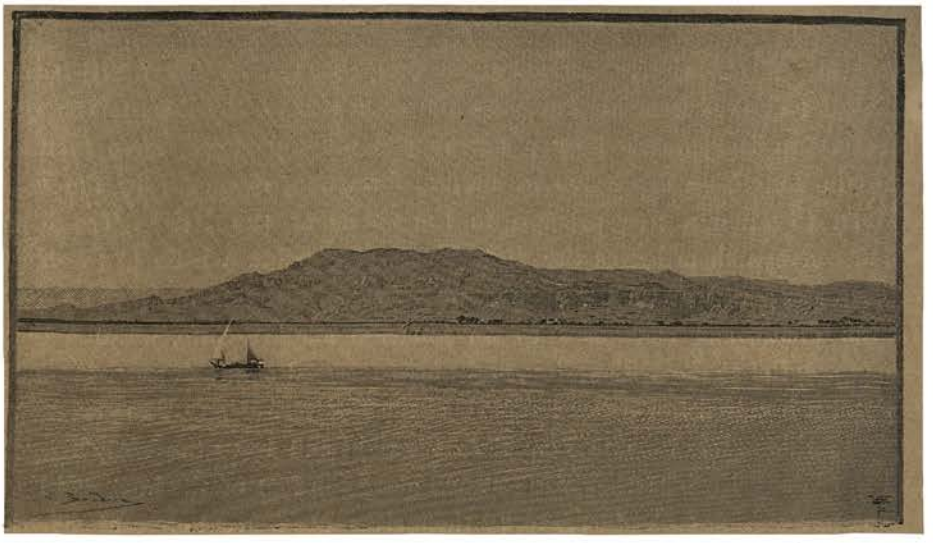
Egyptian policy in the Nile Valley—Nubia becomes part of Egypt: works of the Pharaohs, the gold-mines and citadel of Kubân—Defensive measures at the second cataract: the two fortresses and the Nilometer of Semnêh—The vile Kûsh and its inhabitants: the wars against Kûsh and their consequences; the gold-mines—Expeditions to Pûanît, and navigation along the coasts of the Red Sea: the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor.

Public works and new buildings—The restoration of the temples of the Delta: Tanis and the sphinxes of Amenemhâît III., Bubastis, Heliopolis, and the temple of Ûsirtasen I.—The increasing importance of Thebes and Abydos—Heracleopolis and the Fayûm: the monuments

of Begig and of Biahmû, the fields and water-system of the Fayûm; preference shown by the Pharaohs for this province—The royal pyramids of Dashûr, Lisht, Illahûn, and Hawâra.

The part played by the feudal lords under the XIIth dynasty—History of the princes of Moniit-Khûfûi: Khnûmhotpû, Khîti, Amoni-Amenemhâît—The lords of Thebes, and the accession of the XIIIth dynasty: the Sovkhotpûs and the Nofirhotpûs—Completion of the conquest of Nubia; the XIVth dynasty.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



THE HILLS WEST OF THEBES, AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTHERN END OF LUXOR.[1]

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST THEBAN EMPIRE.

The two Heracleopolitan dynasties and the XIIth dynasty—The conquest of Æthiopia, and the making of Greater Egypt by the Theban kings.

THE principality of the Oleander—Nârû—was bounded on the north by the Memphite nome; the frontier ran from the left bank of the Nile to the Libyan range, from the neighbourhood of Riqqah to that of Mêdûm. The principality comprised the territory lying between the Nile and the Bahr Yûsûf, from the above-mentioned two villages to the Harabshent Canal—a district known to Greek geographers as the island of Heracleopolis;—it moreover included the whole basin of the Fayûm, on the west of the valley. In very early times it had been divided into three parts: the Upper Oleander—Nârû Khonîti—the Lower Oleander—Nârû Pahûi—and the lake land—To-shît; and these divisions, united usually under the supremacy of one chief, formed a kind of small state, of which Heracleopolis was always the capital. The soil was fertile, well watered, and well tilled, but the revenues from this district, confined between the

[1] Drawn by Boudier from a photograph by Golénischeff. The vignette represents the bust of a statue of Amenemhâît III. (GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Ermitage impérial, Inventaire de la Collection égyptienne*,

two arms of the river, were small in comparison with the wealth which their ruler derived from his lands on the other side of the mountain range.[1] The Fayûm is approached by a narrow and winding gorge, more than six miles in length—a depression of natural formation, deepened by the hand of man to allow a free passage to the waters of the Nile.[2] The canal which conveys them leaves the Bahr Yûsûf at a point a little to the north of Heracleopolis, carries them in a swift stream through the gorge in the Libyan chain, and emerges into an immense amphitheatre, whose highest side is parallel to the Nile valley, and whose terraced slopes descend abruptly to about a hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Two great arms separate themselves from this canal to the right and left—the Wady Tamieh and the Wady Nazleh; they wind at first along the foot of the hills, and then again approaching each other, empty themselves into a great crescent or horn-shaped lake, lying east and west—the Mœris of Strabo, the Birket-Kerun of the Arabs.[3] A third branch penetrates the space enclosed by the other two, passes the town of Shodû, and is then subdivided into numerous canals and ditches, whose ramifications appear on the map as a network resembling the reticulations of a skeleton leaf. The lake formerly extended beyond its present limits, and submerged districts from which it has since withdrawn.[4] In years

pp. 84, 85, No. 730), drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Golénischeff (cf. GOLÉNISCHEFF *Amenemha III et les sphinx de San*, pl. iii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 136).

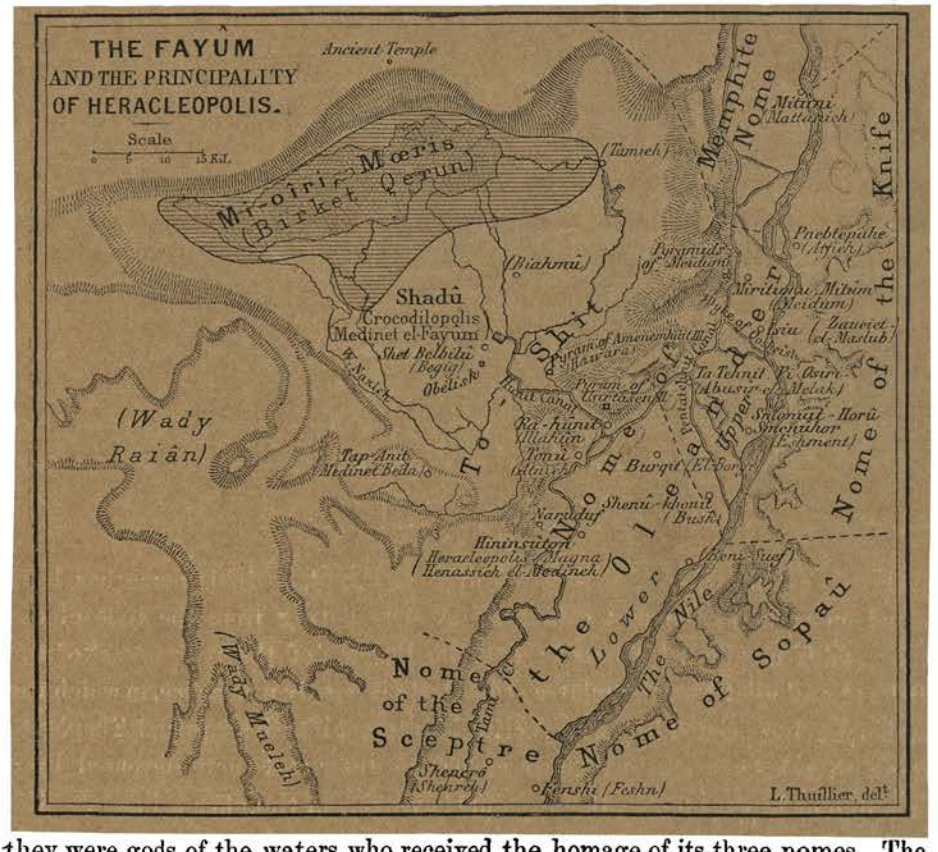
[1] BRUGSCH (*Die Ægyptologie*, p. 447) reads the name of the nome as *Im* or *Amû*; but the variants of the name of its capital (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.*, pp. 315, 316, 331) seem to me to prove that it should be read *Nârît* or *Narû*. The situation of the nome was at first misapprehended, and Brugsch identified its capital with Bubastis (MARIETTE, *Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athénæum Français*, 1856, p. 98, note 103), and later with the Oasis of Amon (*Geogr. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 292–294; cf. CHABAS, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin*, pp. 17–36): E. DE ROUGÉ was the first to show that it was Heracleopolis Magna (*Inscription historique de Pianchi-Meriamen*, pp. 19, 20; cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 1864, 2nd series, vol. viii. pp. 113, 114). The name of the city reads Hininsû (DARESSY, *Remarques et Notes*, § xx., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xi. p. 80; BRUGSCH, *Der altägyptische Name der Stadt Gross-Herakleopolis*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1886, pp. 75, 76). The name To-shît was applied to the Fayûm by BRUGSCH (*Das altägyptische Seeland*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 89–91), an application which he afterwards restricted to the district of El-Bats, which extends along the foot of the Libyan range from Illahûn to the neighbourhood of Tamieh (*Der Möris-See*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. p. 73, et seq.). With the help of data derived from the Greek geographers, Jomard clearly defined the boundaries of the Heracleopolitan nome (*Description de l'Heptanomide*, in the *Description de l'Egypte*, vol. iv. p. 400, et seq.).

[2] For the geography of the Fayûm, cf. JOMARD, *Description des Antiquités du nome Arsinoïte*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. pp. 440–486, and *Mémoire sur le lac Mœris*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. vi. pp. 157–162; CHÉLU, *Le Nil, Le Soudan, l'Égypte*, p. 381, et seq., and a recent publication by Major R. H. BROWN, *The Fayûm and Lake Mœris*, 1892.

[3] STRABO, xvii. pp. 809–811; JOMARD, *Mémoire sur le lac de Mœris*, in the *Description*, vol. vi. p. 164.

[4] Most of the specialists who have latterly investigated the Fayûm have greatly exaggerated the extent of the Birket-Kerûn in historic times. Prof. PETRIE (*Hawara, Biahmû, and Arsinoë*, pp. 1, 2) states that it covered the whole of the present province throughout the time of the Memphite kings, and that it was not until the reign of Amenemhâît I. that even a very small portion was drained. Major BROWN adopts this theory, and considers that it was under Amenemhâît III. that the great lake of the Fayûm was transformed into a kind of artificial reservoir, which was the Mœris of Herodotus (*The Fayûm and Lake Mœris*, p. 69, et seq.). The city of Shodû, Shadû, Shadît—the capital of the Fayûm—and its god Sovkû are mentioned even in the Pyramid texts (MASPERO, *La Pyramide de*

when the inundation was excessive, the surplus waters were discharged into the lake; when, however, there was a low Nile, the storage which had not been absorbed by the soil was poured back into the valley by the same channels, and carried down by the Bahr-Yûsûf to augment the inundation of the Western Delta. The Nile was the source of everything in this principality, and hence



they were gods of the waters who received the homage of its three nomes. The inhabitants of Heracleopolis worshipped the ram Harshafîtû, with whom they associated Osiris of Narûdûf as god of the dead;[1] the people of the Upper Oleander adored a second ram, Khnûmû of Hâsmonîtû,[2] and the whole Fayûm was devoted to the cult of Sovkû the crocodile.[3] Attracted by the fertility of the soil, the Pharaohs of the older dynasties had from time to time taken up their residence in Heracleopolis or its neighbourhood, and one of them—

Pepi II, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. p. 151, ll. 1359, 1360): and the eastern district of the Fayûm is named in the inscription of Amten, under the IIIrd dynasty (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 187, 188, *et Revue Critique*, 1894, t. ii. pp. 76–78; cf. *ante*, p. 293).

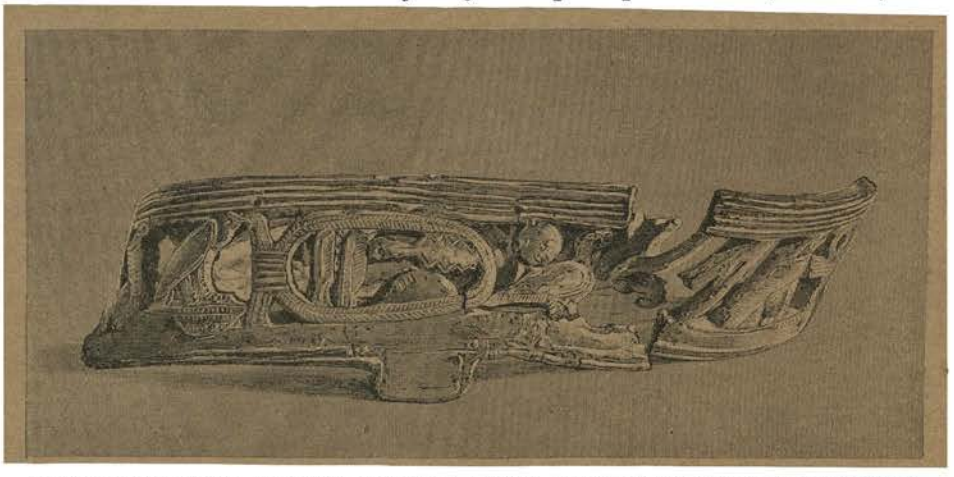
[1] For the god Harshafîtû, see LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, pp. 552–557 (cf. *ante*, pp. 98, 99) and for Osiris of Narûdûf, see BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 345.

[2] Hâ-Smonîtû, or Smonît, is now Ismeud (BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. p. 232).

[3] BRUGSCH, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, p. 156, et seq.; cf. *ante*, pp. 103, 104.

Snofrûi—had built his pyramid at Mêdûm, close to the frontier of the nome.[1] In proportion as the power of the Memphites declined, the princes of the Oleander grew more vigorous and enterprising; and when the Memphite kings passed away, these princes succeeded their former masters and sat "upon the throne of Horus."

The founder of the IXth dynasty was perhaps Khîti I., Miribrî, the



FLAT-BOTTOMED VESSEL OF BRONZE OPEN-WORK BEARING THE CARTOUCHES OF PHARAOH KHÎTI I.[2]

Akhthoës of the Greeks.[3] He ruled over all Egypt, and his name has been found on rocks at the first cataract.[4] A story dating from the time of the Ramessides mentions his wars against the Bedouin of the regions east of the Delta;[5] and what Manetho relates of his death is merely a romance, in which the author, having painted him as a sacrilegious tyrant like Kheops and Khephren, states that he was dragged down under the water and there devoured by a crocodile or hippopotamus, the appointed avengers of the offended gods.[6] His successors seem to have reigned ingloriously for more than a century.[7] Their deeds are unknown to history, but it was under the reign of one of them—

[1] On the pyramid of Mêdûm and the dwelling-place of Snofrûi, cf. pp. 358-360.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the original in the Louvre Museum. Cf. MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 10, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiii. pp. 429, 430.

[3] The name Khîti, rapidly pronounced as Khti, acquired an initial vowel and became Akhti, as Sni has become Esneh, Tbû Edfû, Khmûnû Ashmûneîn, etc. The identity of Khîti, Khîtû, and Akhthoës was established by Mr. GRIFFITH (*Report of the Third General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1888-89, p. 16, note; and *Notes on some Royal Names and Families*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. p. 40). For an account of a bronze vessel belonging to this king, and now in the Museum of the Louvre, and of the scarabs bearing his prenomen—Miribrî—cf. MASPERO'S remarks in *Notes au jour le jour*, § 10, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiii. pp. 429-431.

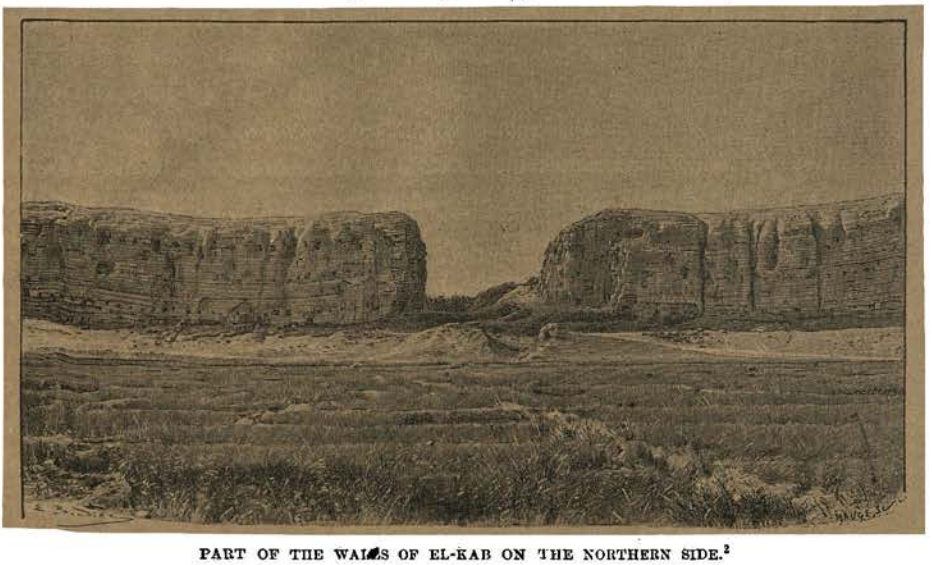
[4] It was found there by SAYCE (*The Academy*, 1892, vol. i. p. 332).

[5] GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Le Papyrus No. 1 de Saint-Pétersburg*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 109.

[6] MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 59-62. Cf. what is said of the hippopotamus as the avenger of the gods on p. 235, note 5, and of Akhthoës on p. 440.

[7] The most probable estimate of the duration of the first Heracleopolitan dynasty is that

Nibkaûrî—that a travelling fellah, having been robbed of his earnings by an artisan, is said to have journeyed to Heracleopolis to demand justice from the governor, or to charm him by the eloquence of his pleadings and the variety of his metaphors.[1] It would, of course, be idle to look for the record of any historic event in this story; the common people, moreover, do not long remember the names of unimportant princes, and the tenacity with which the



PART OF THE WALLS OF EL-KAB ON THE NORTHERN SIDE.[2]

Egyptians treasured the memories of several kings of the Heracleopolitan line amply proves that, whether by their good or evil qualities, they had at least made a lasting impression upon the popular imagination. The history of this period, as far as we can discern it through the mists of the past, appears to be one confused struggle: from north to south war raged without intermission; the Pharaohs fought against their rebel vassals, the nobles fought among themselves, and—what scarcely amounted to warfare—there were the raids on all sides of pillaging bands, who, although too feeble to constitute any serious danger to large cities, were strong enough either in numbers or discipline to render the country districts uninhabitable, and to destroy national

provisionally adopted by LEPSIUS (*Königsbuch*, pp. 56, 57), allowing it one hundred and nineteen years (cf. MASPERO, *Quatre Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 240). The dynasty apparently consisted of four kings.

[1] The Pharaoh here in question was first thought to be the second king of the IIIrd (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd edit., p. 47, note 1), or an unknown sovereign of the Xth dynasty (CHABAS, *Les Papyrus Hiératiques de Berlin*, p. 13). As the scene of the story and the palace of the king are both placed in Heracleopolis Magna, Mr. Griffith is certainly right in putting Nibkaûrî in the IXth dynasty (*Report of the Third General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1888-89, p. 289; *Fragments of old Egyptian Stories*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1891-92, vol. xiv. p. 469, note 2). Cf. what is said of this story on pp. 309, 310 of the present work.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Grébaut. The illustration shows a breach where the gate stood, and the curves of the brickwork courses can clearly be traced both to the right and the left of the opening.

prosperity.[1] The banks of the Nile already bristled with citadels, where the nomarchs lived and kept watch over the lands subject to their authority:[2] other fortresses were established wherever any commanding site —such as a narrow part of the river, or the mouth of a defile leading into the desert—presented itself. All were constructed on the same plan, varied only by the sizes of the areas enclosed, and the different thickness of the outer walls. The outline of their ground-plan formed a parallelogram, whose enclosure wall was often divided into vertical panels easily distinguished by the different arrangements of the building material. At El-Kab and other places the courses of crude brick are slightly concave, somewhat resembling a wide inverted arch whose outer curve rests on the ground.[3] In other places there was a regular alternation of lengths of curved courses, with those in which the courses were strictly horizontal. The object of this method of structure is still unknown, but it is thought that such building offers better resistance to shocks of earthquake. The most ancient fortress at Abydos, whose ruins now lie beneath the mound of Kom-es-Sultân, was built in this way.[4] Tombs having encroached upon it by the time of the VIth dynasty, it was shortly afterwards replaced by another and similar fort, situate rather more than a hundred yards to the south-east; the latter is still one of the best-preserved specimens of military architecture dating from the times immediately preceding the first Theban empire.[5] The exterior is unbroken by towers or projections of any kind, and consists of four sides, the two longer of which are parallel to each other and measure 143 yards from east to west: the two shorter sides, which are also parallel, measure 85 yards from north to south. The outer wall is solid, built in horizontal courses, with a slight batter, and decorated by vertical grooves, which at all hours of the day diversify the surface with an incessant play of light and shade. When perfect it can hardly have been less than 40 feet in height. The walk round the ramparts was crowned by a slight, low parapet, with rounded battlements, and was reached by narrow staircases

[1] These facts are implied by the expressions found in early XIIth dynasty texts, in the Great Inscription at Beni-Hasan (l. 36, et seq.), in the "Instructions of Amenemhâît" (pl. i. ll. 7–9; cf. below, p. 464), but especially in the panegyrics of the princes of Siût, summarised or translated below on pp. 456–468.

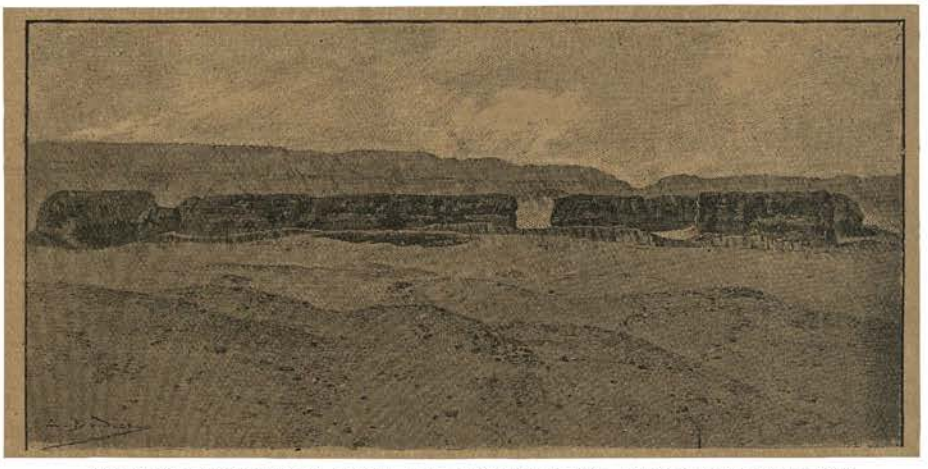
[2] On pp. 297, 298 we have already treated of these castles or fortified dwellings in which the great Egyptian nobles passed their lives.

[3] The south face of the fortress at El-Kab is built in the same way as the fortress of Kom-es-Sultân; it is only on the north and east faces that the courses run in regular undulations from end to end.

[4] Cf. what is said of the first fortress at Abydos on p. 232 of the present work.

[5] MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 22–28; DIEULAFOY, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 163–166. My first opinion was that the second fortress had been built towards the time of the XVIIIth dynasty at the earliest, perhaps even under the XXth (*Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 23). Further consideration of the details of its construction and decoration now leads me to attribute it to the period between the VIth and XIIth dynasties.

carefully constructed in the thickness of the walls. A battlemented covering wall, about five and a half yards high, encircled the building at a distance of some four feet. The fortress itself was entered by two gates, and posterns placed at various points between them provided for sorties of the garrison. The principal entrance was concealed in a thick block of building at the southern extremity of the east front. The corresponding entrance in the covering



THE SECOND FORTRESS OF ABYDOS—THE SHÛNET-EZ-ZEBÎB—AS SEEN FROM THE EAST.[1]

wall was a narrow opening closed by massive wooden doors; behind it was a small *place d'armes*, at the further end of which was a second gate, as narrow as the first, and leading into an oblong court hemmed in between the outer rampart and two bastions projecting at right angles from it; and lastly, there was a gate purposely placed at the furthest and least obvious corner of the court. Such a fortress was strong enough to resist any modes of attack then at the disposal of the best-equipped armies, which knew but three ways of taking a place by force, viz. scaling, sapping, and breaking open the gates. The height of the walls effectually prevented scaling. The pioneers were kept at a distance by the braye, but if a breach were made in that, the small flanking galleries fixed outside the battlements enabled the besieged to overwhelm the enemy with stones and javelins as they approached, and to make the work of sapping almost impossible. Should the first gate of the fortress yield to the assault, the attacking party would be crowded together in the courtyard as in a pit, few being able to enter together; they would at once be constrained to attack the second gate under a shower of

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey. Modern Arabs call it the *Shûnet-ez-Zebîb*, the storehouse of raisins (for the possible derivation of this name, see ROCHEMONTEIX, (*Œuvres diverses*, p. 80); the plan of the fortress is given by MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 68.

missiles, and did they succeed in carrying that also, it was at the cost of enormous sacrifice. The peoples of the Nile Valley knew nothing of the swing battering-ram, and no representation of the hand-worked battering-ram has ever been found in any of their wall-paintings or sculptures; they forced their way into a stronghold by breaking down its gates with their axes, or by setting fire to its doors. While the sappers were hard at work, the archers endeavoured, by the accuracy of their aim, to clear the enemy from the curtain, while soldiers sheltered behind movable mantelets tried to break

ATTACK UPON AN EGYPTIAN FORTRESS BY TROOPS OF VARIOUS ARMS.[1]

down the defences and dismantle the flanking galleries with huge metal-tipped lances. In dealing with a resolute garrison none of these methods proved successful; nothing but close siege, starvation, or treachery could overcome its resistance.

The equipment of Egyptian troops was lacking in uniformity, and men armed with slings, or bows and arrows, lances, wooden swords, clubs, stone or metal axes, all fought side by side. The head was protected by a padded cap, and the body by shields, which were small for light infantry, but of great width for soldiers of the line. The issue of a battle depended upon a succession of single combats between foes armed with the same weapons; the lancers alone seem to have charged in line behind their huge bucklers. As a rule, the wounds were trifling, and the great skill with which the shields were used made the risk of injury to any vital part very slight. Sometimes, however, a lance might be driven home into a man's chest, or a vigorously wielded sword or club might fracture a combatant's skull and stretch him unconscious on the ground. With the exception of those thus wounded and incapacitated for flight, very few prisoners were taken, and the name given to them, "Those struck down alive"—*sokirûonkhû*—sufficiently indicates the method of their capture. The troops were recruited partly from the domains

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a scene in the tomb of Amoni-Amenemhâît at Beni-Hasan (cf. GRIFFITH and NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pl. xiv., *Archæological Survey of Egypt Exploration Fund*).

of military fiefs, partly from tribes of the desert or Nubia, and by their aid the feudal princes maintained the virtual independence which they had acquired for themselves under the last kings of the Memphite line. Here and there, at Hermopolis, Siût, and Thebes, they founded actual dynasties, closely connected with the Pharaonic dynasty, and even occasionally on an equality with it, though they assumed neither the crown nor the double cartouche. Thebes was admirably adapted for becoming the capital of an important state. It rose on the right bank of the Nile, at the northern end of the curve made by the river towards Hermonthis, and in the midst of one of the most fertile plains of Egypt. Exactly opposite to it, the Libyan range throws out a precipitous spur broken up by ravines and arid amphitheatres, and separated from the river-bank by a mere strip of cultivated ground which could be easily defended. A troop of armed men stationed on this neck of land could command the navigable arm of the Nile, intercept trade with Nubia at their pleasure, and completely bar the valley to any army attempting to pass without having first obtained authority to do so. The advantages of this site do not seem to have been appreciated during the Memphite period, when the political life of Upper Egypt was but feeble. Elephantinê, El-Kab, and Koptos were at that period the principal cities of the country. Elephantinê particularly, owing to its trade with the Soudan, and its constant communication with the peoples bordering the Red Sea, was daily increasing in importance. Hermonthis, the Aûnû of the South, occupied much the same position, from a religious point of view, as was held in the Delta by Heliopolis, the Aûnû of the North, and its god Montû, a form of the Solar Horus, disputed the supremacy with Mînû of Koptos. Thebes long continued to be merely an insignificant village of the Ûisit nome and a dependency of Hermonthis. It was only towards the end of the VIIIth dynasty that Thebes began to realize its power, after the triumph of feudalism over the crown had culminated in the downfall of the Memphite kings.[1] A family which, to judge from the fact that its members affected the name of Monthotpû, originally came from Hermonthis, settled in Thebes and made that town the capital of a small principality, which rapidly enlarged its borders at the expense of the neighbouring nomes.[2] All the towns and cities of the plain, Mâdût,[3] Hfûît,[4] Zorît,[5] Hermonthis, and

[1] This surmise is grounded on a comparison of the number of these feudal princes as given on the official lists with what seems to be the most correct estimate of the duration of the two Heracleopolitan dynasties (MASPERO, *Quatre Années de fouilles*, in *Mém. de la Miss. Franç.*, vol. i. p. 310).

[2] Montû was a god of Hermonthis; hence the name of Monthotpû: "The god Montû is one with him," probably denotes the Hermonthite origin of the princes who bore it. On the extent of the Theban principality, as implied by the titles of priestesses of Amon under the XXIst dynasty, see MASPERO, *Les Momies Royales de Déir el-Bahari*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. pp. 715, 716.

[3] Mâdût or Mâdît is the present Medamôt, or Kom-Madû, to the north-east of Thebes (BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. p. 197; *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 312, 313).

[4] Hfûît, Tuphion, the present Taûd (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 494, 495).

[5] Zorît, now the little village of ed-Dûr (DÜMICHEN, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, p. 65).

towards the south, Aphroditopolis Parva, at the gorge of the Two Mountains (Gebelên) which formed the frontier of the fief of El-Kab, Kûsît towards the north, Denderah, and Hû, all fell into the hands of the Theban princes and enormously increased their territory. After the lapse of a very few years, their supremacy was accepted more or less willingly by the adjacent principalities of El-Kab, Elephantinê, Koptos, Qasr-es-Sayad, Thinis, and Ekhmîm. Antûf, the founder of the family, claimed no other title than that of Lord of Thebes,[1] and still submitted to the suzerainty of the Heracleopolitan kings. His successors considered themselves strong enough to cast off this allegiance, if not to usurp all the insignia of royalty, including the uræus and the cartouche. Monthotpû I., Antûf II., and Antûf III. must have occupied a somewhat remarkable position among the great lords of the south, since their successors credited them with the possession of a unique preamble. It is true that the historians of a later date did not venture to place them on a par with the kings who were actually independent; they enclosed their names in the cartouche without giving them a prenomen; but, at the same time, they invested them with a title not met with elsewhere, that of the first Horus—*Horû tapi*. They exercised considerable power from the outset. It extended over Southern Egypt, over Nubia, and over the valleys lying between the Nile and the Red Sea.[2] The origin of the family was somewhat obscure, but in support of their ambitious projects, they did not fail to invoke the memory of pretended alliances between their ancestors and daughters of the solar race; they boasted of their descent from the Papis, from Ûsirnirî Anû, Sahûri, and Snofrûi, and claimed that the antiquity of their titles did away with the more recent rights of their rivals.[3]

The revolt of the Theban princes put an end to the IXth dynasty, and, although supported by the feudal powers of Central and Northern Egypt, and more especially by the lords of the Terebinth nome, who viewed the sudden prosperity of the Thebans with a very evil eye,[4] the Xth dynasty did not succeed in

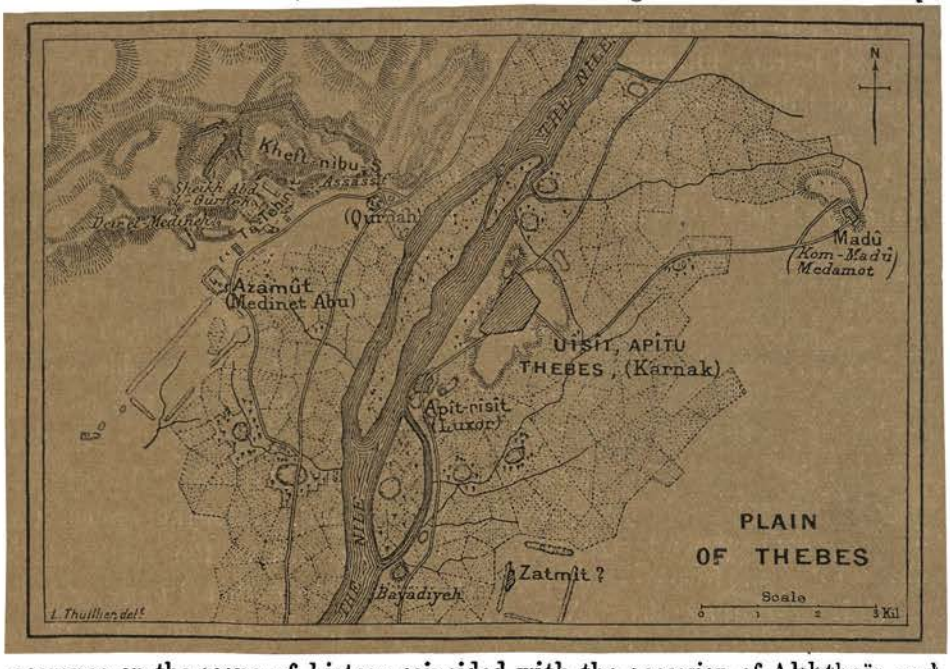
[1] I believe that the stele, shown on p. 115, belonged to this prince (MARIETTE, *Mon. divers*, pl. 50 *b* and p. 16; MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 34, and plate; cf. PETRIE, *A Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 126). He was certainly the Antûf with the title of prince only—*rópâitû*—and no cartouches, in the "Hall of Ancestors" at Karnak (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Notice sur la Salle des Ancêtres*, in the *Rev. Arch.*, 1st series, vol. i. pl. xxiii.; and LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. i.).

[2] In the "Hall of Ancestors" the title of "Horus" is attributed to several Antûfs and Monthotpûs bearing the cartouche. This was probably the compiler's ingenious device for marking the subordinate position of these personages as compared with that of the Heracleopolitan Pharaohs, who alone among their contemporaries had a right to be placed on such official lists, even when those lists were compiled under the great Theban dynasties. The place in the XIth dynasty of princes bearing the title of "Horus" was first determined by E. DE ROUGÉ, *Lettre à M. Leemans*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. vi. p. 561, et seq. [See Appendix, pp. 788, 789.—TR.]

[3] Usirtesen I. dedicated a statue "to his father" Ûsirnirî Anû of the Vth dynasty (LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*, pl. ix. *a-c*). In the "Hall of Ancestors," Ûsirnirî Anû, Sahûri, and Snofrûi are placed among the forefathers of the early Theban princes and the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty.

[4] The tombs of Siût were long classed as belonging to the XIIIth dynasty (even by WIEDEMANN, in his *Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 271, 272; and by ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alten Ægyptens*, 199.

bringing them back to their allegiance.[1] The family which held the fief of Siût when the war broke out, had ruled there for three generations.[2] Its first ap-



pearance on the scene of history coincided with the accession of Akhthoës, and its elevation was probably the reward of services rendered by its chief to the head of the Heracleopolitan family.[3] From his time downwards, the title of "ruler"

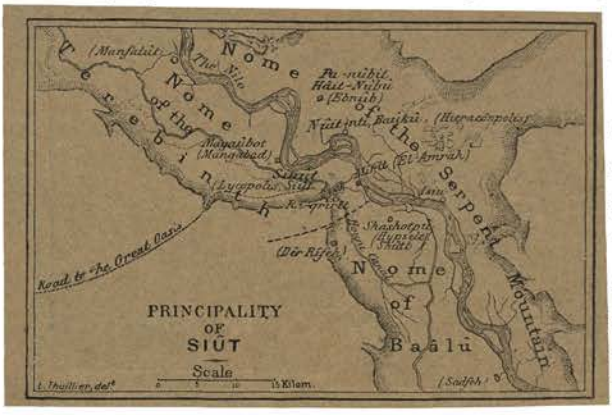
note 1). My conclusion that they belonged to the Heracleopolitan dynasties (*Quatre Années de fouilles*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission du Caire*, vol. i. p. 133) has been confirmed as regards Nos. iii., iv., and v. by the labours of Mr. GRIFFITH (*The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr-Rifeh*, and *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii. pp. 121–129, 164–168, 174–184). The history of the family which governed the Terebinth nome, as it is here set forth, was first established in consequence of Mr. Griffith's work, in the *Revue Critique*, 1889, vol. ii. pp. 410–421.

[1] The history of the house of Thebes was restored at the same time as that of the Heracleopolitan dynasties, by MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1889, vol. ii. p. 220. The difficulty arising from the number of the Theban kings according to Manetho, considered in connection with the forty-three years which made the total duration of the dynasty, has been solved by BARUCCHI, *Discorsi critici sopra la Cronologia Egizia*, pp. 131–134. These forty-three years represent the length of time that the Theban dynasty reigned alone, and which are ascribed to it in the Royal Canon; but the number of its kings includes, besides the recognized Pharaohs of the line, those princes who were contemporary with the Heracleopolitan rulers and are officially reckoned as forming the Xth dynasty.

[2] This is implied by a passage in the Great Inscription of Khîti II. (GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr-Rifeh*, pl. xiii. l. 8 = pl. xx. l. 3), very ingeniously interpreted by GRIFFITH (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii. p. 164): this prince boasts of his descent from five princes who bore the title of *hiqû*, and this fact compels us to admit that a series of three princes had ruled consecutively at Siût before his grandfather Khîti I.

[3] By ascribing to the princes of Siût an average reign equal to that of the Pharaohs, and admitting with LEPSIUS (*Königsbuch*, pp. 56, 57) that the IXth dynasty consisted of four or five kings, the accession of the first of these princes would practically coincide with the reign of Akhthoës. The name of Khîti, borne by two members of this little local dynasty, may have been given in memory of the Pharaoh Khîti Miribrî; there was also a second Khîti among the Heracleopolitan sovereigns, and one of the Khîtis of Siût may have been his contemporary. The family claimed a long descent, and said of itself that it was "an ancient litter" (GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. xiii.

—*hiqû*—which the Pharaohs themselves sometimes condescended to take, was hereditary in the family, who grew in favour from year to year. Khîti I., the fourth of this line of princes, was brought up in the palace of Heracleopolis, and had learned to swim with the royal children.[1] On his return home he remained the personal friend of the king, and governed his domains wisely, clearing the canals, fostering agriculture, and lightening the taxes without neglecting the army. His heavy infantry, recruited from among the flower of the people of the north, and his light infantry, drawn from the pick of the people of the south,[2] were counted by thousands. He resisted the Theban pretensions[3] with all his might, and his son Tefabi followed in his footsteps. "The first time," said he, "that my foot-soldiers fought against the nomes of the south which were gathered together from Elephantinê in the south to Gaû on the north,[4] I conquered those nomes, I drove them towards the southern frontier, I overran the left bank of the Nile in all directions. When I came to a town I threw down its walls, I seized its chief, I imprisoned him at the port (landing-place) until he paid me ransom. As soon as I had finished with the left bank, and there were no longer found any who dared resist, I passed to the right bank; like a swift hare I set full sail for another chief. . . . I sailed by the north wind as by the east, by the south as by the west, and him whose ship I boarded I vanquished utterly; he was cast into the water, his boats fled to shore, his soldiers were as bulls on whom falleth the lion; I compassed his city from end to end, I seized his goods, I cast them into the fire." Thanks to his energy and courage, he "extinguished the rebellion by



l. 8 = pl. xx. l. 3); but the higher rank and power of "prince"—*hiqû*—it owed to Khîti I. [Miribrî?—ED.] or some other king of the Heracleopolitan line.

[1] GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr-Rifeh*, pl. xv. l. 22; cf. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. lxviii. *d*; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pl. cclxxxviii.; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, p. 1501, l. 6. Cf. p. 300.

[2] GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. xv. ll. 1–25; cf. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. lxviii. *d*, pp. 21, 22; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions*, pl. cclxxxviii.; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, pp. 1499–1502.

[3] So we may apparently conclude from what is still legible among the remains of a long inscription in his tomb, published by GRIFFITH (*The Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. xv. ll. 25–40).

[4] It is uncertain whether the unfamiliar group of hieroglyphs inscribed at this point (GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. xi. l. 16) stands for the name of Gaû-el-Kebîr, or for that of the Antæopolite nome, of which Gaû was the capital; but in any case it designates the place which marked the northern limits of the Theban kingdom.

the counsel and according to the tactics of the jackal Ûapûaîtû, god of Siût." From that time "no district of the desert was safe from his terrors," and he "carried flame at his pleasure among the nomes of the south." Even while bringing desolation to his foes, he sought to repair the ills which the invasion had brought upon his own subjects. He administered such strict justice that evil-doers disappeared as though by magic. "When night came, he who slept on the roads blessed me, because he was as safe as in his own house; for the

THE HEAVY INFANTRY OF THE PRINCES OF SIÛT, ARMED WITH LANCE AND BUCKLER.[1]

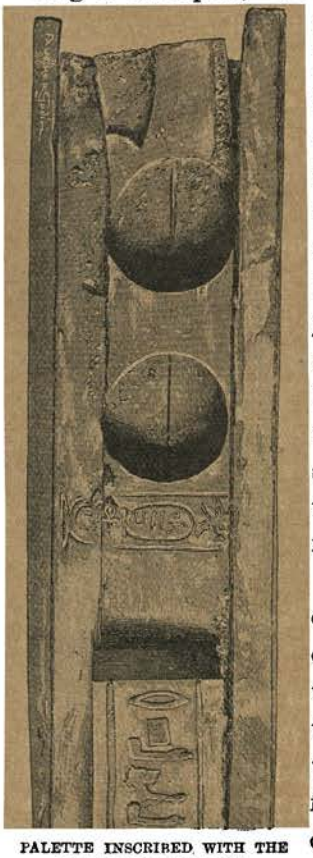
fear which was shed abroad by my soldiers protected him; and the cattle in the fields were as safe there as in the stable; the thief had become an abomination to the god, and he no longer oppressed the serf, so that the latter ceased to complain, and paid the exact dues of his land for love of me."[2] In the time of Khîti II., the son of Tefabi, the Heracleopolitans were still masters of Northern Egypt, but their authority was even then menaced by the turbulence of their own vassals, and Heracleopolis itself drove out the Pharaoh Mirikarî, who was obliged to take refuge in Siût with that Khîti whom he called his father.[3] Khîti gathered together such an extensive fleet that it encumbered the Nile from Shashhotpû to Gebel-Abufodah, from one end of the principality of the Terebinth to the other. Vainly did the rebels unite with the Thebans; Khîti "sowed terror over the world, and himself alone chastised

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1882; cf. *La Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. iv. pl. xlvi. 3, 4. The scene forms part of the decoration of one of the walls of the tomb of Khîti III. (GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, p. 11 and pl. 14).

[2] GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, pls. xi., xii.; cf. E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pls. ccxc.–ccxcii.; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, pp. 1507–1511. This inscription, which was never completed, and bears upon its face a palimpsest inscription by Tefabi himself, was first translated, or rather interpreted, by MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1889, vol. ii. pp. 415–418.

[3] In one of the inscriptions of his tomb (GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. xiii. l. 16 = pl. xx l. 11), the compiler, addressing Khîti, speaks of the Pharaoh Mirikarî as "thy son."

the nomes of the south." While he was descending the river to restore the king to his capital, "the sky grew serene, and the whole country rallied to him; the commanders of the south and the archons of Heracleopolis, their legs tremble beneath them when the royal uræus, ruler of the world, comes to suppress crime; the earth trembles, the South takes ship and flies, all men flee in dismay, the towns surrender, for fear takes hold on their members." Mirikarî's return was a triumphal progress: "when he came to Heracleopolis the people ran forth to meet him, rejoicing in their lord; women and men together, old men as well as children.[1] But fortune soon changed.[2] Beaten again and again, the Thebans still returned to the attack; at length they triumphed, after a struggle of nearly two hundred years, and brought the two rival divisions of Egypt under their rule.[3]



PALETTE INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF MIRIKARÎ.[4]

The few glimpses to be obtained of the early history of the first Theban dynasty give the impression of an energetic and intelligent race. Confined to the most thinly populated, that is, the least fertile part of the valley, and engaged on the north in a ceaseless warfare which exhausted their resources, they still found time for building both at Thebes and in the most distant parts of their dominions. If their power made but little progress southwards, at least it did not recede, and that part of Nubia lying between Aswân and the neighbourhood of Korosko

[1] GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. xiii. = pl. xx.; cf. *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, vol. iv. pl. xlix. 2; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 150 *g*; MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. lxix. *a*; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions*, pl. ccxciii.; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, pp. 1503–1506. This important text has been summarised and partly translated by MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1889, vol. ii. pp. 418, 419.

[2] The substituted inscription may have been added at a time when the Theban Pharaohs had the upper hand, and were possibly already masters of Siût; under these circumstances it would have been impolitic to complete a record of how the victors had been ill-treated by Khîti.

[3] I have adopted the 185 years which LEPSIUS (*Königsbuch*, pp. 56, 57) showed to be the most reasonable of Manetho's estimates for the duration of the second Heracleopolitan dynasty.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from the original, now in the Museum of the Louvre; cf. MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 10, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xiii. p. 430. The palette is of wood, and bears the name of a contemporary personage; the outlines of the hieroglyphs are inlaid with silver wire. It was probably found in the necropolis of Meîr, a little to the north of Siût. The sepulchral pyramid of the Pharaoh Mirikarî is mentioned on a coffin in the Berlin Museum (MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 16, in the *Proceedings of the S. B. A.*, vol. xiii. pp. 524, 525).

remained in their possession.[1] The tribes of the desert, tho Amamiû, the Mâzaiû, and the Ûaûaiû often disturbed the husbandmen by their sudden raids; yet, having pillaged a district, they did not take possession of it as conquerors, but hastily returned to their mountains. The Theban princes kept them in check by repeated counter-raids, and renewed the old treaties with them. The inhabitants of the Great Oasis in the west,[2] and the migratory peoples of the Land of the Gods, recognized the Theban suzerainty on the traditional terms. As in the times of Ûni, the barbarians made up the complement of the army with soldiers who were more inured to hardships and more accustomed to the use of arms than the ordinary fellahîn; and several obscure Pharaohs—such as Monthotpû I. and Antûf III.—owed their boasted victories over Libyans and Asiatics[4] to the energy of their mercenaries. But the kings of the XIth dynasty were careful not to wander too far from the valley of the Nile. Egypt presented a sufficiently wide field for their activity, and they exerted themselves to the utmost to remedy the evils from which the country had suffered for hundreds of years. They repaired the forts, restored or enlarged the temples, and evidences

THE BRICK PYRAMID OF ANTÛFÂA, AT THEBES.[3]

[1] In his temple at Gebelên, Monthotpû Nibhotpûrî is represented as smiting the Nubians (DARESSY, *Notes et Remarques*, § xxxii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. p. 26); but he does not mention which tribe of Nubians it was that he claimed to have conquered. According to one of his inscriptions, Amenembâît I. was undisputed master of the parts of Nubia held by Pharaohs of the VIth dynasty, and made these districts the basis of his operations against the Ûaûaiû (BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 117, 118; and *Die Negerstämme der Una-Inschrift*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 30). It is, therefore, permissible to conclude that, at any rate, the last kings of the XIth dynasty had preceded Amenemhâît as masters of Nubia.

[2] The Theban Oasis was then a dependency of the fief of Abydos, as is proved from the protocol of Prince Antûf, on Stela C 26 in the Louvre (GAYET, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. xix.). The Timihû, whom Monthotpû Nibhotpûrî, in his temple of Gebelên, boasts of having conquered, are probably Berber tribes of the Theban oases (DARESSY, *Notes et Remarques*, § xxxii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. p. 26), as were the Timihû of the VIth dynasty (cf. p. 432 of the present work).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Histoire de l'Art égyptien*. This pyramid is now completely destroyed.

[4] The cartouches of Antûfâa (PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, No. 310), inscribed on the rocks of Elephantinê, are the record of a visit which this prince paid to Syenê, probably on his return from some raid; many similar inscriptions of Pharaohs of the XIIth dynasty were inscribed in analogous circumstances. Nûbkhopirrî Antûf boasted of having worsted the Amû and the negroes (BIRCH-CHABAS, *Le Papyrus Abbott*; in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xvii. pp. 267, 268). On one of the rocks of the island of Konosso, Monthotpû Nibhotpûrî sculptured a scene of offerings in which the gods are represented as granting him victory over all peoples (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. cccvi. 3; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 150 *b*). Among the ruins of the temple which he built at Gebelên, is a scene in which he is presenting files of prisoners from different countries to the Theban gods (DARESSY, *Notes et Remarques*, § xxxii. and lxxxvii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. p. 26, and vol. xvi. p. 42).

of their building are found at Koptos,[1] Gebelên, El-Kab,[2] and Abydos.[3] Thebes itself has been too often overthrown since that time for any traces of work of the XIth dynasty kings in the temple of Amon to be distinguishable; but her necropolis is still full of their "eternal homes," stretching in lines across the plain, opposite Karnak, at Drah abû'l-Neggah, and on the northern slopes of the valley of Deir-el-Baharî. Some were excavated in the mountain-side, and presented a square façade of dressed stone, surmounted by a pointed roof in the shape of a pyramid.[4] Others were true pyramids, sometimes having a pair of obelisks in front of them, as well as a temple.[5] None of them attained to the dimensions of the Memphite tombs; for, with only its own resources at command, the kingdom of the south could not build monuments to compete with those whose construction had taxed the united efforts of all Egypt,[6] but it used a crude black brick, made without grit or straw, where the Egyptians of the north had preferred more costly stone. These inexpensive pyramids were built on a rectangular base not more than six and a half feet high; and the whole erection, which was simply faced with whitewashed stucco, never exceeded thirty-three feet in height. The sepulchral chamber was generally in the centre; in shape it resembled an oven, its roof being "vaulted" by the overlapping of the courses. Often also it was constructed partly in the base, and partly in the foundations below the base, the empty space above it being intended merely to lighten the weight of the masonry. There was not always an external chapel attached to these tombs, but a stele placed on the substructure, or fixed in one of the outer faces, marked the spot to which offerings were to be brought for the dead; sometimes, however, there was the addition of a square vestibule in front of the tomb, and here, on prescribed days, the memorial ceremonies took place. The

[1] Mr. Harris pointed out that in the masonry of the bridge at Koptos there are blocks bearing the cartouches of Núbkhopirrî Antûf (BIRCH-CHABAS, *Le Papyrus Abbott*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xvi. p. 267).

[2] Here, on the rock where now stands the *Qûbbah* of Sheîkh Mousa, Monthotpû I., Nibhotpûrî, built a little temple discovered by M. Grébaut (DARESSY, *Notes et Remarques*, § lxxxvii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvi. p. 42; J. DE MORGAN, *Notice des fouilles et déblaiements exécutés pendant l'année 1893*, p. 8; G. WILLOUGHBY FRAZER, *El-Kab and Gebelên*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xv., 1892–93, p. 497, and pl. iii., No. xv.).

[3] MARIETTE, *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos*, pp. 96, 97, Nos. 544, 545; and MARIETTE-MASPERO, *Monuments divers*, pl. xlix. p. 15.

[4] The tomb of the first Antûf, who never bore the kingly title, and whose stele, now in the Gîzeh Museum, is reproduced in the illustration on p. 115 of the present work, belongs to this class.

[5] The two obelisks which stood in front of the tomb of Nûbkhopirrî Antûf respectively measured 11 ft. 6 in. and 12 ft. 2 in. in height (MARIETTE-MASPERO, *Monuments divers*, pl. L *a*, and pp. 15, 16; cf. VILLIERS-STUART, *Nile Gleanings*, pp. 273, 274, pl. xxxiii.). Both have recently been destroyed.

[6] None of the Theban pyramids are now standing; but in 1860 Mariette discovered the substructures of two of them, viz. those of the pyramids of Nûbkhopirrî Antûf and of Anâa (MARIETTE, *Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé*, pp. 16, 17), which were made precisely like those of the pyramids of Abydos (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pp. 42–44, pls. lxvi., lxvii.; MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 139–142).

statues of the double were rude and clumsy,[1] the coffins heavy and massive, and the figures with which they were decorated inelegant and out of proportion,[2] while the stelæ are very rudely cut.[3] From the time of the VIth dynasty the lords of the Saïd had been reduced to employing workmen from Memphis to adorn their monuments; but the rivalry between the Thebans and the Heracleopolitans, which set the two divisions of Egypt against each other in constant hostility, obliged the Antûfs to entrust the execution of their orders to the local schools of sculptors and painters. It is difficult to realize the degree of rudeness to which the unskilled workmen who made certain of the Akhmîm and Gebelên sarcophagi[4] must have sunk; and even at Thebes itself, or at Abydos, the execution of both bas-reliefs and hieroglyphs shows minute carefulness rather than any real skill or artistic feeling. Failing to attain to the beautiful, the Egyptians endeavoured to produce the sumptuous. Expeditions to the Wady Hammamât to fetch blocks of granite for sarcophagi[5] became more and more frequent, and wells were sunk from point to point along the road leading from Koptos to the mountains. Sometimes these expeditions were made the occasion for pushing on as far as the port of Saû and embarking on the Red Sea. A hastily constructed boat cruised along by the shore, and gum, incense, gold, and the precious stones of the country were bought from the land of the Troglodytes.[6] On the return of the convoy with its block of stone, and various packages of merchandise, there was no lack of scribes to recount the dangers of the campaign in exaggerated language, or to congratulate the reigning Pharaoh on having sown abroad the fame and terror of his name in the countries of the gods, and as far as the land of Pûanît.

The final overthrow of the Heracleopolitan dynasty, and the union of the

[1] But few of these are left: that of the Pharaoh Monthotpû, now in the Vatican (WIEDEMANN *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 229), and that of Antûf-aûqir, now in the Museum at Gîzeh (MARIETTE, *Catalogue Général*, pp. 35, 36), should not, however, be overlooked.

[2] MARIETTE, *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, pp. 32–34; even the royal coffins of this period—those of the Antûfs in the Louvre (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice sommaire*, 1885, pp. 61, 62; PIERRET, *Recueil d'Inscriptions inédites*, vol. i. pp. 85–87; cf. *Catalogue de la Salle Historique*, p. 152, No. 614, for the funerary casket bearing the name of Antûfâa) and in the British Museum (BIRCH, *On the Formulas of three Royal Coffins*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 53)—are of rude workmanship.

[3] The stelæ of Iritisni (MASPERO, *The Stele C 14 of the Louvre*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 555–562) and C 15 in the Louvre (GAYET, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. liv.), as also that of Mirû in Turin (ORCURTI, *Discurso sulla Storia dell' Ermeneutica Egizia*, in the *Memoirs* of the Academy of Turin, 2nd series, vol. xx. pls. i., ii.), are well designed but unskilfully executed. The sculptor was less sure of his effects than the designer.

[4] For the painted coffins of the XIth dynasty found at Gebelên and Akhmîm, cf. BOURIANT, *Petits Monuments et Petits Textes recueillis en Égypte*, § 49–54, in the *Receuil de Travaux*, vol. ix. pp. 82–84, and *Notes des Voyages*; also in the *Recueil*, vol. xi. pp. 140–143.

[5] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 149 *d-h*, 150 *c*; cf. MASPERO, *Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Vallée de Hammamât*, in the *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, 2nd series, 1877, pp. 333–341; SCHIAPARELLI, *La Catena Orientale dell'Egitto*, pp. 32–39.

[6] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 150 *a*; GOLENISCHEFF, *Résultats archéologiques d'une excursion dans la Vallée de Hammamât*, pls. xv.–xvii.; CHABAS, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 56–63; BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 110–112; MASPERO, *De quelques Navigations des Égyptiens sur les côtes de la mer Erythrée*, pp. 7–9 (a reprint from the *Revue Historique*, 1879, vol. ix.); SCHIAPARELLI, *La Catena Orientale*, pp. 98–100.

two kingdoms under the rule of the Theban house, are supposed to have been the work of that Monthotpû whose throne-name was Nibkhrôûrî; his, at any rate, was the name which the Egyptians of Ramesside times inscribed in the royal lists as that of the founder and most illustrious representative of the XIth dynasty.[1] The monuments commemorate his victories over the Ûaûaiû and the barbarous inhabitants of Nubia.[2] Even after he had conquered the Delta[3] he still continued to reside in Thebes; there he built his pyramid,[4] and there divine honours were paid him from the day after his decease.[5] A scene carved on the rocks north of Silsileh represents him as standing before his son Antûf; he is of gigantic stature, and one of his wives stands behind him.[6] Three or four kings followed him in rapid succession; the least insignificant among them appearing to have been a Monthotpû Nibtoûiri. Nothing but the prenomen—Sonkherî[7]—is known of the last of these latter princes, who was also the only one of them ever entered on the official lists. In their hands the sovereignty remained unchanged from what it had been almost uninterruptedly since the end of the VIth dynasty. They solemnly proclaimed their supremacy, and their names were inscribed at the head of public documents; but their power scarcely extended beyond the limits of their family domain, and the feudal chiefs never concerned themselves about the sovereign except when he evinced the power or will to oppose them, allowing him the mere semblance of supremacy over the greater part of Europe. Such a state of affairs could only be reformed by revolution.[8] Amenemhâît I., the leader of the new dynasty, was of

[1] He is named on the tables of Abydos and Saqqâra, on the Clot-Bey libation table (E. DE SAULCY, *Étude sur la série des Rois*, p. 54, et seq., pl. ii., No. 6), in the "Hall of Ancestors" at Karnak (PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments*, pl. i.; LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. i.). In the procession on the walls of the Ramesseum (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 163; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, pl. cxxix. *bis*) he is placed between Menes and Ahmosis, Menes standing as the founder of the oldest Egyptian empire, and Monthotpû as the founder of the oldest Theban empire. Finally, he is also represented in the tomb of Khâbokhni (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 2 *a*) and in that of Anhûrkâûi (BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xxxv.; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments*, vol. i. p. 864; PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments*, pl. iii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 2 *d*).

[2] In the XLIst year of his reign, two officers passing through Aswân mention the transport by river of troops sent out against the Ûaûaiû of Nubia (PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. viii., No. 213).

[3] Among other proofs of his authority over the Delta, I would draw attention to the fact that there was at Elephantinê, in the I[st] year of his reign, a personage who was prince of Heliopolis, to whom Monthotpû had entrusted a military command (PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. viii., No. 243).

[4] The pyramid was called *Khû-Isiût* (MARIETTE, *Catalogue Générale*, p. 135, No. 605). I found the remains of it in 1881, at Drah abû'l-Neggah, and also an architrave bearing the cartouches of Monthotpû, and belonging to his funerary chapel. In the time of the XXth dynasty this pyramid was still intact (*Abbott Papyrus*, pl. iii. l. 14).

[5] SCHIAPARELLI, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, pp. 192–194, No. 1501.

[6] EISENLOHR, *An Historical Monument*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1881, pp. 98–102; PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pp. 15, 17, and pl. xvi., No. 489.

[7] The classification of these obscure Pharaohs is still very tentative, the most important of recent attempts at arranging them in order being that made by PETRIE (*A Season in Egypt*, pp. 16–19, and *A History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 126–144. Steindorff believes that some of them are to be transferred to the XIIIth dynasty (*Die Könige Mentuhotep und Antef* in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 77–96).

[8] The kings forming the XIIth dynasty had been placed in the XVIth by Champollion and the first Egyptologists. During the last months of his life Champollion recognized his mistake, and identified

the Theban race; whether he had any claim to the throne, or by what means he had secured the stability of his rule, we do not know.[1] Whether he had usurped the crown or whether he had inherited it legitimately, he showed himself worthy of the rank to which fortune had raised him, and the nobility saw in him a new incarnation of that type of kingship long known to them by tradition only, namely, that of a Pharaoh convinced of his own divinity and

THE PHARAOH MONTHOTPÛ RECEIVING THE HOMAGE OF HIS SUCCESSOR—ANTÛF—IN THE SHAT ER-RIGÂLEH.[2]

determined to assert it. He inspected the valley from one end to another, principality by principality, nome by nome, "crushing crime, and arising like Tûmû himself; restoring that which he found in ruins, settling the bounds of the towns, and establishing for each its frontiers." The civil wars had disorganized everything; no one knew what ground belonged to the different nomes, what taxes were due from them, nor how questions of irrigation could be equitably decided. Amenemhâît set up again the boundary stelæ, and restored its dependencies to each nome: "He divided the waters among

Amenemhâît with the Amenemes of Manetho; but his discovery lay buried among his papers, and it was Lepsius who, in 1840, had the honour of correcting the mistake of his predecessors (*Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden, Uebersicht der Tafeln*, and *Ueber die 12te Ægyptische Königsdynastie*, in the *Memoirs* of the Academy of Berlin, 1853; cf. BUNSEN, *Ægyptens Stelle*, vol. ii. pp. 275–283).

[1] BRUGSCH (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 117) makes him out to be a descendant of Amenemhâît, the prince of Thebes who lived under Monthotpû Nibtûirî, and who went to bring the stone for that Pharaoh's sarcophagus from the Wady Hammamât. He had previously supposed him to be this prince himself. Either of these hypotheses becomes probable, according as Nibtûirî is supposed to have lived before or after Nibkhrôûrî (cf. MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1875, vol. ii. pp. 390, 391).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a sketch by PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, p. 74, No. 2.

them according to that which was in the cadastral surveys of former times."[1] Hostile nobles, or those whose allegiance was doubtful, lost the whole or part of their fiefs; those who had welcomed the new order of things received accessions of territory as the reward of their zeal and devotion. Depositions and substitutions of princes had begun already in the time of the XIth dynasty. Antûf V., for instance, finding the lord of Koptos too lukewarm, had had him removed and promptly replaced.[2] The fief of Siût accrued to a branch of the family which was less warlike, and above all less devoted to the old dynasty than that of Khîti had been.[3] Part of the nome of the Gazelle was added to the dominions of Nûhri, prince of the Hare nome; the eastern part of the same nome, with Monaît-Khûfûi as capital, was granted to his father-in-law, Khnûmhotpû I.[4] Expeditions against the Ûaûaiû, the Mâzaiû, and the nomads of Libya and Arabia delivered the fellahîn from their ruinous raids and ensured to the Egyptians safety from foreign attack.[5] Amenemhâît had, moreover, the wit to recognize that Thebes was not the most suitable place of residence for the lord of all Egypt; it lay too far to the south, was thinly populated, ill-built, without monuments, without *prestige*, and almost without history. He gave it into the hands of one of his relations to govern in his name,[6] and proceeded to establish himself in the heart of the country, in imitation of the glorious Pharaohs from whom he claimed to be descended. But the ancient royal cities of Kheops and his children had ceased to exist; Memphis, like Thebes, was now a provincial town, and its associations were with the VIth and VIIIth dynasties only. Amenemhâît took up his abode a little to the south of Dahshûr, in the palace of Titoûi,[7]

[1] Inscription at Beni-Hasan, ll. 36–46; cf. MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Béni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. p. 162; FR. KREBS, *De Chnemothis Nomarchi Inscriptione Ægyptiacâ*, pp. 22, 23.

[2] PETRIE, *A History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 136, 137, where the inscription is completely translated.

[3] See the funerary inscription of Hâpi-Zaûfi, dating from the reign of Ûsirtasen I. (GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr-Rifeh*, pl. iv., and *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii. pp. 167, 168). Hâpi-Zaûfi himself must have begun to govern under Amenemhâît I. The names of his parents are altogether different from the names that we meet with in the tombs of the lords of Siût during the Heracleopolitan period, and indicate another family; either Hâpi-Zaûfi, or his father, was the first of a new line which owed its promotion to the Theban kings.

[4] MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Béni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 177, 178; GRIFFITH and NEWBERRY, in *Beni-Hasan*, vol. ii. p. 14 (*Archæological Survey of Egypt Exploration Fund*), give the genealogical table of this family.

[5] *Sallier Papyrus n°* 2, pl. ii. l. 10; pl. iii. l. 1. In the XXIVth year of Amenemhâît, Montûnsîsû, Prince of Thebes, boasts of having conquered the "Lords of the Sands," the Bedouin of Sinai, and the nomads of the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea; he had ravaged their fields, taken their towns, and entered their ports (MASPERO, *Un Gouverneur de Thèbes au début de la XIIe dynastie*, in the Memoirs of the *First International Congress of Orientalists*, in Paris, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61). These events must have taken place before the XXth year of Amenemhâît I.; that is to say, while he yet reigned alone.

[6] Montûnsisû, to whom reference has just been made, in every way presents the appearance of having been a great baron, making war and administering the fief of Thebes on behalf of his sovereign (Stele C 1 in the Louvre, in GAYET, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. 1; cf. MASPERO, *Un Gouverneur de Thèbes*, in the Memoirs of the *First International Congress of Orientalists*, in Paris, vol. ii. pp. 48–61).

[7] A stele of his XXXth year, found in the necropolis of Abydos, states that the palace of Titoûi was his royal residence (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 22; cf. BANVILLE-ROUGÉ, *Album photographique de la mission de M. de Rougé*, No. 146); his establishment there seems to have been entered on the

which he enlarged and made the seat of his government. Conscious of being in the hands of a strong ruler, Egypt breathed freely after centuries of distress, and her sovereign might in all sincerity congratulate himself on having restored peace to his country. "I caused the mourner to mourn no longer, and his lamentation was no longer heard,—perpetual fighting was no longer witnessed,—while before my coming they fought together as bulls unmindful of yesterday,—and no man's welfare was assured, whether he was ignorant or learned."—"I tilled the land as far as Elephantinê,—I spread joy throughout the country, unto the marshes of the Delta.—At my prayer the Nile granted the inundation to the fields:—no man was an hungered under me, no man was athirst under me,—for everywhere men acted according to my commands, and all that I said was a fresh cause of love." [1]

In the court of Amenemhâît, as about all Oriental sovereigns, there were doubtless men whose vanity or interests suffered by this revival of the royal authority; men who had found it to their profit to intervene between Pharaoh and his subjects, and who were thwarted in their intrigues or exactions by the presence of a prince determined on keeping the government in his own hands. These men devised plots against the new king, and he escaped with difficulty from their conspiracies. "It was after the evening meal, as night came on,—I gave myself up to pleasure for a time,—then I lay down upon the soft coverlets in my palace, I abandoned myself to repose,—and my heart began to be overtaken by slumber; when, lo! they gathered together in arms to revolt against me,—and I became weak as a serpent of the field.—Then I aroused myself to fight with my own hands,—and I found that I had but to strike the unresisting.—When I took a foe, weapon in hand, I made the wretch to turn and flee;—strength forsook him, even in the night; there were none who contended, and nothing vexatious was effected against me." [2] The conspirators were disconcerted by the promptness with which Amenemhâît had attacked them, and apparently the rebellion was suppressed on the same night in which it broke out. But the king was growing old, his son Ûsirtasen was very young, and the nobles were bestirring themselves in prospect of a succession which they supposed to be at hand.[3] The best means of putting a stop to their evil devices and of ensuring the future of

Turin Canon as marking an event in Egyptian history, probably the beginning of the XIIth dynasty (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. iv. fragm. 64). On the identification of Titoûi with a site near Dahshûr, see BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 983–985; a passage in the Piânkhi stele shows that, at all events, the place was situated somewhere between Memphis and Mêdûm.

[1] *Sallier Papyrus n°* 2, pl. i. ll. 7–9; pl. ii. ll. 7–10.

[2] *Sallier Papyrus n°* 2, pl. i. l. 9; pl. ii. l. 3. Cf. the short article by DÜMICHEN, *Bericht über eine Haremverschwörung unter Amenemha I.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, pp. 30–35.

[3] This is the interpretation which I put upon a passage in the *Sallier Papyrus n°* 2, pl. iii. l. 5, in which Amenemhâît says that advantage was taken of Ûsirtasen's youth to conspire against him, and compares the ills bred by these conspiracies to the havoc wrought by the locusts or by the Nile.

the dynasty was for the king to appoint the heir-presumptive, and at once associate him with himself in the exercise of his sovereignty. In the XXth year of his reign, Amenemhâît solemnly conferred the titles and prerogatives of royalty upon his son Ûsirtasen: "I raised thee from the rank of a subject,—I granted thee the free use of thy arm that thou mightest be feared.—As for me, I apparelled myself in the fine stuffs of my palace until I appeared to the eye as the flowers of my garden,—and I perfumed myself with essences as freely as I pour forth the water from my cisterns."[1] Ûsirtasen naturally assumed the active duties of royalty as his share. "He is a hero who wrought with the sword, a mighty man of valour without peer: he beholds the barbarians, he rushes forward and falls upon their predatory hordes. He is the hurler of javelins who makes feeble the hands of the foe; those whom he strikes never more lift the lance. Terrible is he, shattering skulls with the blows of his war-mace, and none resisted him in his time. He is a swift runner who smites the fugitive with the sword, but none who run after him can overtake him. He is a heart alert for battle in his time. He is a lion who strikes with his claws, nor ever lets go his weapon. He is a heart girded in armour at the sight of the hosts, and who leaves nothing standing behind him. He is a valiant man rushing forward when he beholds the fight. He is a soldier rejoicing to fall upon the barbarians: he seizes his buckler, he leaps forward and kills without a second blow. None may escape his arrow; before he bends his bow the barbarians flee from his arms like dogs, for the great goddess[2] has charged him to fight against all who know not her name, and whom he strikes he spares not; he leaves nothing alive."[3] The old Pharaoh "remained in the palace," waiting until his son returned to announce the success of his enterprises,[4] and contributing by his counsel to the prosperity of their common empire. Such was the reputation for wisdom which he thus acquired, that a writer who was almost his contemporary composed a treatise in his name, and in it the king was supposed to address posthumous instructions to his son on the art of governing. He appeared to his son in a dream, and thus admonished him: "Hearken unto my words!—Thou art king over

[1] *Sallier Papyrus n°* 2, pl. i. ll. 5–7. There has been considerable discussion as to the date at which Ûsirtasen I. began to share his father's throne. By a stele from Abydos, dating from the XXXth year of Amenemhâît I. and the Xth of Ûsirtasen (MARIETTE, *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, 1864, pp. 85, 86, No. 72; *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. xxii.; *Catalogue Général*, pp. 104, 105, No. 558; BANVILLE-ROUGÉ, *Album photographique*, No. 146, *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pl. viii.), the date is fixed as the XXth year of Amenemhâît.

[2] The great goddess Sokhît, with the head of a lioness, had destroyed men at the command of Râ, and made herself drunken with their blood (cf. pp. 165, 166 of the present work); and from that time onward she was the goddess of battle-fields and carnage.

[3] *Berlin Papyrus n°* 1, ll. 51–65; cf. MASPERO, *Le Papyrus de Berlin n°* 1, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. iii. pp. 77–82, and *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit. pp. 102, 103; PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

[4] *Berlin Papyrus n°* 1, ll. 50, 51; cf. MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 101, 102.

the two worlds, prince over the three regions. Act still better than did thy predecessors.—Let there be harmony between thy subjects and thee,—lest they give themselves up to fear; keep not thyself apart in the midst of them; make not thy brother solely from the rich and noble, fill not thy heart with them alone; yet neither do thou admit to thy intimacy chance-comers whose place is unknown."[1] The king confirmed his counsels by examples taken from his own life, and from these we have learned some facts in his history. The little work was widely disseminated and soon became a classic; in the time of the XIXth dynasty it was still copied in schools and studied by young scribes as an exercise in style.[2] Ûsirtasen's share in the sovereignty had so accustomed the Egyptians to consider this prince as the king *de facto*, that they had gradually come to write his name alone upon the monuments.[3] When Amenemhâît died, after a reign of thirty years, Ûsirtasen was engaged in a war against the Libyans. Dreading an outbreak of popular feeling, or perhaps an attempted usurpation by one of the princes of the blood, the high officers of the crown kept Amenemhâît's death secret, and despatched a messenger to the camp to recall the young king. He left his tent by night, unknown to the troops, returned to the capital before anything had transpired among the people, and thus the transition from the founder to his immediate successor—always a delicate crisis for a new dynasty—seemed to come about quite naturally.[4] The precedent of co-regnancy having been established, it was scrupulously followed by most of the succeeding sovereigns. In the XLIInd year of his sovereignty, and after

[1] *Sallier Papyrus n°* 2, pl. i. ll. 2-4.

[2] We have this text in the papyri in the British Museum, *Sallier Papyri n^os* **1** *and* 2 in the *Millingen Papyrus* (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 70, and plates), and *Ostraca 5629–5638* in the British Museum. It has been translated as a whole by MASPERO (*The Instructions of Amenemhat I. unto his son Usertasen I.*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st edit., vol. ii. pp. 9-16), by SCHACK (*Die Unterweisungen des Königs Amenemhât I.*), and by AMÉLINEAU (*Étude sur les préceptes d'Amenemhat Ier*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. pp. 98–121, and vol. xi. pp. 100–116). Parts of it have been translated by DÜMICHEN (*Bericht über eine Haremverschwörung unter Amenemha I.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 30–35) and by BIRCH (*Egyptian Texts*, pp. 16–20). Certain details of the text may escape our interpretation, but the general sense is clear.

[3] We have stelæ in which the years of the reign of Ûsirtasen alone are given, for the VIIth year (MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 116, et seq.), for the IXth year (C 2 in the Louvre, in PIERRET, *Recueil d'Inscriptions inédites*, vol. ii. p. 107, et seq.; GAYET, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. ii.; PIEHL, *Inscriptions*, vol. i. pl. ii.; C 3 in the Louvre, in MASPERO, *Sur une formule funéraire des Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, in the Memoirs of the Orientalist Congress at Lyons, vol. i., plate; PIERRET, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, vol. ii. p. 104, et seq.; GAYET, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. iv.), for the Xth year (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. xxvi., and *Catalogue Général*, p. 128, No. 592; E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pl. ix.). The IIIrd year, which is the date given by the Berlin MS. as that of the rebuilding of the temple of Heliopolis (cf. pp. 504–506 of the present work), belongs to the beginning of the co-regnancy, although Ûsirtasen I. is alone named.

[4] He died on the seventh day of the second month of Shaît, in the XXXth year of his reign, and what happened at the time is told at the beginning of the *Adventures of Sinûhît*, where the author seems to have confined himself to a record of facts (MASPERO, *Les Premières Lignes des Mémoires de Sinûhît, restituées d'après d'Ostracon 27419 du Musée de Boulaq*, in the *Memoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, vol. ii. p. 3, et seq.; GRIFFITH, *Fragments of Old Egyptian Stories*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. pp. 452–458; cf. MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 96, 97, and PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. pp. 97, 98.

having reigned alone for thirty-two years, Ûsirtasen I. shared his throne with Amenemhâît II.;[1] and thirty-two years later Amenemhâît II. acted in a similar way with regard to Ûsirtasen II.[2] Amenemhâît III. and Amenemhâît IV. were long co-regnant.[3] The only princes of this house in whose cases any evidence of co-regnancy is lacking are Ûsirtasen III., and the queen Sovknofriûrî, with whom the dynasty died out.

It lasted two hundred and thirteen years, one month, and twenty-seven days,[4] and its history can be ascertained with greater certainty and complete-

AN ASIATIC CHIEF IS PRESENTED TO KHNÛMHOTPÛ BY NOFIRHOTPÛ, AND BY KHÎTI, THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE HUNTSMEN.[5]

ness than that of any other dynasty which ruled over Egypt. We are doubtless far from having any adequate idea of its great achievements, for the biographies of its eight sovereigns, and the details of their interminable wars are very imperfectly known to us. The development of its foreign and

[1] See Stele V. 4 of the Leyden Museum, which is dated the XLIVth year of Ûsirtasen I. and the IInd year of Amenemhâît II. (LEEMANS, *Lettre à François Salvolini*, pp. 34-36, and pl. iv. 37; and *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens du Musée de Leyde*, p. 264; LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. x.)

[2] A votive tablet at Aswan, dated the XXXVth year of Amenemhâît II. and the IIIrd year of Ûsirtasen II. (YOUNG, *Hieroglyphics*, pl. lxi.; LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. x., and *Denkm.*, ii. 123 *e*).

[3] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Lettre à M. Leemans*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. vi. p. 573. We have several monuments of their joint reign (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. x., and *Denkm.*, ii. 140 *m*), but they give no dates enabling us to fix the time of its commencement.

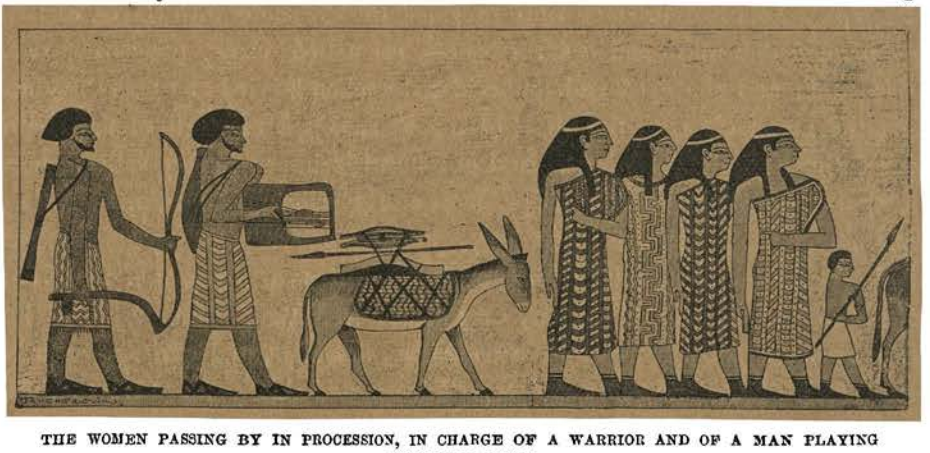
[4] This is its total duration, as given in the Turin papyrus (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. vii. fragm. 72, l. 3). Several Egyptologists have thought that Manetho had, in his estimate, counted the years of each sovereign as consecutive, and have hence proposed to conclude that the dynasty only lasted 168 years (BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 114, 115), or 160 (LIEBLEIN, *Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, pp. 76-83), or 194 (ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 122, and *Geschichte des alten Ægyptens*, p. 172, note 1). It is simpler to admit that the compiler of the papyrus was not in error; we do not know the length of the reigns of Ûsirtasen II., Ûsirtasen III., and Amenemhâît III., and their unknown years may be considered as completing the tale of the two hundred and thirteen years (cf. PETRIE, *A History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 145-147).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a chromolithograph in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 133.

domestic policy we can, however, follow without a break. Asia had as little attraction for these kings as for their Memphite predecessors; they seem to have always had a certain dread of its warlike races, and to have merely

SOME OF THE BAND OF ASIATICS, WITH THEIR BEASTS, BROUGHT BEFORE KHNÛMHOTPÛ.

contented themselves with repelling their attacks. Amenemhâît I. had completed the line of fortresses across the isthmus,[1] and these were carefully maintained by his successors. The Pharaohs were not ambitious of holding



THE WOMEN PASSING BY IN PROCESSION, IN CHARGE OF A WARRIOR AND OF A MAN PLAYING UPON THE LYRE.

direct sway over the tribes of the desert, and scrupulously avoided interfering with their affairs as long as the "Lords of the Sands" agreed to respect the Egyptian frontier.[2] Commercial relations were none the less frequent and

[1] A passage in the *Adventures of Sinûhit*, in which the hero describes the eastern frontier of the Delta, shows that it was then protected by a line of fortresses (*Berlin Papyrus* n° 1, ll. 16–19).

[2] Up to the present time no records have been found of any war against the "Lords of the Sands," excepting under Amenemhâît I. (in Stele C 1 in the Louvre, cf. p. 464, note 3, of the present work) and under Ûsirtasen I. (*Stèle de Monthotpû*, l. 10, in MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. xxiii.).

certain on this account. Dwellers by the streams of the Delta were accustomed to see the continuous arrival in their towns of isolated individuals or of whole bands driven from their homes by want or revolution, and begging for refuge under the shadow of Pharaoh's throne, and of caravans offering the rarest products of the north and of the east for sale. A celebrated scene in one of the tombs of Beni-Hasan illustrates what usually took place. We do not know what drove the thirty-seven Asiatics, men, women, and children, to cross the Red Sea and the Arabian desert and hills in the VIth year of Ûsirtasen II.;[1] they had, however, suddenly appeared in the Gazelle nome, and were there received by Khîti, the superintendent of the huntsmen, who, as his duty was, brought them before the prince Khnûmhotpû. The foreigners presented the prince with green eye-paint, antimony powder, and two live ibexes, to conciliate his favour; while he, to preserve the memory of their visit, had them represented in painting upon the walls of his tomb. The Asiatics carry bows and arrows, javelins, axes, and clubs, like the Egyptians, and wear long garments or close-fitting loin-cloths girded on the thigh. One of them plays, as he goes, on an instrument whose appearance recalls that of the old Greek lyre. The shape of their arms, the magnificence and good taste of the fringed and patterned stuffs with which they are clothed, the elegance of most of the objects which they have brought with them, testify to a high standard of civilisation, equal at least to that of Egypt. Asia had for some time provided the Pharaohs with slaves, certain perfumes, cedar wood and cedar essences, enamelled vases, precious stones, lapis-lazuli, and the dyed and embroidered woollen fabrics of which Chaldæa kept the monopoly until the time of the Romans.[2] Merchants of the Delta braved the perils of wild beasts and of robbers lurking in every valley, while transporting beyond the isthmus products of Egyptian manufacture,[3] such as fine linens, chased or *cloisonné* jewellery, glazed pottery, and glass paste or metal amulets. Adventurous spirits who found life dull on the banks of the Nile, men who had committed crimes, or who believed themselves suspected by their lords on political grounds, conspirators, deserters, and exiles were well received by the Asiatic tribes, and sometimes gained the favour of the sheîkhs. In the time of the XIIth dynasty, Southern Syria, the country of the "Lords of the Sands," and the kingdom of Kadûma were full of Egyptians whose

[1] This bas-relief was first noticed and described by CHAMPOLLION (*Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. cccIxi., cccIxii.), who took the immigrants for Greeks of the archaic period (*Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, pp. 76, 77; and *Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 410–412). Others have wished to consider it as representing Abraham, the sons of Jacob, or at least a band of Jews entering into Egypt, and on the strength of this hypothesis it has often been reproduced: ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. xxviii., xxix.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 131–133; (BRUGSCH, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 63; GRIFFITH and NEWBERRY, in *Archæological Survey of Egypt Exploration Fund*, vol. i. pls. xxx., xxxi.

[2] On this point, cf. EBERS, *Ægypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 288, et seq.

[3] *Sallier Papyrus* n° 2, pl. vii. ll. 4–7.

eventful careers supplied the scribes and story-tellers with the themes of many romances.[1]

Sinûhît, the hero of one of these stories,[2] was a son of Amenemhâît I., and had the misfortune involuntarily to overhear a state secret. He happened to be near the royal tent when news of his father's sudden death was brought to Ûsirtasen. Fearing summary execution, he fled across the Delta north of Memphis, avoided the frontier-posts, and struck into the desert. "I pursued my way by night; at dawn I had reached Pûteni, and set out for the lake of Kîmoîrî.[3] Then thirst fell upon me, and the death-rattle was in my throat, my throat cleaved together, and I said, 'It is the taste of death!' when suddenly I lifted up my heart and gathered my strength together: I heard the lowing of the herds. I perceived some Asiatics; their chief, who had been in Egypt, knew me; he gave me water, and caused milk to be boiled for me, and I went with him and joined his tribe." But still Sinûhît did not feel himself in safety, and fled into Kadûma, to a prince who had provided an asylum for other Egyptian exiles, and where he "could hear men speak the language of Egypt." Here he soon gained honours and fortune. "The chief preferred me before his children, giving me his eldest daughter in marriage, and he granted me that I should choose for myself the best of his land near the frontier of a neighbouring country. It is an excellent land, Aîa is its name. Figs are there and grapes; wine is more plentiful than water; honey abounds in it; numerous are its olives and all the produce of its trees; there are corn and flour without end, and cattle of all kinds. Great, indeed, was that which was bestowed upon me when the prince came to invest me, installing me as prince of a tribe in the best of his land. I had daily rations of bread and wine, day by day; cooked meat and roasted fowl, besides the mountain game which I took, or which was placed before me in addition to that which was brought me by my hunting dogs. Much butter was made for me, and

[1] *Berlin Papyrus* n° 1, ll. 31–34; cf. MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 99, 100.

[2] Part of the text is to be found in Berlin (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, vi. 104–107), part in England (GRIFFITH, *Fragments of Old Egyptian Stories*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. pp. 452–458); portions of it were copied on Ostraca now in the British Museum (BIRCH, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, p. 8, pl. xxiii., No. 5629), and in the Museum of Gîzeh (MASPERO, *Les Premières Lignes des Mémoires de Sinûhît*, in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, vol. ii. pp. 1–23). It has been summarised by CHABAS (*Les papyrus de Berlin, récits d'il y a quatre mille ans*, pp. 37–51, and *Panthéon Littéraire*, vol. i.), translated into English by GOODWIN (*The Story of Saneha*, in *Frazer's Magazine*, 1865, pp. 185–202; cf. *Records of the Past*, 1st edit., vol. vi. pp. 131–150, and PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. pp. 97–127), into French by MASPERO (*Le Papyrus de Berlin* n° 1, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. pp. 64–84, 132–160, and *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 87–132).

[3] Kîmoîrî was not far from the modern village of El-Maghfar (NAVILLE, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, pp. 21, 22), and its lake is the lake of Ismaîliah, whose bed was once part of the bed of the Red Sea, or, as the Egyptians called it, the "Very Black;" cf. p. 351, note 3, of the present work.

milk prepared in every kind of way. There I passed many years, and the children which were born to me became strong men, each ruling his own tribe. When a messenger was going to the interior or returning from it, he turned aside from his way to come to me, for I did kindness to all: I gave water to the thirsty, I set again upon his way the traveller who had been stopped on it, I chastised the brigand. The Pitaîtiû, who went on distant campaigns to fight and repel the princes of foreign lands, I commanded them and they marched forth; for the prince of Tonû made me the general of his soldiers for long years. When I went forth to war, all countries towards which I set out trembled in their pastures by their wells. I seized their cattle, I took away their vassals and carried off their slaves, I slew the inhabitants, the land was at the mercy of my sword, of my bow, of my marches, of my well-conceived plans glorious to the heart of my prince. Thus, when he knew my valour, he loved me, making me chief among his children when he saw the strength of my arms.

"A valiant man of Tonû came to defy me in my tent; he was a hero beside whom there was none other, for he had overthrown all his adversaries. He said: 'Let Sinûhît fight with me, for he has not yet conquered me!' and he thought to seize my cattle and therewith to enrich his tribe. The prince talked of the matter with me. I said: 'I know him not. Verily, I am not his brother. I keep myself far from his dwelling; have I ever opened his door, or crossed his enclosures? Doubtless he is some jealous fellow envious at seeing me, and who believes himself fated to rob me of my cats, my goats, my kine, and to fall on my bulls, my rams, and my oxen, to take them. . . . If he has indeed the courage to fight, let him declare the intention of his heart! Shall the god forget him whom he has heretofore favoured? This man who has challenged me to fight is as one of those who lie upon the funeral couch.' I bent my bow, I took out my arrows, I loosened my poignard, I furbished my arms. At dawn all the land of Tonû ran forth; its tribes were gathered together, and all the foreign lands which were its dependencies, for they were impatient to see this duel. Each heart was on live coals because of me; men and women cried 'Ah!' for every heart was disquieted for my sake, and they said: 'Is there, indeed, any valiant man who will stand up against him? Lo! the enemy has buckler, battle-axe, and an armful of javelins.' When he had come forth and I appeared, I turned aside his shafts from me. When not one of them touched me, he fell upon me, and then I drew my bow against him. When my arrow pierced his neck, he cried out and fell to the earth upon his nose; I snatched his lance from him, I shouted my cry of victory upon his back. While the country people rejoiced, I made his vassals whom he had oppressed to give

thanks to Montû. This prince, Ammiânshi,[1] bestowed upon me all the possessions of the vanquished, and I took away his goods, I carried off his cattle. All that he had desired to do unto me that did I unto him; I took possession of all that was in his tent, I despoiled his dwelling; therewith was the abundance of my treasure and the number of my cattle increased."[2] In later times, in Arab romances such as that of Antar or that of Abû-Zeît, we find the incidents and customs described in this Egyptian tale; there we have the exile arriving at the court of a great sheîkh whose daughter he ultimately marries, the challenge, the fight, and the raids of one people against another. Even in our own day things go on in much the same way. Seen from afar, these adventures have an air of poetry and of grandeur which fascinates the reader, and in imagination transports him into a world more heroic and more noble than our own. He who cares to preserve this impression would do well not to look too closely at the men and manners of the desert. Certainly the hero is brave, but he is still more brutal and treacherous; fighting is one object of his existence, but pillage is a far more important one. How, indeed, should it be otherwise? the soil is poor, life hard and precarious, and from remotest antiquity the conditions of that life have remained unchanged; apart from firearms and Islam, the Bedouin of to-day are the same as the Bedouin of the days of Sinûhît.[3]

There are no known documents from which we can derive any certain information as to what became of the mining colonies in Sinai after the reign of Papi II.[4] Unless entirely abandoned, they must have lingered on in comparative idleness; for the last of the Memphites, the Heracleopolitans, and the early Thebans were compelled to neglect them, nor was their active life resumed until the accession of the XIIth dynasty.[5] The veins in the Wady Maghara were much exhausted, but a series of fortunate explorations revealed the existence of untouched deposits in the Sarbût-el-Khâdîm, north of the original

[1] This was the name of the prince of Tonû, who had taken Sinûhît into such high favour.

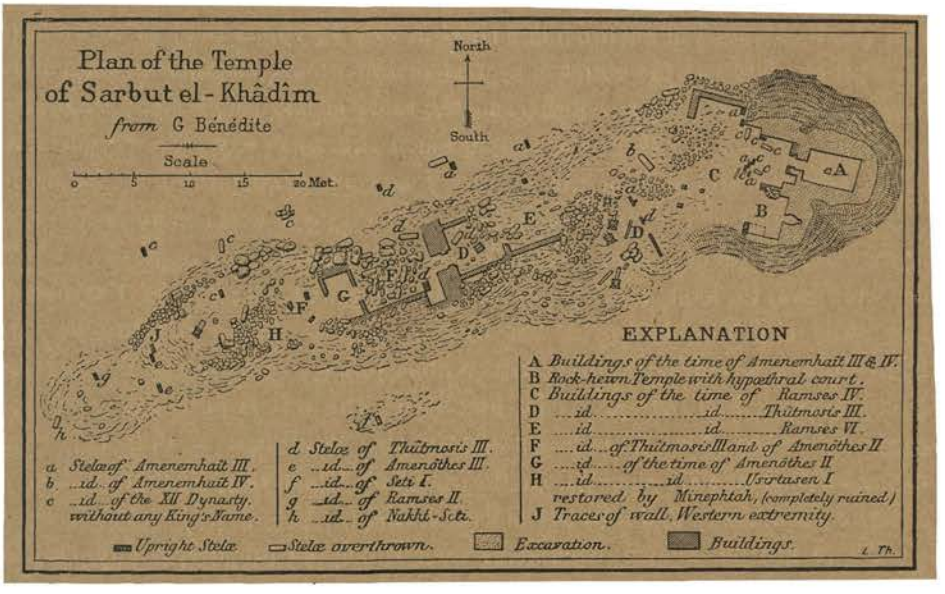
[2] *Berlin Papyrus n°* 1, ll. 19–28, 78–147; cf. MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 2nd edit., pp. 99, 104–109; PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. pp. 99, 100, 105–110.

[3] MASPERO, *La Syrie avant l'invasion des Hébreux*, pp. 6. 7 (cf. *La Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xiv.).

[4] The latest inscription of the Ancient Empire hitherto found in Sinai is that of the IInd year of Papi II. (LOTTIN DE LAVAL, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, Hieratic Inscription, pl. 4, No. 1; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 116 *a*).

[5] There are monuments of Ûsirtasen I. at Sarbût-el-Khâdîm (BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 132; MAJOR FELIX, *Note sopra le Dinastie de' Faraoni*, p. 11); of Amenemhâît II. (*Account of the Survey*, p. 183); of Amenemhâît III. at Sarbût-el-Khâdîm and at Wady Maghara (BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xlii.; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 690–692; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 137 *a–h*, 140 *n*; *Account of the Survey*, pp. 175–177, 183, 184, and *Photographs*, vol. iii. pls. 3, 4); and of Amenemhâît IV. also in both places (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 140 *o–p*; *Account of the Survey*, pp. 177, 184, and *Photographs*, vol. iii. pl. 4). No monument bearing the cartouches of Amenemhâît I., or which can be dated to his reign, has yet been found in Sinai.

workings.[1] From the time of Amenemhâît II.[2] these new veins were worked, and absorbed attention during several generations. Expeditions to the mines were sent out every three or four years, sometimes annually, under the command of such high functionaries as "Acquaintances of the King," "Chief Lectors," and Captains of the Archers. As each mine was rapidly worked


Plan of the Temple
of Sarbut el-Khâdîm
from G Bénédite
Scale
0 5 10 15 20 Met.
North
South
EXPLANATION
A Buildings of the time of Amenemhait III & IV.
B Rock-hewn Temple with hypæthral court.
C Buildings of the time of Ramses IV.
D ....id.... id.... Thûtmosis III.
E ....id.... id.... Ramses VI.
F ....id.... of Thûtmosis III and of Amenôthes II
G ....id.... of the time of Amenôthes II
H ....id.... id.... Usirtasen I
restored by Minephtah, (completely ruined.)
J Traces of wall, Western extremity.
a Stelæ of Amenemhait III.
b ...id... of Amenemhait IV.
c ...id... of the XII Dynasty.
without any King's Name.
d Stelæ of Thûtmosis III.
e ...id... of Amenôthes III.
f ...id... of Seti I.
g ...id... of Ramses II.
h ...id... of Nakht-Seb.
Upright Stelæ
Stelæ overthrown.
Excavation.
Buildings.
L Th.

out, the delegates of the Pharaohs were obliged to find new veins in order to meet industrial demands. The task was often arduous, and the commissioners generally took care to inform posterity very fully as to the anxieties which they had felt, the pains which they had taken, and the quantities of turquoise or of oxide of copper which they had brought into Egypt. Thus the Captain Haroëris tells us that, on arriving at Sarbût in the month Phamenoth of an unknown year of Amenemhâît III., he made a bad beginning in his work of exploration. Wearied of fruitless efforts, the workmen were quite ready to desert him if he had not put a good face on the business and stoutly promised them the support of the local Hâthor. And, as a matter of fact, fortune did change. When he began to despair, "the desert burned like summer, the mountain was on fire, and the vein exhausted; one morning the overseer who was there questioned the miners, the skilled workers who were

[1] For Sarbût-el-Khâdîm and its history, see BIRCH's short summary, *Egyptian Remains*, in the *Account of the Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai*, ch. vii. pp. 180–182.

[2] See an undated inscription, and one dated the XXIVth year of Amenemhâît II., near the reservoir of Sarbût-el-Khâdîm (BIRCH, *Egyptian Remains*, in the *Account of the Survey*, ch. vii. p. 183).

used to the mine, and they said: 'There is turquoise for eternity in the mountain.' At that very moment the vein appeared." And, indeed, the wealth of the deposit which he found so completely indemnified Haroëris for his first disappointments, that in the month Pachons, three months after the opening of these workings, he had finished his task and prepared to leave the country, carrying his spoils with him.[1] From time to time Pharaoh sent convoys of

THE RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF HÂTHOR AT SARBÛT-EL-KHÂDÎM.[2]

cattle and provisions—corn, sixteen oxen, thirty geese, fresh vegetables, live poultry—to his vassals at the mines.[3] The mining population increased so fast that two chapels were built, dedicated to Hâthor, and served by volunteer priests.[4] One of these chapels, presumably the oldest, consists of a single rock-cut chamber, upheld by one large square pillar, walls and pillar having been covered with finely sculptured scenes and inscriptions which are now almost effaced. The second chapel included a beautifully proportioned rectangular court, once entered by a portico supported on pillars with Hâthor-head capitals, and beyond the court a narrow building divided into many small irregular chambers. The edifice was altered and rebuilt, and half destroyed; it is now nothing but a confused heap of ruins, of which the original plan cannot be traced. Votive stelæ of all shapes and sizes,

[1] BIRCH, *Egyptian Remains*, in the *Account of the Survey*, p. 186.
[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph in the *Ordnance Survey, Photographs*, vol. iii. pl. 8.
[3] Fragments of inscriptions in BIRCH, *Egyptian Remains*; in the *Account of the Survey*, p. 186.
[4] WILSON, *Note on the Ruins at Sarabit-el-Khadim*, in the *Account of the Survey*, ch. vii. The views of the ruins are reproduced from photographs in the *Ordnance Survey*, vol. iii. pls. vi.–xviii.

in granite, sandstone, or limestone, were erected here and there at random in the two chambers and in the courts between the columns, and flush with the walls. Some are still *in situ*, others lie scattered in the midst of the ruins. Towards the middle of the reign of Amenemhâît III., the industrial demand for turquoise and for copper ore became so great that the mines of Sarbût-el-Khâdîm could no longer meet it, and those in the Wady Maghara were reopened.[1] The workings of both sets of mines were carried on with unabated vigour under Amenemhâît IV.,[2] and were still in full activity when the XIIIth dynasty succeeded the XIIth on the Egyptian throne. Tranquillity prevailed in the recesses of the mountains of Sinai as well as in the valley of the Nile, and a small garrison sufficed to keep watch over the Bedouin of the neighbourhood. Sometimes the latter ventured to attack the miners, and then fled in haste, carrying off their meagre booty; but they were vigorously pursued under the command of one of the officers on the spot, and generally caught and compelled to disgorge their plunder before they had reached the shelter of their "douars." The old Memphite kings prided themselves on these armed pursuits as though they were real victories, and had them recorded in triumphal bas-reliefs; but under the XIIth dynasty they were treated as unimportant frontier incidents, almost beneath the notice of the Pharaoh, and the glory of them—such as it was—he left to his captains then in command of those districts.

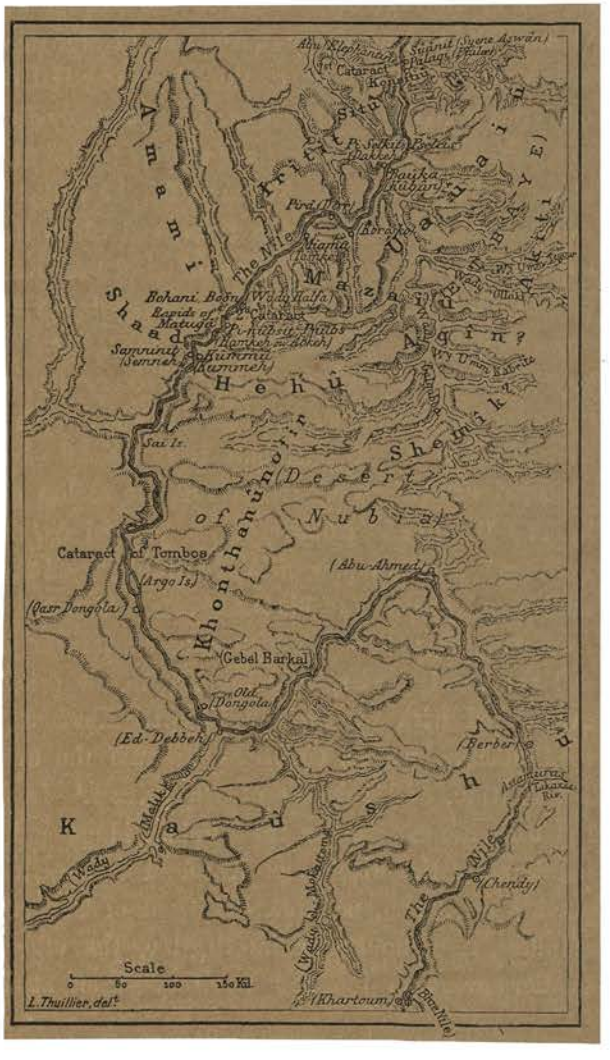
Egypt had always kept up extensive commercial relations with certain northern countries lying beyond the Mediterranean. The reputation for wealth enjoyed by the Delta sometimes attracted bands of the Haiû-nîbû to come prowling in piratical excursions along its shores;[3] but their expeditions seldom turned out successfully, and even if the adventurers escaped summary execution, they generally ended their days as slaves in the Fayûm, or in some village of the Saïd. At first their descendants preserved the customs, religion, manners, and industries of their distant home, and went

[1] Inscriptions of the IInd, XXXth, XLIst, XLIInd, XLIIIrd, and XLIVth years of Amenemhâît III. are given in BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xii.; CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypt et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 689-691; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 137 *c*, *f-i*; BIRCH, *Egyptian Remains*, in the *Account of the Survey*, ch. vii. pp. 175-177, and *Photographs*, vol. iii. pl. 3.

[2] See inscriptions of the Vth and VIIth years of Amenemhâît IV., in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 137 *d-e*, 140 *n*; *Account of the Survey*, p. 177, and *Photographs*, vol. iii. pl. 4.

[3] Sônkhkarî of XIth dynasty boasted that he had broken the yoke of the Haiû-nîbû (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 150 *a*, l. 8; cf. GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Résultats épigraphiques*, pl. xvi. l. 8). Here there is no question of a maritime expedition, as CHABAS supposed (*Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 174, 175), but of Pharaoh's repulse of an incursion of Asiatic pirates. The "Islands of the Very-Green," *i.e.* the Mediterranean, are incidentally mentioned in the *Memoirs of Sinûhît* (*Berlin Papyrus n°* 1, ll. 210, 211). Prof. PETRIE (*Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, p. 44, and *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, pp. 9-11) has proved that there was a settlement of Ægean prisoners in the principality of Heracleopolis.

on making rough pottery for daily use, which was decorated in a style recalling that of vases found in the most ancient tombs of the Ægean archipelago; but they were gradually assimilated to their surroundings, and their grandchildren became fellahîn like the rest, brought up from infancy in the customs and language of Egypt.



The relations with the tribes of the Libyan desert, the Tihûnû and the Timihû, were almost invariably peaceful; although occasional raids of one of their bands into Egyptian territory would provoke counter raids into the valleys in which they took refuge with their flocks and herds.[1] Thus, in addition to the captive Haiû-nîbû, another heterogeneous element, soon to be lost in the mass of the Egyptian population, was supplied by detachments of Berber women and children. The relations of Egypt with her northern neighbours during the two hundred years of the XIIth dynasty were chiefly commercial, but occasionally this peaceful intercourse was broken by sudden incursions or piratical expeditions which called for active measures of repression, and were the occasion of certain romantic episodes. The foreign policy of the Pharaohs in this connexion was to remain strictly on the defensive. Ethiopia attracted all their attention, and demanded all their strength. The same instinct which had impelled their predecessors

[1] It was while on an expedition against the Timihû that Ûsirtasen I. learned the death of his father Amenemhâît I. (MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Ancienne Égypte*, 2nd edit., pp. 96, 97; PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales*, vol. i. p. 98.

to pass successively beyond Gebel-Silsileh and Elephantinê now drove the XIIth dynasty beyond the second cataract, and even further. The nature of the valley compelled them to this course. From the Tacazze, or rather from the confluence of the two Niles down to the sea, the whole valley forms as it were a Greater Egypt; for although separated by the cataracts into different divisions, it is everywhere subject to the same physical conditions. In the course of centuries it has more than once been forcibly dismembered by the chances of war, but its various parts have always tended to reunite, and have coalesced at the first opportunity. The Amami, the Iritît, and the Sitiû, all those nations which wandered west of the river, and whom the Pharaohs of the VIth and subsequently of the XIth dynasty either enlisted into their service or else conquered, do not seem to have given much trouble to the successors of Amenemhâît I. The Ûaûaiû and the Mâzaiû were more turbulent, and it was necessary to subdue them in order to assure the tranquillity of the colonists scattered along the banks of the river from Philæ to Korosko. They were worsted by Amenemhâît I. in several encounters.[1] Ûsirtasen I. made repeated campaigns against them, the earlier ones being undertaken in his father's lifetime.[2] Afterwards he pressed on, and straightway "raised his frontiers" at the rapids of Wady Halfa;[3] and the country was henceforth the undisputed property of his successors. It was divided into nomes like Egypt itself; the Egyptian language succeeded in driving out the native dialects, and the local deities, including Didûn, the principal god, were associated or assimilated with the gods of Egypt. Khnûmû was the favourite deity of the northern nomes, doubtless because the first colonists were natives of Elephantinê, and subjects of its princes.[4] In the southern nomes, which had been annexed under the Theban kings and were peopled with Theban immigrants, the worship of Khnûmû was carried on side by side with the worship of Amon, or Amon-Râ, god of Thebes.[5] In accordance with local affinities, now no longer intelligible, the other gods also were assigned smaller areas in the new territory—Thot at Pselcis and Pnûbsît, where

[1] *Sallier Papyrus n°* 2, pl. ii. l, 10.

[2] See a stele of the XXXth year of Amenemhâît I. = the IXth year of Ûsirtasen I. (Brugsch, *Die Negerstämme der Una-Inschrift*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 30, 31).

[3] The triumphal stele of Wady Halfa, on the site of the ancient Bohani, which recorded this event, is now in Florence (Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, 2nd edit., p. 124). [A missing portion of it has recently been discovered by Captain Lyons, and sent to Florence.—Ed.]

[4] In Nubia Khnûmû was entitled "Governor of the inhabitants of Lower Nubia, director of the gate of the mountain regions" (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1288). Under the XVIIIth dynasty he took the form of Khnûmû-Râ, in the temples of Sebûah (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 179), Kûmmeh (*ibid.*, *id.*, 66), and other places.

[5] Lepsius was the first to show that the progress of the Theban colonisation may be traced by that of the worship of Amon (*Ueber die widderköpfigen Götter Ammon und Chnumis*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 14, et seq.).

a gigantic nabk tree was worshipped,[1] Râ near Derr,[2] and Horus at Miama and Baûka.[3] The Pharaohs who had civilized the country here received divine honours while still alive. Ûsirtasen III. was placed in triads along with Didûn, Amon, and Khnûmû; temples were raised to him at Semneh,[4] Shotaûi,[5] and Doshkeh;[6] and the anniversary of a decisive victory which he had gained over the barbarians was still celebrated on the 21st of Pachons, a thousand years afterwards, under Thutmosis III.[7] The feudal system spread over the land lying between the two cataracts, where hereditary barons held their courts, trained their armies, built their castles, and excavated their superbly decorated tombs in the mountain-sides. The only difference between Nubian Egypt and Egypt proper lay in the greater heat and smaller wealth of the former, where the narrower, less fertile, and less well-watered land supported a smaller population and yielded less abundant revenues.

The Pharaoh kept the charge of the more important strategical points in his own hands. Strongholds placed at bends of the river and at the mouths of ravines leading into the desert, secured freedom of navigation, and kept off the pillaging nomads. The fortress of Derr [Kubbân ?—ED.], which was often rebuilt, dates in part at least from the early days of the conquest of Nubia. Its rectangular boundary—a dry brick wall—is only broken by easily filled up gaps, and with some repairs it would still resist an Ababdeh attack.[8] The most

[1] The present Dakkeh is on the site of Pselcis. The Pnûbsît (Pnûbs, Nupsi, Nupsia) of the Greek geographers is now probably represented by the ruins found on the eastern bank of the river, near the village of Hamkeh, just before the entrance to the second cataract.

[2] The sacred name of Derr was Pi-râ, "House of Râ" (BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. p. 159).

[3] Miama, the Mama of the classic geographers (PLINY, vi., xii., 35, 2; JUBA, in DIDOT-MÜLLER'S *Fragmenta Historicum Græcorum*, vol. iii. pp. 477, 478), on the eastern bank of the river, seems to have been what is now the village of Toshkeh, where Burckhardt had noticed tombs at the beginning of this century (*Travels in Nubia*, p. 33). The Egyptian town of Baûka, which, in spite of the resemblance between the two names, has nothing in common with the Aboccis of Ptolemy, seems to have been situated on the site of the present village of Kubân (BRUGSCH, *Die Biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, pp. 41–43).

[4] The temple was not, as is usually affirmed, built by Thûtmosis III. (LEPSIUS, *Ueber die widderköpfigen Götter*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 21; WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 253); Thûtmosis III. merely restored what had been built by Ûsirtasen III., as was shown by E. DE ROUGÉ, in his *Mémoire sur quelques phénomènes célestes*, p. 22, et seq. (cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. ix.). As a matter of fact, one of the inscriptions states that Thûtmosis re-established the solemn rites and sacrifices instituted by Ûsirtasen in the temple of his father, Didûn (CALLIAUD, *Voyage à Meroë, Atlas*, vol. ii. pl. xxix. 3; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 55, ll. 3, 4).

[5] CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. i. 3, and vol. i. p. 609; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 114 *h*, in the time of the Pharaoh Aï, one of the last sovereigns of the XVIIIth dynasty.

[6] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 59, under Thûtmosis III.

[7] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 55, l. 12; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Mémoires sur quelques phénomènes célestes*, pp. 25–27.

[8] The most ancient bricks in the fortifications of Derr, easily distinguishable from those belonging

considerable Nubian works of the XIIth dynasty were in the three places from which the country can even now be most effectively commanded, namely, at the two cataracts, and in the districts extending from Derr to Dakkeh. Elephantinê already possessed an entrenched camp which commanded the rapids and the land route from Syene to Philæ. Ûsirtasen III. restored its great wall; he also cleared and widened the passage to Sehêl, as did Papi I. to such good effect that easy and rapid communication between Thebes and the new towns was at all times practicable. Some little distance from Philæ he established a station for boats, and an emporium which he called Hirû Khâkerî—"the Ways of Khâkerî"—after his own throne name—Khâkerî.[1] Its exact site is unknown, but it appears to have completed on the south side the system of walls and redoubts which protected the cataract provinces against either surprise or regular attacks of the barbarians. Although of no appreciable use for the purposes of general security, the fortifications of Middle Nubia were of great importance in the eyes of the Pharaohs. They commanded the desert roads leading to the Red Sea, and to Berber and Gebel Barkel on the Upper Nile. The most important fort occupied the site of the present village of Kubân, opposite Dakkeh,[2] and commanded the entrance to the Wady Olaki, which leads to the richest gold deposits known to Ancient Egypt. The valleys which furrow the mountains of Etbaï, the Wady Shauanîb, the Waddy Umm Teyur, Gebel Iswud, Gebel Umm Kabriteh, all have gold deposits of their own. The gold is found in nuggets and in pockets in white quartz, mixed with iron oxides and titanium, for which the ancients had no use. The method of mining practised from immemorial antiquity by the Ûaûaiû of the neighbourhood was of the simplest, and traces of the workings may be seen all over the sides of the ravines. Tunnels followed the direction of the lodes to a depth of fifty-five to sixty-five yards; the masses of quartz procured from them were broken up in granite mortars, pounded small and afterwards reduced to a powder in querns, similar to those used for crushing grain; the residue was sifted on stone tables, and the finely ground parts afterwards washed in

to the later restorations, are identical in shape and size with those of the walls at Syene and El-Kab; and the wall at El-Kab was certainly built not later than the XIIth dynasty.

[1] The widening of the passage was effected in the VIIIth year of his reign (WILBOUR, *Canalizing the Cataract*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 202–204), the same year in which he established the Egyptian frontier at Semneh. The other constructions are mentioned, but not very clearly, in a stele of the same year which came from Elephantinê, and is now in the British Museum (BIRCH, *Tablets of the XIIth dynasty*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, pp. 50, 51). The votive tablet, engraved in honour of Anûkît at Sehêl (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 136 *b*), in which the king boasts of having made for the goddess "the excellent channel [called] 'the Ways of Khâkeûrî,'" probably refers to this widening and deepening of the passage in the VIIIth year.

[2] On the ruins of this important fortress, see the notice by PRISSE D'AVENNES, published by CHABAS, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, pp. 13, 14.

bowls of sycamore wood, until the gold dust had settled to the bottom.[1] This was the Nubian gold which was brought into Egypt by nomad tribes, and for which the Egyptians themselves, from the time of the XIIth dynasty onwards, went to seek in the land which produced it. They made no attempt to establish permanent colonies for working the mines, as at Sinai; but a detachment of troops was despatched nearly every year to the spot to receive the amount of precious metal collected since their previous visit. The king

ONE OF THE FAÇADES OF THE FORTRESS OF KUBBÂN.[2]

Ûsirtasen would send at one time the prince of the nome of the Gazelle on such an expedition, with a contingent of four hundred men belonging to his fief;[3] at another time, it would be the faithful Sihâthor who would triumphantly scour the country, obliging young and old to work with redoubled efforts for his master Amenemhâît II.[4] On his return the envoy would boast of having brought back more gold than any of his predecessors, and of having crossed the desert without losing either a soldier or a baggage animal, not even a donkey. Sometimes a son of the reigning Pharaoh, even the heir-presumptive, would condescend to accompany the caravan. Amenemhâît III. repaired or

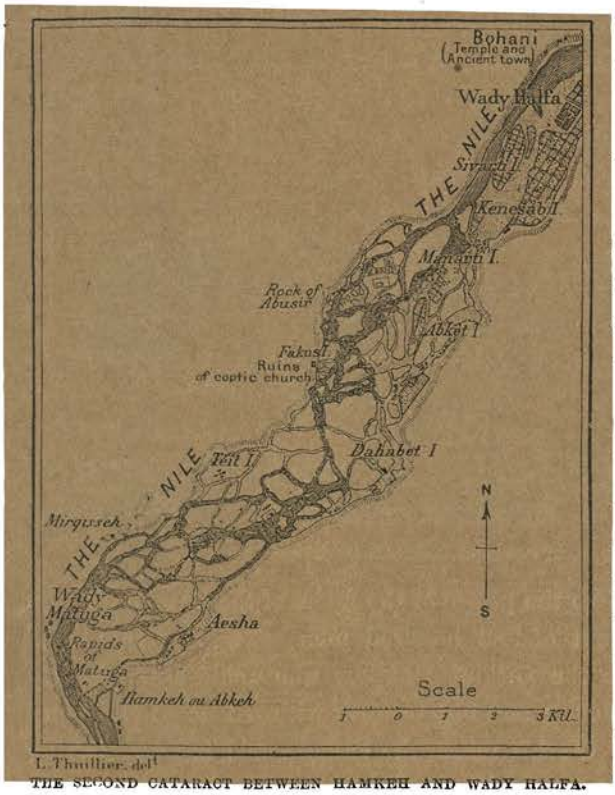
[1] The gold-mines and the method of working them under the Ptolemies have been described by Agatharchides (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Geographi Græci Minores*, vol. i. pp. 123-129; cf. DIODORUS SICULUS, iii. 12-14); the processes employed were very ancient, and had hardly changed since the time of the first Pharaohs, as is shown by a comparison of the mining tools found in these districts with those which have been collected at Sinai, in the turquoise-mines of the Ancient Empire. As to the present condition of the country, cf. a note of PRISSE D'AVENNES, in CHABAS, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, pp. 27-29. The localities in which working drifts are met with have been marked by Linant de Bellefonds on his map of Etbaye, 1854.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger, taken in 1881.

[3] Biographical inscription of Amoni-Amenemhâît, prince of the Gazelle, at Beni-Hasan, ll. 3-8.

[4] The stele of Si-Hâthor is in the British Museum: it has been published by BIRCH, *Tablets of the XIIth dynasty*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, pp. 111-114; cf. BIRCH, *Egyptian Texts*, pp. 21, 22.

rebuilt the fortress of Kubbân, the starting-place of the little army, and the spot to which it returned. It is a square enclosure measuring 328 feet on each side; the ramparts of crude brick are sloped slightly inwards, and are strengthened at intervals by bastions projecting from the external face of the wall. The river protected one side; the other three were defended by ditches communicating with the Nile. There were four entrances, one in the centre of each façade: that on the east, which faced the desert, and was exposed to the severest attacks, was flanked by a tower.[1]



THE SECOND CATARACT BETWEEN HAMKEH AND WADY HALFA.

The cataract of Wady Halfa offered a natural barrier to invasion from the south. Even without fortification, the chain of granite rocks which crosses the valley at this spot would have been a sufficient obstacle to prevent any fleet which might attempt the passage from gaining access to northern Nubia. The Nile here has not the wild and imposing aspect which it assumes lower down, between Aswân and Philæ. It is bordered by low and receding hills, devoid of any definite outline. Masses of bare black rock, here and there covered by scanty herbage, block the course of the river in some places in such profusion, that its entire bed seems to be taken up by them. For a distance of seventeen miles the main body of water is broken up into an infinitude of small channels in its width of two miles; several of the streams thus formed present, apparently, a tempting course to the navigator, so calm and safe do they appear, but they conceal ledges of hidden reefs, and are unexpectedly forced into narrow passages obstructed by granite boulders. The strongest built and best piloted boat must be dashed to pieces in such circumstances, and no effort or skilfulness on the part of the crew would save the vessel should the owner venture to

[1] PRISSE D'AVENNES, in CHABAS, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'or*, p. 13.

THE SECOND CATARACT AT LOW NILE, SEEN FROM ABUSÎR.
Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Beato.

attempt the descent. The only channel at all available for transit runs from the village of Aesha on the Arabian side, winds capriciously from one bank to another, and emerges into calm water a little above Nakhiet Wady Halfa. During certain days in August and September the natives trust themselves to this stream, but only with boats lightly laden; even then their escape is problematical, for they are in hourly danger of foundering.[1] As soon as the inundation begins to fall, the passage becomes more difficult: by the middle of October it is given up, and communication by water between Egypt and the countries above Wady Halfa is suspended until the return of the inundation. By degrees, as the level of the water becomes lower, remains of wrecks jammed between the rocks, or embedded in sandbanks, emerge into view, as if to warn sailors and discourage them from an undertaking so fraught with perils. Ûsirtasen I. realized the importance of the position, and fortified its approaches. He selected the little Nubian town of Bohani, which lay exactly opposite to the present village of Wady Halfa,[2] and transformed it into a strong frontier fortress. Besides the usual citadel, he built there a temple dedicated to the Theban god Amon and to the local Horus; he then set up a stele commemorating his victories over the peoples beyond the cataract. Ten of their principal chiefs had passed before Amon as prisoners, their arms tied behind their backs, and had been sacrificed at the foot of the altar by the sovereign himself:[3] he represented them on the stele by enclosing their names in battlemented cartouches, each surmounted by the bust of a man bound by a long cord which is held by the conqueror. Nearly a century later Ûsirtasen III. enlarged the fortress, and finding doubtless that it was not sufficiently strong to protect the passage of the cataract, he stationed outposts at various points, at Matûga,[4] Fakus, and Kassa. They served as mooring-

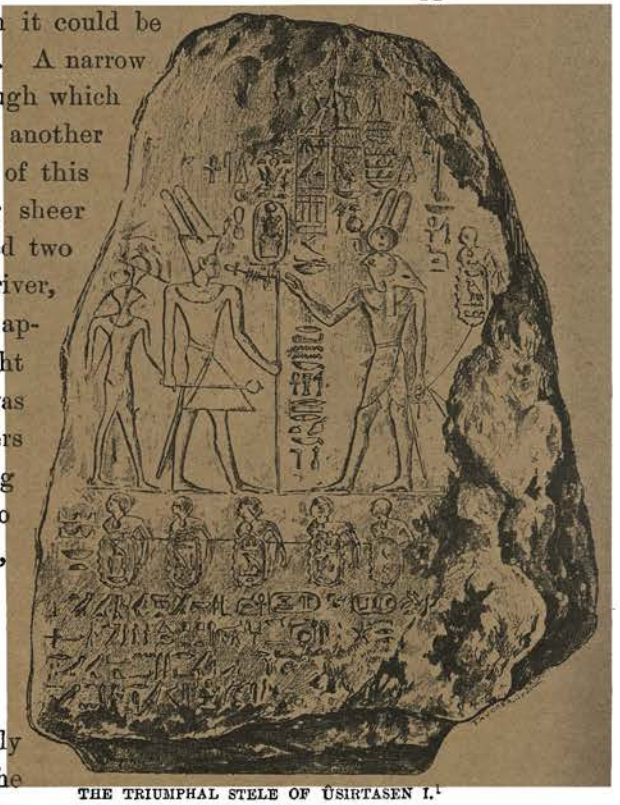
[1] See in E. DE GOTTBERG, *Les Cataractes du Nil*, pp. 28–35, the description of the precautions taken even down to the present day by the Nubian boatmen when passing the cataracts; so far as the cataract of Wady Halfa in particular is concerned, cf. CHÉLU, *Le Nil, le Soudan, l'Égypte*, pp. 62–64.

[2] Brugsch places Bohani on the right bank, in the neighbourhood of Wady Halfa (*Die Biblischen Sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, pp. 43, 44); but the stele of Ramses I., discovered by Champollion on the left bank in one of the still existing temples, mentions gifts made by this monarch to the god Mîn-Amon, who resides at Bohani "in his divine dwelling" (ll. 6, 7). Bohani was, therefore, situated at the precise spot where we now find the ruins of three temples or chapels (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, vol. i. p. 34). The Boôn of Ptolemy was also on the left bank: if it is identical with Bohani, the Alexandrian geographer, or his authorities, have placed it higher up the river than it actually was.

[3] The stele is now at Florence (SCHIAPARELLI, *Museo Archeologico*, vol. i. pp. 243, 244); it has been published several times, by Champollion (*Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. i. 1, and vol. i. pp. 34–36, vol. ii. p. 692), then by Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, pl. xxv. 4), and lastly by Berend (*Principaux Monuments du Musée Égyptien de Florence*, pp. 51, 52).

[4] Letter from Captain H. G. Lyons, in the *Academy*, No. 1057, August 6, 1892, p. 117: "I have discovered old Egyptian fortresses at Halfa and at Matuga, twelve miles south, the latter containing a cartouche of Ûsirtasen III." We possess no detailed information in regard to these two citadels.

places, where the vessels which went up and down stream with merchandise might be made fast to the bank at sunset. The bands of Bedouin, lurking in the neighbourhood, would have rejoiced to surprise them, and by their depredations to stop the commerce between the Said and the Upper Nile, during the few weeks in which it could be carried on with a minimum of danger. A narrow gorge crossed by a bed of granite, through which the Nile passes at Semneh, afforded another most favourable site for the completion of this system of defence. On cliffs rising sheer above the current, the king constructed two fortresses, one on each bank of the river, which completely commanded the approaches by land and water. On the right bank at Kummeh, where the position was naturally a strong one, the engineers described an irregular square, measuring about two hundred feet each side; two projecting bastions flanked the entrance, the one to the north covering the approaching pathways, the southern one commanding the river-bank. A road with a ditch runs at about thirteen feet from the walls round the building, closely following its contour, except at the north-west and south-east angles, where there are two projections which formed bastions. The town on the other bank, Samninû-Kharp-Khâkerî, occupied a less favourable position:[2] its eastern flank was protected by a zone of rocks and by the river, but the three other sides were of easy approach. They were provided with ramparts which rose to the height of eighty-two feet above the plain, and were strengthened at unequal distances by enormous buttresses. These resembled towers without parapets, overlooking every part of the encircling road, and from them the defenders could take the

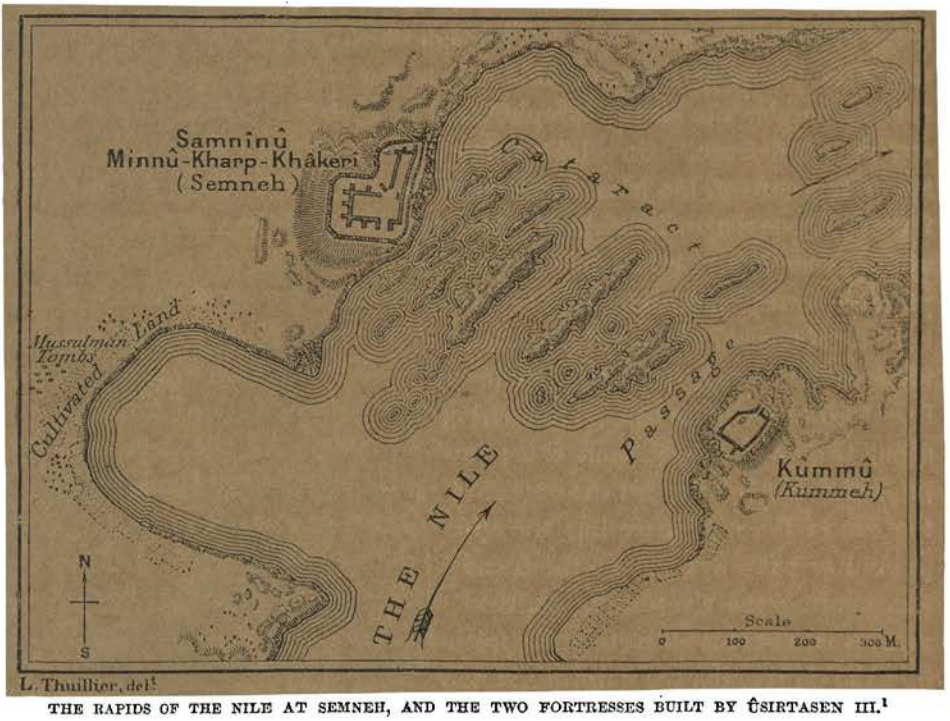


THE TRIUMPHAL STELE OF ÛSIRTASEN I.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph of the original in the museum at Florence.

[2] The Egyptian name of Semneh, *Samninû-Kharp-Khâkerî*, is given in an inscription of the IIIrd year of Sovkhotpû I. (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscription des rochers de Semneh*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, series 1, vol. v. p. 312; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 151 *c*), where, up to the present, no one appears to have gone to look for it. We meet it in the abridged forms of *Saminît, Samine*, in a text of the Ptolemaic period (DÜMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. ii. ipl. lxxi. *c*): an inscription in barbaric Greek writes it *Sammina*, and acquaints us with the name of Kummeh, spelt *Koummou*, the Egyptian form of which is not certain (LEPSIUS, *Ueber einen alten Nilmesser bei Semne in Nubien*, in the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, 1844).

attacking sappers in flank. The intervals between them had been so calculated as to enable the archers to sweep the intervening space with their arrows. The main building is of crude brick, with beams laid horizontally between; the base of the external rampart is nearly vertical, while the upper part forms an angle of some seventy degrees with the horizon, making the scaling of it,



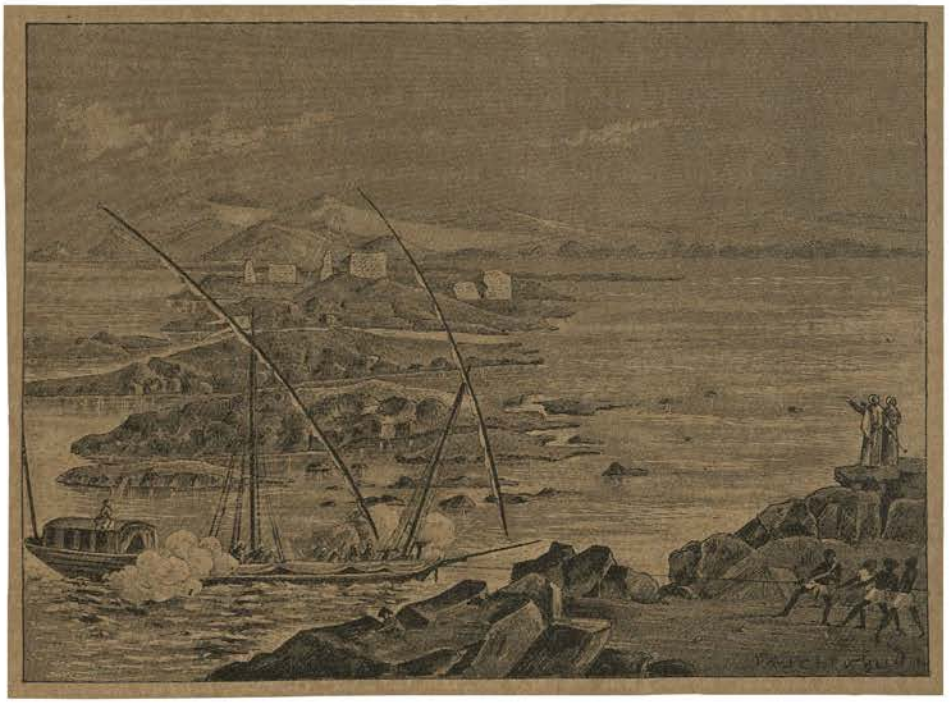
THE RAPIDS OF THE NILE AT SEMNEH, AND THE TWO FORTRESSES BUILT BY ÛSIRTASEN III.[1]

if not impossible, at least very difficult. Each of the enclosing walls of the two fortresses surrounded a town complete in itself, with temples dedicated to their founders and to the Nubian deities, as well as numerous habitations, now in ruins.[2] The sudden widening of the river immediately to the south of the rapids made a kind of natural roadstead, where the Egyptian squadron could lie without danger on the eve of a campaign against Ethiopia; the galiots of the negroes there awaited permission to sail below the rapids, and to enter Egypt with their cargoes. At once a military station and a river custom-house,

Map drawn up by Thuillier from the somewhat obsolete survey of CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé et au Fleuve Blanc, Atlas*, vol. ii. pl. xxiii.

[2] The site of the two ancient towns has been minutely described by CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, vol. i. p. 329; vol. iii. pp. 256–258; and *Atlas*, vol. ii. pls. xxiii.–xxx.; and thirty years later by M. DE VOGUÉ, *Fortifications de Semneh en Nubie*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athénæum Français*, 1855, pp. 81–84; cf. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, i. 111, 112; PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 493–502; MASPERO, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 28–31; MARCEL DIEULAFOY, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 167–170.

Semneh was the necessary bulwark of the new Egypt, and Ûsirtasen III. emphatically proclaimed the fact, in two decrees, which he set up there for the edification of posterity. "Here is," so runs the first, "the southern boundary fixed in the year VIII. under his Holiness of Khâkerî, Ûsirtasen, who gives life always and for ever, in order that none of the black peoples may cross it from



THE CHANNEL OF THE NILE BETWEEN THE TWO FORTRESSES OF SEMNEH AND KUMMEH.

above, except only for the transport of animals, oxen, goats, and sheep belonging to them."[2] The edict of the year XVI. reiterates the prohibition of the year VIII., and adds that "His Majesty caused his own statue to be erected at the landmarks which he himself had set up."[3] The beds of the first and second cataracts were then less worn away than they are now; they were therefore more efficacious in keeping back the water and forcing it to rise to a higher level

[1] Reproduction by Faucher-Gudin of a sketch published by CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroe, Atlas*, vol. ii. pl. XXX.

[2] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 136 *i*; cf. CHABAS, *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., p. 135; BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 152.

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 136 *h*. The inscription engraved on a stele of rose granite was broken about fifty years ago in order to facilitate its transport to Europe. Part of it is preserved in the Berlin Museum (ERMAN, *Verzeichniss der Ægyptischen Alterthümer*, p. 23, No. 83), and part in the Bûlaq-Gizeh Museum, where the upper half was placed in 1884 by the Mûdir of Esneh; a complete translation of it has been given by CHABAS, *Sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., p. 133, et seq.; and afterwards by BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 775–780.

above.[1] The cataracts acted as indicators of the inundation, and if their daily rise and fall were studied, it was possible to announce to the dwellers on the banks lower down the river the progress and probable results of the flood. As long as the dominion of the Pharaohs reached no further than Philæ, observations of the Nile were always taken at the first cataract; and it was from Elephantinê that Egypt received the news of the first appearance and progress of the inundation. Amenemhâît III. set up a new nilometer at the new frontier, and gave orders to his officers to observe the course of the flood.[2] They obeyed him scrupulously, and every time that the inundation appeared to them to differ from the average of ordinary years, they marked its height on the rocks of Semneh and Kummeh, engraving side by side with the figure the name of the king and the date of the year. The custom was continued there under the XIIIth dynasty; afterwards, when the frontier was pushed further south, the nilometer accompanied it.[3]

The country beyond Semneh was virgin territory, almost untouched and quite uninjured by previous wars. Its name now appears for the first time upon the monuments, in the form of Kaûshû—the humbled Kûsh.[4] It comprised the districts situated to the south within the immense loop described by the river between Dongola and Khartoum, those vast plains intersected by the windings of the White and Blue Niles, known as the regions of Kordofan and Darfur; it was bounded by the mountains of Abyssinia, the marshes of Lake Nû, and all those semi-fabulous countries to which were relegated the "Isles of the Manes" and the "Lands of Spirits."[5] It was separated from the Red Sea by the

[1] It is evident, from the marks engraved on the rocks by the Egyptian officials, that the Nile used to rise from six to eight metres higher than it now does in the same districts of Semneh, during the last reigns of the XIIth dynasty and the early reigns of the XIIIth (LEPSIUS, *Brief an Ehrenberg*, in the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, 1845).

[2] The earliest of these marks is dated the IIIrd year of Amenemhâît III. (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 139 *a*). We also possess marks of the years V., VII., IX., XIV., XV., XXII., XXIII., XXIV., XXX., XXXII., XXXVII., XL., XLI., XLIII. of this king (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 139 *a–p*; on the other hand, we have only one mark in the reign of his successor, Amenemhâît IV., which is dated year V. (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 152*f*).

[3] The only instances of these high-water marks which we meet with under the XIIIth dynasty belong to the reign of Sakhemkhûtoûirî Sovkhotpû, the first of his line (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions des rochers de Semnéh*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, series 1, vol. v. pp. 311-314; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 151 *a–d*); the custom of making them probably ceased when the officers of Amenemhâît III. had disappeared.

[4] *Khaisît*, the humiliated or prostrate one, is the official epithet of Ethiopia in the inscriptions. The different ways in which this word is spelt on the Egyptian monuments show us that the pronunciation must have been "Kaûshû," which later became Kûshû, Kûsh. Lepsius, who connected the Kûshites of the Nile with the races of Elam, thought (*Nubische Grammatik, Einleitung*, p. xc., et seq.) that they had arrived from Asia by the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, during the long interval which separates Papi II. from Amenemhâît I., and that they had driven back the negro tribes who occupied Nubia under the VIth dynasty towards the Upper Nile. A comparison of the names contained in the inscription of Ûni with those which we meet with on the monuments of a later period, show us that the population of the Nubian desert did not change during this lapse of time (BRUGSCH, *Die Negerstämme der Una-Inschrift*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 30, et seq.). I believe that the absence of the name of Kaûshû-Kûsh, from the texts prior to the XIIth dynasty, is due to the fact that Egypt, whose boundaries at that time stopped between Korosko and Wady Halfa, was separated from the tribes who inhabited Ethiopia by a triple rampart of Nubian nations. The country of Kaûshû begins beyond Semneh; it could not, therefore, come into constant contact with the Egyptians until after the Pharaohs had conquered the intermediate territories and peoples between Assûân and Semneh.

[5] See what has already been said as to these fabulous regions on pp. 19, 20 of the present work.

land of Pûanît; and to the west, between it and the confines of the world, lay the Timihû. Scores of tribes, white, copper-coloured, and black, bearing strange names, wrangled over the possession of this vaguely defined territory; some of them were still savage or emerging from barbarism, while others had attained to a pitch of material civilization almost comparable with that of Egypt. The same diversity of types, the same instability and the same want of intelligence which characterized the tribes of those days, still distinguish the medley of peoples who now frequent the upper valley of the Nile. They led the same sort of animal life, guided by impulse, and disturbed, owing to the caprices of their petty chiefs, by bloody wars which often issued in slavery or in emigration to distant regions. With such shifting and unstable conditions, it would be difficult to build up a permanent State. From time to time some kinglet, more daring, cunning, tenacious, or better fitted to govern than the rest, extended his dominion over his neighbours, and advanced step by step, till he united immense tracts under his single rule. As by degrees his kingdom enlarged, he made no efforts to organize it on any regular system, to introduce any uniformity in the administration of its affairs, or to gain the adherence of its incongruous elements by just laws which would be equally for the good of all: when the massacres which accompanied his first victories were over, when he had incorporated into his own army what was left of the vanquished troops, when their children were led into servitude and he had filled his treasury with their spoil and his harem with their women, it never occurred to him that there was anything more to be done. If he had acted otherwise, it would not probably have been to his advantage. Both his former and present subjects were too divergent in language and origin, too

KÛSHITE PRISONERS BROUGHT TO EGYPT.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the water-colour drawing by Mr. Blackden, in the first Memoir of the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pl. xlv.

widely separated by manners and customs, and too long in a state of hostility to each other, to draw together and to become easily welded into a single nation. As soon as the hand which held them together relaxed its hold for a moment, discord crept in everywhere, among individuals as well as among the tribes, and the empire of yesterday resolved itself into its original elements even more rapidly than it had been formed. The clash of arms which had inaugurated its brief existence died quickly away, the remembrance of its short-lived glory was lost after two or three generations in the horrors of a fresh invasion: its name vanished without leaving a trace behind. The occupation of Nubia brought Egypt into contact with this horde of incongruous peoples, and the contact soon entailed a struggle. It is futile for a civilized state to think of dwelling peacefully with any barbarous nation with which it is in close proximity. Should it decide to check its own advances, and impose limits upon itself which it shall not pass over, its moderation is mistaken for feebleness and impotence; the vanquished again take up the offensive, and either force the civilized power to retire, or compel it to cross its former boundary. The Pharaohs did not escape this inevitable consequence of conquest: their southern frontier advanced continually higher and higher up the Nile, without ever becoming fixed in a position sufficiently strong to defy the attacks of the Barbarians. Ûsirtasen I. had subdued the countries of Hahû,[1] of Khonthanûnofir,[2] and Shaad,[3] and had beaten in battle the Shemîk, the Khasa, the Sûs, the Aqîn, the Anû, the Sabiri, and the people of Akîti and Makisa.[4] Amenemhâît II.,[5] Usirtasen II.,[6] and Usirtasen III. never

[1] The country of Hahû, which produces gold (DÜMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. lxiii. 3, pl. lxxiii. 2, lxxvi. 5, etc.), belongs, therefore, to the part of the Nubian desert which extends towards the Red Sea. It is mentioned in connection with Samine by the geographical texts of the Ptolemaic period (DÜMICHEN, *Geog. Ins.*, vol. ii. pl. lxxi. 2), which enables us to localize its position between the Nile and Wady Galgabba, in the vicinity of the gold-mines of Etbaye. The inscription of the VIIIth year of Ûsirtasen III. and that of the XVIth year of the same monarch, in which the name is spelt differently, both refer to the same locality (BRUGSCH, *Geog. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 46, 47; vol. iii. pp. 61, 65).

[2] The territory of Khonthanûnofir, situated between Kûsh and Egypt (BRUGSCH, *Geog. Ins.*, vol. i. pp. 52, 53, l. ii. pp. 5, 6), seems to have extended along the right bank of the Nile, from the chain of mountains which border on the river, as far as the country of Akîti. Cf. BRUGSCH, *Die Alt ägyptische Völkertafel*, in *Verhandlungen des V^{ten} Orientalisten Congresses*, vol. ii., *Afrikanische Sektion*, pp. 57–59.

[3] Shaad possessed quarries of white limestone, from which Amenôthes II. of the XVIIIth dynasty obtained the building material required for the temple of Khnûmû at Semneh (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 67). The country bearing this name must, therefore, have been near this town (BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i. p. 45, note 2, and p. 160), on the left bank of the Nile.

[4] The positions of these tribes are not known to us; the name of Akîti, the only one which we are able to point out approximately on the map, shows us that the campaign in commemoration of which Ûsirtasen I. erected the triumphal monument of Wady Halfa (cf. pp. 484, 485 of the present work) was carried on to the eastward of the Nile, in the direction of the gold-mining district, *i.e.* of Etbaye. The date of the XLIInd year which is assigned to this monument (WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 242) was arrived at by a comparison of the statements contained in it with a passage in the inscription of Amoni-Amenemhâît at Beni-Hasan.

[5] Expedition of Sihâthor into the country of Haît, afterwards Ahît, between Korosko and Etbaye (BIRCH, *Tablets of the XIIth dynasty*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 112; BRUGSCH, *Die Biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, pp. 106, 107).

Stele of Monthotpû at Aswân (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 123 *d*), in which mention is made of "striking down enemies," who must in this instance have belonged to some of the Nubian races.

hesitated to "strike the humbled Kûsh" whenever the opportunity presented itself. The last-mentioned king in particular chastised them severely in his VIIIth,[1] XIIth,[2] XVIth,[3] and XIXth years,[4] and his victories made him so popular, that the Egyptians of the Greek period, identifying him with the Sesostris of Herodotus, attributed to him the possession of the universe.[5] On the base of a colossal statue of rose granite which he erected in the temple of Tanis, we find preserved a list of the tribes which he conquered: the names of them appear to us most outlandish—Alaka, Matakaraû, Tûrasû, Pamaîka, Uarakî, Paramakâ—and we have no clue as to their position on the map.[6] We know merely that they lived in the desert, on both sides of the Nile, in the latitude of Berber or thereabouts. Similar expeditions were sent after Ûsirtasen's time, and Amenemhâît III. regarded both banks of the Nile, between Semneh and Dongola, as forming part of the territory of Egypt proper. Little by little, and by the force of circumstances, the making of Greater Egypt was realized; she approached nearer and nearer towards the limit which had been prescribed for her by nature, to that point where the Nile receives its last tributaries, and where its peerless valley takes its origin in the convergence of many others.

The conquest of Nubia was on the whole an easy one, and so much personal advantage accrued from these wars, that the troops and generals entered on them without the least repugnance. A single fragment has come down to us which contains a detailed account of one of these campaigns, probably that conducted by Ûsirtasen III. in the XVIth year of his reign.[7] The Pharaoh had received

[1] Several of the steles at Elephantinê refer to this campaign of the VIIIth year (BIRCH, *Tablets of the XIIth dynasty*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, pp. 50, 51), also at the cataract (WILBOUR, *Canalizing the Cataract*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 202–204) and at Semneh (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 136 *i*).

[2] The campaign of the XIIth year seems to have been described at some length in a rather mutilated proscynema on the road from Aswân to Philæ (PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. xiii., No. 340).

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 186 *h*.

[4] Steles in the Museum at Geneva (MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. pp. 217–219) and in the Museum at Berlin (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, 235 *h*).

[5] The fragments of Manetho in their present state (MANETHO, UNGER'S edition, p. 118) apply the name Sesostris to Ûsirtasen II. M. de Rougé (*Deuxième Lettre à M. Alfred Maury sur le Sésostris de la XIIe dynastie de Manéthon*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. iv. pp. 485, et seq.) has shown that the passage in Manetho is more applicable to Ûsirtasen III. Moreover, we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that the Sesostris legend really belongs to Ramses II., and not to a monarch of the XIIth dynasty.

[6] Louvre A 18. This statue was wrongfully appropriated by Amenôthes III. of the XVIIIth dynasty, to whom the defeat of the races inscribed on its base was, and is still, attributed (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice des Monuments*, 1849, pp. 4, 5; BIRCH, *Historical Monument of Amenophis III. in the Louvre at Paris*, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. pp. 489–491; BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 9, and *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 401, 402). DÉVÉRIA (*Lettre à M. Auguste Mariette sur quelques monuments relatifs aux Hyksos ou antérieurs à leur domination*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 252) recognized the misappropriation, but without committing himself in regard to the original name of the king represented. WIEDEMANN (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 294, 295) is inclined to believe that it was Apopi II. The resemblance borne by the colossal head A 19 in the Louvre (which belongs to the same statue as the base A 18) to the portraits of Ûsirtasen III. leads me to believe that we ought to attribute this monument (which comes from Bubastis) to that monarch.

[7] NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pl. xxxiv. *A*, and pp. 9, 10. Naville believes that the inscription referred to the campaign of the VIIIth year, or to that of the XVIth, which are mentioned in the decrees at Semneh; cf. pp. 486, 487 of the present work.

information that the tribes of the district of Hûâ, on the Tacazze,[1] were harassing his vassals, and possibly also those Egyptians who were attracted by commerce to that neighbourhood. He resolved to set out and chastise them severely, and embarked with his fleet. It was an expedition almost entirely devoid of danger: the invaders landed only at favourable spots, carried off any of the inhabitants who came in their way, and seized on their cattle—on one occasion as many as a hundred and twenty-three oxen and eleven asses, on others less. Two small parties marched along the banks, and foraging to the right and left, drove the booty down to the river. The tactics of invasion have scarcely undergone any change in these countries; the account given by Cailliaud of the first conquest of Fazogl by Ismail-Pasha, in 1822, might well serve to complete the fragments of the inscription of Ûsirtasen III., and restore for us, almost in every detail, a faithful picture of the campaigns carried on in these regions by the kings of the XIIth dynasty.[2] The people are hunted down in the same fashion; the country is similarly ravaged by a handful of well-armed, fairly disciplined men attacking naked and disconnected hordes, the young men are massacred after a short resistance or forced to escape into the woods, the women are carried off as slaves, the huts pillaged, villages burnt, whole tribes exterminated in a few hours. Sometimes a detachment, having imprudently ventured into some thorny thicket to attack a village perched on a rocky summit, would experience a reverse, and would with great difficulty regain the main body of troops, after having lost three-fourths of its men.[3] In most cases there was no prolonged resistance, and the attacking party carried the place with the loss of merely two or three men killed or wounded. The spoil was never very considerable in any one locality, but its total amount increased as the raid was carried afield, and it soon became so bulky that the party had to stop and retrace their steps, in order to place it for safety in the nearest fortress. The booty consisted for the most part of herds of oxen and of cumbrous heaps of grain, as well as wood for building purposes. But it also comprised objects of small size but of great value, such as ivory, precious stones, and particularly gold. The natives collected the latter in the alluvial tracts watered by the Tacazze,

[1] The district of Hûâ is mentioned again under Ramses III. (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 209) along with Pûanît; it was a mountainous country, which was reached by water. Possibly we ought to place it on the banks of the Nile itself: the vicinity of Pûanît, however, indicates that it was one of the countries on the shores of the Red Sea, or one of those watered by the Atbara, rather than the regions of the Blue Nile.

[2] I refer the reader especially to the chapters in which Cailliaud tells of the raids carried out by Ismail-Pasha or by his lieutenants on the Fazogl (*Voyage à Méroé*, vol. ii. chaps. xxxvii.–xxxix., pp. 354–398), and on the Qamâmyl (*Voyage à Méroé*, chaps. xxxix.–xlii., vol. ii. p. 398, et seq., and vol. iii. pp. 1–56).

[3] See Cailliaud (*Voyage à Méroé*, vol. ii. pp. 376–378) for an account of the attack made on Ismail's camp by the negroes of Mount Taby, and the panic which ensued. We know that Ismail Pasha himself was surprised and burnt in his house at Shendy, in 1822 (*id.*, vol. iii. pp. 336, 337), by Melek Nimr and a band of rebels.

the Blue Nile and its tributaries. The women were employed in searching for nuggets, which were often of considerable size; they enclosed them in little leather cases, and offered them to the merchants in exchange for products of Egyptian industry, or they handed them over to the goldsmiths to be made into bracelets, ear, nose, or finger rings, of fairly fine workmanship. Gold was found in combination with several other metals, from which they did not know how to separate it: the purest gold had a pale yellow tint, which was valued above all others, but electrum, that is to say, gold alloyed with silver in the proportion of eighty per cent., was also much in demand, while greyish-coloured gold, mixed with platinum, served for making common jewellery.[1] None of these expeditions produced any lasting results, and the Pharaohs established no colonies in any of these countries. Their Egyptian subjects could not have lived there for any length of time without deteriorating by intermarriage with the natives or from the effects of the climate; they would have degenerated into a half-bred race, having all the vices and none of the good qualities of the aborigines. The Pharaohs, therefore, continued their hostilities without further scruples, and only sought to gain as much as possible from their victories. They cared little if nothing remained after they had passed through some district, or if the passage of their armies was marked only by ruins. They seized upon everything which came across their path—men, chattels, or animals—and carried them back to Egypt; they recklessly destroyed everything for which they had no use, and made a desert of fertile districts which but yesterday had been covered with crops and studded with populous villages. The neighbouring inhabitants, realizing their incapacity to resist regular troops, endeavoured to buy off the invaders by yielding up all they possessed in the way of slaves, flocks, wood, or precious metals. The generals in command, however, had to reckon with the approaching low Nile, which forced them to beat a retreat; they were obliged to halt at the first appearance of it, and they turned homewards "in peace," their only anxiety being to lose the smallest possible number of men or captured animals on their return journey.

As in earlier times, adventurous merchants penetrated into districts not reached by the troops, and prepared the way for conquest. The princes of Elephantinê still sent caravans to distant parts, and one of them, Siranpîtû, who lived under Ûsirtasen I. and Amenemhâît II., recorded his explorations on his tomb, after the fashion of his ancestors:[2] the king at several different

[1] Cailliaud has briefly described the auriferous sand of the Qamâmyl, and the way in which it is worked (*Voyage à Méroé*, vol. iii. pp. 16–19): it is from him that I have borrowed the details given in the text. From analyses which I caused to be made at the Bûlaq Museum of Egyptian jewellery of the time of the XVIIIth dynasty, which had been broken and were without value, from an archæological or artistic point of view, I have demonstrated the presence of the platinum and silver mentioned by Cailliaud as being found in the nuggets from the Blue Nile.

[2] According to the inscription on the tomb which he hollowed out for himself in the mountain opposite Elephantinê.

times had sent him on expeditions to the Soudan, but the inscription in which he gives an account of them is so mutilated, that we cannot be sure which tribes he visited. We learn merely that he collected from them skins, ivory, ostrich feathers—everything, in fact, which Central Africa has furnished as articles of commerce from time immemorial.[1] It was not, however, by land only that Egyptian merchants travelled to seek fortune in foreign countries: the Red Sea attracted them, and served as a quick route for reaching the land of Pûanît, whose treasures in perfumes and rarities of all kinds had formed the theme of ancient traditions and navigators' tales.[2] Relations with it had been infrequent, or had ceased altogether, during the wars of the Heracleopolitan period: on their renewal it was necessary to open up afresh routes which had been forgotten for centuries. Traffic was confined almost entirely to two or three out of the many,—one which ran from Elephantinê or from Nekhabît to the "Head of Nekhabît," the Berenicê of the Greeks;[3] others which started from Thebes or Koptos, and struck the coast at the same place or at Saû, the present Kosseir.[4] The latter, which was the shortest as well as the favourite route, passed through Wady Hammamât, from whence the Pharaohs drew the blocks of granite for their sarcophagi. The officers who were sent to quarry the stone often took advantage of the opportunity to visit the coast, and to penetrate as far as the Spice Regions. As early as the year VIII. of Sônkherî, the predecessor of Amenemhâît I., the "sole friend" Hûnû had been sent by this road, "in order to take the command of a squadron to Pûanît, and to collect a tribute of fresh incense from the princes of the desert." He got together three thousand men, distributed to each one a goatskin bottle, a crook for carrying it, and ten loaves, and set out from Koptos with this little army. No water was met with on the way: Hûnû bored several wells and cisterns in the rock, one at a halting-place called Baît, two in the district of Adahaît, and finally one in the valleys of Adabehaît. Having reached the seaboard, he quickly constructed a great barge, freighted it with merchandise for barter, as well as with provisions, oxen, cows, and goats, and set sail for a cruise along the coast: it is not known how

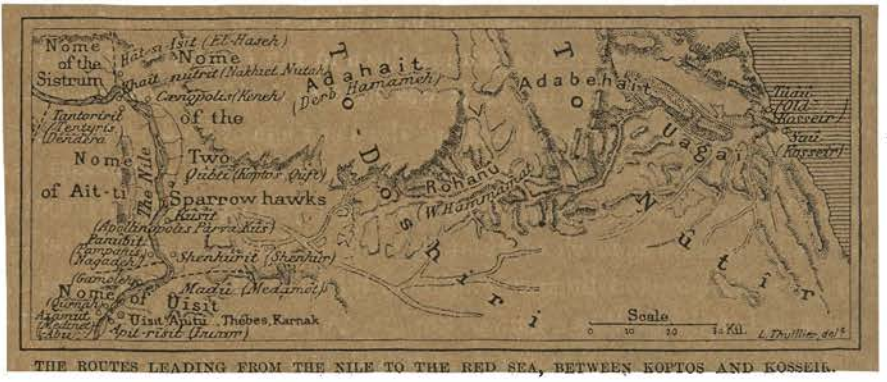
[1] In the inscription ivory is called *ûapîrû, ûapûrû*, which seems to be the original form of the Latin *ebur*, through the intermediate form *abûrû*.

[2] As to these voyages on the Red Sea, in the time of the VIth dynasty, *vide* pp. 396, 397, and 434 of the present work.

[3] Tap-Nekhabît, the *Head*, or Cape of Nekhabît, has been identified by BRUGSCH (*Die Ægyptische Völkertafel*, in the *Verhandlungen des V[ten] Orientalisten-Congresses*, vol. ii., *Afrikanische Sektion*, p. 62) with a cape situated near Berenicê: it is the name of the village which the Greeks called Berenicê. The routes from Koptos to Berenicê and from Berenicê to Elephantinê were last explored by GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Une Excursion à Bérénice*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii. pp. 75-96.

[4] Brugsch, who was the first to obtain a clear understanding of this part of Egyptian geography, places Saû, Saûû, in the neighbourhood of Myos-Hormos (*Die Ægyptische Völkertafel*, pp. 35, 59, 64), in the direction of Wady Gasûs: the position of this locality seems to me to correspond with that of the ancient Kosseir.

far he went, but he came back with a large cargo of all the products of the "Divine Land," especially of incense. On his return, he struck off into the Ûagai valley, and thence reached that of Rohanû, where he chose out splendid blocks of stone for a temple which the king was building: "Never had 'Royal Cousin' sent on an expedition done as much since the time of the god Râ!"[1] Numbers of royal officers and adventurers followed in his footsteps, but no record of them has been preserved for us. Two or three names only have escaped oblivion—that of Khnûmhotpû, who in the first year of Ûsirtasen I. erected a stele in the Wady Gasûs in the very heart of the "Divine Land;"



THE ROUTES LEADING FROM THE NILE TO THE RED SEA, BETWEEN KOPTOS AND KOSSEIR.

and that of Khentkhîtioîrû, who in the XXVIIIth year of Amenemhâît II. entered the haven of Saû after a fortunate cruise to Pûanît, without having lost a vessel or even a single man.[2] Navigation is difficult in the Red Sea. The coast as a rule is precipitous, bristling with reefs and islets, and almost entirely without strand or haven. No river or stream runs into it; it is bordered by no fertile or wooded tract, but by high cliffs, half disintegrated by the burning sun, or by steep mountains, which appear sometimes a dull red, sometimes a dingy grey colour, according to the material—granite or sandstone—which predominates in their composition. The few tribes who inhabit this desolate region maintain a miserable existence by fishing and hunting: they were considered, during the Greek period, to be the most unfortunate of mortals, and if they appeared to be so to the mariners of the Ptolemies, doubtless they

[1] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 150 *a*; GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Résultats épigraphiques d'une excursion à l'Ouady Hammamat*, pls. xv.–xvii. The text has been translated into French by CHABAS, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 56–63; into German by BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 110–113; and by LIEBLEIN, *Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere in alten Zeiten, nach ägyptischen Quellen;* into Russian by GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Résultats épigraphiques*, pp. 9–11; into Italian by SCHIAPARELLI, *La Catena Orientale dell' Egitto*, pp. 98–100.

[2] Stelæ brought back by Wilkinson and preserved at Alnwick Castle (WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 253; BIRCH, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, p. 276, et seq., pls. iii., iv.; BRUGSCH, *Die Altägyptische Völkertafel*, in the *Abhandlungen des Vten Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, vol. ii., *Afrikanische Sektion*, pp. 54, 55, 68; ERMAN, *Stelen aus Uâdi Gasûs bei Qosêr*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 203–205; and in SCHWEINFURTH, *Alte Baureste und Hieroglyphische Inschriften im Uâdi Gasûs*, p. 11, note 2).

enjoyed the same reputation in the more remote time of the Pharaohs. A few fishing villages, however, are mentioned as scattered along the littoral; watering-places, at some distance apart, frequented on account of their wells of brackish water by the desert tribes: such were Nahasît,[1] Tap-Nekhabît, Saû, and Tâû: these the Egyptian merchant-vessels used as victualling stations, and took away as cargo the products of the country—mother-of-pearl, amethysts, emeralds, a little lapis-lazuli, a little gold, gums, and sweet-smelling resins. If the weather was favourable, and the intake of merchandise had been scanty, the vessel, braving numerous risks of shipwreck, continued its course as far as the latitude of Sûakîn and Massowah, which was the beginning of Pûanît properly so called. Here riches poured down to the coast from the interior, and selection became a difficulty: it was hard to decide which would make the best cargo, ivory or ebony, panthers' skins or rings of gold, myrrh, incense, or a score of other sweet-smelling gums. So many of these odoriferous resins were used for religious purposes, that it was always to the advantage of the merchant to procure as much of them as possible: incense, fresh or dried, was the staple and characteristic merchandise of the Red Sea, and the good people of Egypt pictured Pûanît as a land of perfumes, which attracted the sailor from afar by the delicious odours which were wafted from it.[2]

These voyages were dangerous and trying: popular imagination seized upon them and made material out of them for marvellous tales. The hero chosen was always a daring adventurer sent by his master to collect gold from the mines of Nubia; by sailing further and further up the river, he reached the mysterious sea which forms the southern boundary of the world.[3] "I set sail in a vessel one hundred and fifty cubits long, forty wide, with one hundred and fifty of the best sailors in the land of Egypt, who had seen heaven and earth, and whose hearts were more resolute than those of lions. They had foretold that the wind would not be contrary, or that there would be even none at all; but a squall came upon us unexpectedly while we were in the open, and as we

[1] Brugsch suggests very felicitously that Nahasît may be identical with Ptolemy's Nechesia (*Ægyptische Völkertafel*, p. 64): some writers wish to locate it at Mersa Zebara, others at Mersa Mûmbara, but there seems to be no sufficient reason for preferring either of these localities to the other.

[2] The trade of the Egyptians with Pûanît and their voyages in the Red Sea have provided material for several monographs: MASPERO, *De quelques navigations des Égyptiens sur les côtes de la Mer Erythrée* (extracted from the *Revue Historique*, 1879, vol. ix.); LIEBLEIN, *Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere in alten Zeiten, nach ägyptischen Quellen*, 1886; KRALL, *Das Land Punt*, 1890 (extracted from the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Viennese Academy of Sciences, vol. xxxi. pp. 1–82); SCHIAPARELLI, *La Catena Orientale dell' Egitto*, 1890.

[3] The manuscript of this story, which dates back at least as far as the end of the XIIth dynasty or the beginning of the XIIIth, was discovered and translated by GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Sur un Ancien Conte Égyptien, Notice lue au Congrès des Orientalistes à Berlin*, 1881 (and in the *Verhandlungen des V^{ten} Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, vol. ii., *Afrikanische Sektion*, pp. 100–122): Golénischeff's translation has been reproduced with slight modifications by MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 131–146, and lxxxviii.–xcviii. The hieratic text of the romance has not yet been published.

approached the land, the wind freshened and raised the waves to the height of eight cubits. As for me, I clung to a beam, but those who were on the vessel perished without one escaping. A wave of the sea cast me on to an island, after having spent three days alone with no other companion than my own heart. I slept there in the shade of a thicket; then I set my legs in motion in quest of something for my mouth." The island produced a quantity of delicious fruit: he satisfied his hunger with it, lighted a fire to offer a sacrifice to the gods, and immediately, by the magical power of the sacred rites, the inhabitants, who up to this time had been invisible, were revealed to his eyes. "I heard a sound like that of thunder, which I at first took to be the noise of the flood-tide in the open sea; but the trees quivered, the earth trembled. I uncovered my face, and I perceived that it was a serpent which was approaching. He was thirty cubits in length, and his wattles exceeded two cubits; his body was incrusted with gold, and his colour appeared like that of real lapis. He raised himself before me and opened his mouth; while I prostrated myself before him, he said to me: 'Who hath brought thee, who hath brought thee, little one, who hath brought thee? If thou dost not tell me immediately who brought thee to this island, I will cause thee to know thy littleness: either thou shalt faint like a woman, or thou shalt tell me something which I have not yet heard, and which I knew not before thee.' Then he took me into his mouth and carried me to his dwelling-place, and put me down without hurting me; I was safe and sound, and nothing had been taken from me." Our hero tells the serpent the story of his shipwreck, which moves him to pity and induces him to reciprocate his confidence. "Fear nothing, fear nothing, little one, let not thy countenance be sad! If thou hast come to me, it is the god who has spared thy life; it is he who has brought thee into this 'Isle of the Double,'[1] where nothing is lacking, and which is filled with all good things. Here thou shalt pass one month after another till thou hast remained four months in this island, then shall come a vessel from thy country with mariners; thou canst depart with them to thy country, and thou shalt die in thy city. To converse rejoices the heart, he who enjoys conversation bears misfortune better; I will therefore relate to thee the history of this island." The population consisted of seventy-five serpents, all of one family: it formerly comprised also a young girl, whom a succession of misfortunes had cast on the island, and who was killed by lightning. The hero, charmed with such good nature, overwhelmed the hospitable dragon with thanks, and promised to send him numerous presents on his return home. "I will slay asses for thee in

[1] As to the "Isle of the Double," and the singular manner in which the author of the story has arranged the route taken by his hero, cf. what has been said above on pp. 19, 20 of the present work.

sacrifice, I will pluck birds for thee, I will send to thee vessels filled with all the riches of Egypt, meet for a god, the friend of man in a distant country unknown to men." The monster smiled, and replied that it was needless to think of sending presents to one who was the ruler of Pûanît; besides, "as soon as thou hast quitted this place, thou wilt never again see this island, for it will be changed into waves."—"And then, when the vessel appeared, according as he had predicted to me, I went and perched upon a high tree and sought to distinguish those who manned it. I next ran to tell him the news, but I found that he was already informed of its arrival, and he said to me: 'A pleasant journey home, little one; mayst thou behold thy children again, and may thy name be well spoken of in thy town; such are my wishes for thee!' He added gifts to these obliging words. I placed all these on board the vessel which had come, and prostrating myself, I adored him. He said to me: 'After two months thou shalt reach thy country, thou wilt press thy children to thy bosom, and thou shalt rest in thy sepulchre.' After that I descended the shore to the vessel, and I hailed the sailors who were in it. I gave thanks on the shore to the master of the island, as well as to those who dwelt in it." This might almost be an episode in the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor; except that the monsters which Sindbad met with in the course of his travels were not of such a kindly disposition as the Egyptian serpent: it did not occur to them to console the shipwrecked with the charm of a lengthy gossip, but they swallowed them with a healthy appetite. Putting aside entirely the marvellous element in the story, what strikes us is the frequency of the relations which it points to between Egypt and Pûanît. The appearance of an Egyptian vessel excites no astonishment on its coasts: the inhabitants have already seen many such, and at such regular intervals, that they are able to predict the exact date of their arrival. The distance between the two countries, it is true, was not considerable, and a voyage of two months was sufficient to accomplish it.

While the new Egypt was expanding outwards in all directions, the old country did not cease to add to its riches. The two centuries during which the XIIth dynasty continued to rule were a period of profound peace; the monuments show us the country in full possession of all its resources and its arts, and its inhabitants both cheerful and contented. More than ever do the great lords and royal officers expatiate in their epitaphs upon the strict justice which they have rendered to their vassals and subordinates, upon the kindness which they have shown to the fellahîn, on the paternal solicitude with which, in the years of insufficient inundations or of bad harvests, they have striven to come forward and assist them, and upon the unheard-of

disinterestedness which kept them from raising the taxes during the times of average Niles, or of unusual plenty.[1] Gifts to the gods poured in from one end of the country to the other, and the great building works, which had been at a standstill since the end of the VIth dynasty, were recommenced simultaneously on all sides. There was much to be done in the way of repairing the ruins, of which the number had accumulated during the two preceding centuries. Not that the most audacious kings had ventured to lay their hands on the sanctuaries: they emptied the sacred treasuries, and partially confiscated their revenues, but when once their cupidity was satisfied, they respected the fabrics, and even went so far as to restore a few inscriptions, or, when needed, to replace a few stones. These magnificent buildings required careful supervision: in spite of their being constructed of the most durable materials—sandstone, granite, limestone,—in spite of their enormous size, or of the strengthening of their foundations by a bed of sand and by three or four courses of carefully adjusted blocks to form a substructure,[2] the Nile was ever threatening them, and secretly working at their destruction. Its waters, filtering through the soil, were perpetually in contact with the lower courses of these buildings, and kept the foundations of the walls and the bases of the columns constantly damp: the saltpetre which the waters had dissolved in their passage, crystallising on the limestone, would corrode and undermine everything, if precautions were not taken. When the inundation was over, the subsidence of the water which impregnated the subsoil caused in course of time settlements in the most solid foundations: the walls, disturbed by the unequal sinking of the ground, got out of the perpendicular and cracked; this shifting displaced the architraves which held the columns together, and the stone slabs which formed the roof. These disturbances, aggravated from year to year, were sufficient, if not at once remedied, to entail the fall of the portions attacked; in addition to this, the Nile, having threatened the part below with destruction, often hastened by direct attacks the work of ruin, which otherwise proceeded slowly. A breach in the embankments protecting the town or the temple allowed its waters to rush violently through, and thus to effect large gaps in the decaying walls, completing the overthrow of the columns and wrecking the entrance halls and secret chambers by the fall of the roofs.[3] At the time when Egypt came under the rule of the XIIth dynasty there were but few cities which did not contain some ruined or dilapidated sanctuary. Amenemhâît I., although fully

[1] Inscription of the Prince of the Gazelle nome, Amoni-Amenemhâît (ll. 17–21), at Beni-Hasan; cf. MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 173, 174.

[2] MASPERO, *Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 47.

[3] King Smendes of the XXIst dynasty, in telling of the works carried out by him in the temple at Karnak, explains that a stream of water had undermined and destroyed a part of the sanctuary in this way (DARESSY, *Les Carrières de Gebelein et le roi Smendès*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. pp. 136, 137: MASPERO, *A Stele of King Smendes*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 20, 23).

occupied in reducing the power of the feudal lords, restored the temples as far as he was able, and his successors pushed forward the work vigorously for nearly two centuries.

The Delta profited greatly by this activity in building. The monuments there had suffered more than anywhere else: fated to bear the first shock of foreign invasion, and transformed into fortresses while the towns in which they were situated were besieged, they have been captured again and again by assault, broken down by attacking engines, and dismantled by all the conquerors of Egypt, from the Assyrians to the Arabs and the Turks. The fellahîn in their neighbourhood have for centuries come to them to obtain limestone to burn in their kilns, or to use them as a quarry for sandstone or granite for the doorways of their houses, or for the thresholds of their mosques. Not only have they been ruined, but the remains of their ruins have, as it were, melted away and almost entirely disappeared in the course of ages. And yet, wherever excavations have been made among these remains which have suffered such deplorable ill-treatment, colossi and inscriptions commemorating the Pharaohs of the XIIth dynasty have been brought to light. Amenemhâît I. founded a great temple at Tanis in honour of the gods of Memphis:[1] the vestiges of the columns still scattered on all sides show that the main body of the building was of rose granite, and a statue of the same material has preserved for us a portrait of the king. He is seated, and wears the tall head-dress of Osiris. He has a large smiling face, thick lips, a short nose, and big staring eyes: the expression is one of benevolence and gentleness, rather than of the energy and firmness which one would expect in the founder of a dynasty.[2] The kings who were his successors all considered it a privilege to embellish the temple and to place in it some memorial of their veneration for the god. Ûsirtasen I., following the example of his father, set up a statue of himself in the form of Osiris: he is sitting on his throne of grey granite, and his placid face unmistakably recalls that of Amenemhâît I.[3] Amenemhâît II.,[4]

[1] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Cours du Collège de France*, 1869; PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. p. 5.

[2] MARIETTE, *Deuxième Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, p. 1, and *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1864, p. 260, No. 1; PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. pp. 4, 5, and pl. xiii. 1; A. B. EDWARDS, in *Harper's New Monthly*, 1886, p. 716, et seq. The statue was usurped by Minephtah.

[3] MARIETTE, *Deuxième Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé*, pp. 2, 3, and *Notice des principaux Monuments*; LEPSIUS, *Entdeckung eines bilinguen Dekretes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 33; PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. p. 5, and pl. xiii. 2; A. B. EDWARDS, in *Harper's New Monthly*, 1886, p. 719. The fellow statue to this one, which was brought to Europe by Drovetti at the beginning of the century, is now in the Berlin Museum (*Verzeichniss der Ægyptischen Altertümer*, p. 75, No. 371); the monument, after having first been usurped by Amenemhâît II., was usurped a second time by Minephtah (LEPSIUS, *Sur les deux Statues colossales de la Collection Drovetti qui se trouvent actuellement au Musée Royal de Berlin*, p. 4, et seq.; extracted from the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique*, 1838).

[4] PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. pp. 5, 6, and pl. xiii. 3, 4. Mr. Griffith (*Tanis*, ii. p. 16) thinks with Mariette (*Notice des principaux Monuments*, p. 261, No. 3) that this statue is identical with that which was published in a more complete form in BURTON'S *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xl. 5, and that it is intended for Ûsirtasen I.

Ûsirtasen II.,[1] and his wife Nofrît have also dedicated their images within the sanctuary. Nofrît's is of black granite: her head is almost eclipsed by the heavy Hâthor wig, consisting of two enormous tresses of hair which surround the cheeks, and lie with an outward curve upon the breast; her eyes, which were formerly inlaid, have fallen out, the bronze eyelids are lost, her arms have almost disappeared. What remains of her, however, gives us none the less the impression of a young and graceful woman, with a lithe and well-proportioned body, whose outlines are delicately modelled under the tight-fitting smock worn by Egyptian women; the small and rounded breasts curve outward between the extremities of her curls and the embroidered hem of her garment; and a pectoral bearing the name of her husband lies flat upon her chest, just below the column of her throat.[2] These various statues have all an evident artistic relationship to the beautiful granite figures of the Ancient Empire. The sculptors who executed them belonged to the same school as those who carved Khephren out of the solid diorite: there is the same facile use of the chisel, the same indifference to the difficulties presented by the material chosen, the same finish in the detail, the same knowledge of the human form. One is almost tempted to believe that Egyptian art remained unchanged all through those long centuries, and yet as soon as a statue of the early period is placed side by side with one of the XIIth dynasty, we immediately perceive something in the one which is lacking in the other. It is a difference in feeling, even if the technique remains unmodified. It was the man himself that the sculptors desired to represent in the older Pharaohs, and however haughty may be the countenance which we

THE STATUE OF NOFRÎT.[3]

[1] PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. p. 6.

[2] MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, p. 261, No. 4; BANVILLE-ROUGÉ, *Album photographique de la Mission de M. de Rougé*, No. 113; BRUGSCH, *An der Herausgeber*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 124, 125; PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. p. 6.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Insinger. In addition to the complete statue, the Museum at Gîzeh possesses a torso from the same source. I believe I can recognize another portrait of the same queen in a beautiful statue in black granite, which has been in the Museum at Marseilles since the beginning of the present century (MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée égyptien de Marseille*, No. 6, pp. 5, 6).

admire in the Khephren, it is the human element which predominates in him. The statues of Amenemhâît I. and his successors appear, on the contrary, to represent a supêrior race: at the time when these were produced, the Pharaoh had long been regarded as a god, and the divine nature in him had almost eliminated the human. Whether intentionally or otherwise, the sculptors idealized their model, and made him more and more resemble the type of the divinities. The head always appears to be a good likeness, but smoothed down and sometimes lacking in expression. Not only are the marks of age rendered less apparent, and the features made to bear the stamp of perpetual youth, but the characteristics of the individual, such as the accentuation of the eyebrows, the protuberance of the cheek-bones, the projection of the under lip, are all softened down as if intentionally, and made to give way to a uniform expression of majestic tranquillity. One king only, Amenemhâît III., refused to go down to posterity thus effaced, and caused his portrait to be taken as he really was. He has certainly the round full face of Amenemhâît or of Ûsirtasen I., and there is an undeniable family likeness between him and his ancestors; but at the first glance we feel sure that the artist has not in any way flattered his model. The forehead is low and slightly retreating, narrow across the temples; his nose is aquiline, pronounced in form, and large at the tip; the thick lips are slightly closed; his mouth has a disdainful curve, and its corners are turned down as if to repress the inevitable smile common to most Egyptian statues; the chin is full and heavy, and turns up in front in spite of the weight of the false beard dependent from it; he has small narrow eyes, with full lids; his cheek-bones are accentuated and projecting, the cheeks hollow, and the muscles about the nose and mouth strongly defined. The whole presents so strange an aspect, that for a long time statues of this type have been persistently looked upon as productions of an art which was only partially Egyptian. It is, indeed, possible that the Tanis sphinxes were turned out of workshops where the principles and practice of the sculptor's art had previously undergone some Asiatic influence; the bushy mane which surrounds the face, and the lion's ears emerging from it, are exclusively characteristic of the latter. The purely human statues in which we meet with the same type of countenance have no peculiarity of workmanship which could be attributed to the imitation of a foreign art.[1] If the nameless masters to whom we owe their existence desired

[1] The first monuments of this type were discovered in 1860 at Tanis, by Mariette, who thought he recognized a foreign influence in them, and attributed them to the shepherd-kings, more especially to the last Apopi, whose cartouches are engraved on the shoulder of several statues and of several sphinxes (MARIETTE, *Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, pp. 8–15; and *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1864, p. 233, No. 11, and p. 264, Nos. 11–13). The hypothesis generally adopted, in spite of some doubts raised by M. de Rougé in a note which he added to Mariette's letter, was disputed by Maspero (*Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 64, 65, No. 107), who attributed these figures to the local school at Tanis, and declared that they belonged to one of the dynasties previous to the shepherds (*Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 216, 217). M. Golénischeff has shown that

to bring about a reaction against the conventional technique of their contemporaries, they at least introduced no foreign innovations; the monuments of the Memphite period furnished them with all the models they could possibly wish for.

Bubastis had no less occasion than Tanis to boast of the generosity of the Theban Pharaohs. The temple of Bastît, which had been decorated by Kheops and Khephren, was still in existence:[1] Amenemhâît I., Ûsirtasen I., and their immediate successors confined themselves to the restoration of several chambers, and to the erection of their own statues,[2] but Ûsirtasen III. added to it a new structure which must have made it rival the finest monuments in Egypt. He believed, no doubt, that he was under particular obligations to the lioness goddess of the city, and attributed to her aid, for unknown reasons, some of his successes in Nubia; it would appear that it was with the spoil of a campaign against the country of the Hûâ that he endowed a part of the new sanctuary.[4] Nothing now remains of it except fragments of the architraves and granite columns, which have been used over again by Pharaohs of a later period when restoring or altering the fabric. A few of the columns belong to the lotiform type. The shaft is

ONE OF THE TANIS SPHINXES IN THE GÎZEH MUSEUM.[3]

they are intended for the Pharaoh Amenemhâît III. (*Amenemha III. et les Sphinx de San*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 131–136).

[1] As to the remains of the constructions of Kheops and Khephren at Bubastis, discovered by NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pp. 3, 5, 6, 10, and pls. viii., xxxii. *a–b*, cf. pp. 364, 371 of the present work.

[2] Inscription of Amenemhâît I., on the erection of one of his statues to "his mother Bastît" and the restoration of a door (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, p. 8, and pl. xxxiii. *a*); remains of a procession of Nile-gods, the first example known, which was consecrated by Ûsirtasen I. (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pp. 8, 9, and pl. xxxiv. *D*, *E*).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1881 (cf. BANVILLE-ROUGÉ, *Album photographique de la Mission de M. de Rougé*, Nos. 120–122). The sphinx bears on its breast the cartouche of Psiûkhânû, a Tanite Pharaoh of the XXIst dynasty.

[4] The fragment found by Naville (*Bubastis*, pp. 9–11, and pl. xxxiv. *A*) formed part of an inscription engraved on a wall: the wars which it was customary to commemorate in a temple were always selected from those in which the whole or a part of the booty had been consecrated to the use of the local divinity

composed of eight triangular stalks rising from a bunch of leaves, symmetrically arranged, and bound together at the top by a riband, twisted thrice round the bundle; the capital is formed by the union of the eight lotus buds, surmounted by a square member on which rests the architrave. Other columns have Hâthor-headed capitals, the heads being set back to back, and bearing the flat head-dress ornamented with the uræus. The face of the goddess, which is somewhat flattened when seen closely on the eye-level, stands out and becomes more lifelike in proportion as the spectator recedes from it; the projection of the features has been calculated so as to produce the desired effect at the right height when seen from below.[1] The district lying between Tanis and Bubastis is thickly studded with monuments built or embellished by the Amenemhâîts and Ûsirtasens: wherever the pickaxe is applied, whether at Fakus[2] or Tell-Nebêsheh,[3] remains of them are brought to light—statues, stelæ, tables of offerings, and fragments of dedicatory or historical inscriptions. While carrying on works in the temple of Phtah at Memphis,[4] the attention of these Pharaohs was attracted to Heliopolis. The temple of Râ there was either insufficient for the exigencies of worship, or had been allowed to fall into decay. Ûsirtasen III. resolved, in the third year of his reign, to undertake its restoration.[5] The occasion appears to have been celebrated as a festival by all Egypt, and the remembrance of it lasted long after the event: the somewhat detailed account of the ceremonies which then took place was copied out again at Thebes, towards the end of the XVIIIth dynasty.[6] It describes the king mounting his throne at the meeting of his council, and receiving, as was customary, the eulogies of his "sole friends" and of the courtiers who surrounded him: "Here," says he, addressing them, "has my Majesty ordained the works

[1] All of these monuments were discovered by Naville, and published in his *Bubastis*, pp. 9–14, and pls. v., vi., vii., ix., xxiii. *A*, xxiv. *B*, xxxiii. *B–F*, xxxiv. *B–E*.

[2] At Tell Qirqafah, a gate built of granite by Amenemhâît I., restored by Ûsirtasen III.; at Tell Abû-Felûs, a statuette in black granite of Queen Sonît; at Dahdamûn, a table of offerings inscribed in the name of Amenemhâît II. (MASPERO, *Notes sur différent points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § lxxv., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1885, pp. 11–13; NAVILLE, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el-Henneh*, p. 22, and pl. ix. *A–B*). All these localities are grouped within a somewhat restricted radius round Fakûs.

[3] A table of offerings inscribed in the name of Amenemhâît II. (PETRIE, *Nebesheh*, pl. ix. 1); seated statue of Ûsirtasen III. (*id.*, pl. ix. 2 *a–b*, and p. 13).

[4] A table of offerings inscribed in the name of Amenemhâît III., discovered at Qom el-Qalâa, on the ancient site of Memphis (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. xxxiv. *f*); block of Ûsirtasen II. (*id.*, pl. xxvii. *a*).

[5] The leather manuscript, which has preserved an account of these events, is in the Berlin Museum. It was discovered and published by L. STERN, *Urkunde über den Bau des Sonnentempels zu On* (in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, pp. 85–96), who believed that he was able to prove from it the simultaneous presence of Amenemhâît I. and Ûsirtasen I. As a matter of fact, Ûsirtasen I. alone is mentioned, and he alone presides over the ceremonies, as was his custom (cf. pp. 465–467 of the present work), although the date (year III.) makes the rebuilding of the temple fall within the time during which he shared the throne with his father.

[6] The manuscript contains an account dated in the Vth year of Amenôthes IV. (STERN, *Urkunde*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 86). We read in a Papyrus at Berlin (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, vi. 121 *c*, ll. 17, 18) a mystic formula, engraved, so the story goes, on the wall of the temple of Ûsirtasen I. at Heliopolis (MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, § ix., in the *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 83).

which shall recall my worthy and noble acts to posterity. I raise a monument, I establish lasting decrees in favour of Harmakhis, for he has brought me into the world to do as he did, to accomplish that which he decreed should be done; he has appointed me to guide this earth, he has known it, he has called it together and he has granted me his help; I have caused the Eye which is in him to become serene,[1] in all things acting as he would have me to do, and I have sought out that which he had resolved should be known. I am a king by birth, a suzerain not of my own making; I have governed from childhood, petitions have been presented to me when I was in the egg, I have ruled over the ways of Anubis,[2] and he raised me up to be master of the two halves of the world, from the time when I was a nursling; I had not yet escaped from the swaddling-bands when he enthroned me as master of men; creating me himself in the sight of mortals, he made me to find favour with the Dweller in the Palace,[3] when I was a youth[4] . . . I came forth as Horus the eloquent,[5] and I have instituted divine oblations; I accomplish the works in the palace of my father Atûmû, I supply his altar on earth with offerings, I lay the foundations of my palace in his neighbourhood, in order that the memorial of my goodness may remain in his dwelling; for this palace is my name, this lake is my monument, all that is famous or useful that I have made for the gods is eternity."[6] The great lords testified their approbation of the king's piety; the latter summoned his chancellor and commanded him to draw up the deeds of gift and all the documents necessary for the carrying out of his wishes. "He arose, adorned with the royal circlet and with the double feather, followed by all his nobles; the chief lector of the divine book stretched the cord and fixed the stake in the ground."[7] This temple has ceased to exist; but one of the granite obelisks raised by Ûsirtasen I. on each side of the principal gateway is still standing. The whole of Heliopolis has disappeared: the site where it formerly stood

[1] The god of Heliopolis being the Sun (cf. p. 135, et seq., of the present work), "the Eye which is in him" is the solar disk, considered as the Eye of Râ; the king, by his promptness in complying with the wishes of the divinity, had brightened "the Eye which is in it;" in other words, he had increased the light of the Eye, which would probably have been obscured or even extinguished by disobedience, as in the case of the revolt of Apopi or of Sît.

[2] Anubis, the jackal, is *Ûapûaîtû*, the "Guide of the roads" of the South and North, followed by the sun in his journey round the world: in stating that he has "ruled over the ways of Anubis," the king proclaims himself master of the regions traversed by the sun, *i.e.* of the whole world.

[3] The "dweller in the palace" is Pharaoh, in this case Amenemhâît I.; it was with the consent of Tûmû, the god of Heliopolis, that Amenemhâît I. chose Ûsirtasen I., while still a youth, from among his other children, in order that he might be king and rule over the whole of Egypt in concert with himself.

[4] STERN, *Urkunde über den Bau des Sonnentempels zu On*, pl. i. ll. 4–12.

[5] *Horû api nasît;* literally, "Horus who judges with the tongue," who pleads and expatiates on the merits of his father before the tribunal of the gods. Ûsirtasen I., having pleaded the cause of the god before Amenemhâît I. (cf. p. 466 of the present work), as Horus had done for Osiris, obtained from his father everything that was necessary to rebuild and endow the temple of Heliopolis.

[6] STERN, *Urkunde über den Bau des Sonnentempels zu On*, pl. i. ll. 14–17.

[7] STERN, *Urkunde über den Bau des Sonnentempels zu On*, pl. i. ll. 13–15. The priest here performed with the king the more important of the ceremonies necessary in measuring the area of the temple, by "inserting the measuring stakes," and marking out the four sides of the building with the cord.

is now marked only by a few almost imperceptible inequalities in the soil, some crumbling lengths of walls, and here and there some scattered blocks of limestone, containing a few lines of mutilated inscriptions which can with difficulty be deciphered; the obelisk has survived even the destruction of the ruins, and to all who understand its language it still speaks of the Pharaoh who erected it.[1]

The undertaking and successful completion of so many great structures had necessitated a renewal of the working of the ancient quarries, and the opening of fresh ones. Amenemhâît I. sent Antuf, a great dignitary, chief of the prophets of Mînû and prince of Koptos, to the valley of Rohanû, to seek out fine granite for making the royal sarcophagi.[2] Amenemhâît III. had, in the XLIIIrd year of his reign, been present at the opening of several fine veins of white limestone in the quarries of Turâh, which probably furnished material for the buildings proceeding at Heliopolis and Memphis.[3] Thebes had also its share of both limestone and granite, and Amon, whose sanctuary up to this time had only attained the modest proportions suited to a provincial god, at last possessed a temple which raised him to the rank of the highest feudal divinities. Amon's career had begun under difficulties: he had been merely a vassal-god of Montû, lord of Hermonthis (the Aûnû of the south), who had granted to him the ownership of the village of Karnak only. The unforeseen good fortune of the Antufs was the occasion of his emerging from his obscurity: he did not dethrone Montû, but shared with him the homage of all the neighbouring villages—Luxor, Medamut, Bayadîyeh; and, on the other side of the Nile, Gurneh and Medînet-Habu. The accession of the XIIth dynasty completed his triumph, and made him the most powerful authority in Southern Egypt. He was an earth-god, a form of Mînû who reigned at Koptos, at Akhmîm and in the desert,[4] but he soon became allied to the sun, and from thenceforth he assumed the name of Amon-Râ. The title of "sûton nûtîrû" which he added to it would alone have sufficed to prove the comparatively recent origin of his notoriety; as the latest arrival among the great gods, he

[1] On the obelisk of Matarieh, cf. S. DE SACY, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, pp. 180, 181, 225–229, where a number of passages in regard to the history of these ruins are quoted from Arab writers; the other obelisk, fragments of which may still be seen, either fell or was overturned in 1160 A.D. The inscriptions are reproduced in BURTON'S *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. XXVIII.; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. XXV. 1; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 118 *h*. A large number of stones, obtained from Heliopolis and its temple, have at different periods been built into the walls of the principal buildings of Cairo, especially the mosque of Khaliph Hakem; one of them, which serves as door-sill to the mosque of Shâaban, bears the cartouche of Ûsirtasen I. (WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, p. 243).

[2] LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 118 *d*, and GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Résultats épigraphiques d'une excursion à l'Ouady Hammamât* (extracted from the *Comptes rendus de la Société Russe d'Archéologie*), pl. viii., which contains a more complete text than that given by Lepsius; cf. MASPERO, *Sur quelques inscriptions du temps d'Amenemhâît I. au Ouady Hammamât*, p. 1, et seq., where the text of this document, which can only be deciphered and interpreted with difficulty, has been translated and commented on in detail.

[3] PERRING-VYSE, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids in 1837*, vol. iii., plate, and p. 94; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 143 *i*, where the date inscribed at the top of the stele is missing.

[4] Cf. p. 99 of the present work, and on p. 149 a representation of the Theban Amon wearing the plumed cap.

employed, to express his sovereignty, this word "sûton," king, which had designated the rulers of the valley ever since the union of the two Egypts under the shadowy Menes.[1] Reigning at first alone, he became associated by marriage with a vague indefinite goddess, called Maût, or Mût, the "mother," who never adopted any more distinctive name: the divine son who completed this triad was, in early times, Montû; but in later times a being of secondary rank, chosen from among the genii appointed to watch over the days of the month or the stars, was added, under the name of Khonsû. Amenemhâît

THE OBELISK OF USIRTASEN I., STILL STANDING IN THE PLAIN OF HELIOPOLIS.[2]

laid the foundations of the temple, in which the cultus of Amon was carried on down to the latest times of paganism.[3] The building was supported by polygonal columns of sixteen sides, some fragments of which are still existing. The temple was at first of only moderate dimensions, but it was built of the choicest sandstone and limestone, and decorated with exquisite bas-reliefs. Ûsirtasen I. enlarged it,[4] and built a beautiful house for the high priest on the west side of the sacred lake.[5]

[1] MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 15–17, and *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger.

[3] WILKINSON, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, vol. ii. p. 248; the remains mentioned there have now disappeared (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, p. 41). If the fragment *a* in MARIETTE's *Karnak*, pl. viii., refers to the reign of Amenemhâît I., we may pretty safely fix on the year XX. as the probable date of foundation. A statue of the sovereign in rose granite (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. viii. *d*, and p. 41), as also a table of offerings dedicated by him (*id.*, pl. viii. *e*, and pp. 41, 42), have been discovered in the vicinity of this fragment, and further strengthen the case for attributing it to the reign of Amenemhâît I.

[4] His name is engraved on several fragments of columns (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. viii. *b–c*, and p. 41), as well as on a table of offerings now in the Gizeh Museum (VIREY, *Notice des principaux monuments exposés au Musée de Gizéh*, p. 41, No. 131).

[5] MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. xl., and pp. 62, 63; E. DE ROUGÉ, *Études des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 38, 39.

Luxor,[1] Zorit,[2] Edfû,[3] Hierakonpolis, El-Kab,[4] Elephantinê,[5] and Dendera,[6] shared between them the favour of the Pharaohs; the venerable town of Abydos became the object of their special predilection. Its reputation for sanctity had been steadily growing from the time of the Papis: its god, Khontamentît, who was identified with Osiris, had obtained in the south a rank as high as that of the Mendesian Osiris in the north of Egypt. He was worshipped as the sovereign of the sovereigns of the dead—he who gathered around him and welcomed in his domains the majority of the faithful of other cults. His sepulchre, or, more correctly speaking, the chapel representing his sepulchre, in which one of his relics was preserved, was here, as elsewhere, built upon the roof.[7] Access to it was gained by a staircase leading up on the left side of the sanctuary: on the days of the passion and resurrection of Osiris solemn processions of priests and devotees slowly mounted its steps, to the chanting of funeral hymns, and above, on the terrace, away from the world of the living, and with no other witnesses than the stars of heaven, the faithful celebrated mysteriously the rites of the divine death and embalming. The "vassals of Osiris" flocked in crowds to these festivals, and took a delight in visiting, at least once during their lifetime, the city whither their souls would proceed after death, in order to present themselves at the "Mouth of the Cleft," there to embark in the "bari" of their divine master or in that of the Sun. They left behind them, "under the staircase of the great god," a sort of fictitious tomb, near the representation of the tomb of Osiris, in the shape of a stele, which immortalized the memory of their piety, and which served as a kind of hostelry for their soul, when the latter should, in course of time, repair to this rallying-place of all Osirian souls.[8] The concourse of pilgrims was a source of wealth to the population,

[1] VIREY, *Notice des principaux Monuments exposés au Musée de Gizéh*, p. 44, No. 136. Table of offerings, inscribed with the name of Ûsirtasen III., found in 1887 in the excavations at Luxor.

[2] Table of offerings inscribed with the name of Ûsirtasen I., discovered at Zorît (now Taûd) in 1881 (MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 123).

[3] An inscription in the great temple of Horus mentions the works of an Amenemhâît and an Ûsirtasen at Edfû, but does not add the prænomens (BRUGSCH, *Drei Festkalender von Apollinopolis Magna*, pl. iv. l. 23): reference is probably made to Amenemhâît I. and Ûsirtasen I.

[4] MURRAY-WILKINSON, *Handbook of Egypt*, p. 308; I have not been able to find these fragments. M. Grébaut, in 1891, discovered a sphinx at El-Kab similar to that which is reproduced on p. 503 of the present work (VIREY, *Notice des principaux Monuments exposés au Musée de Gizéh*, p. 45, No. 139).

[5] BIRCH, *Tablets of the XIIth Dynasty*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, pp. 50, 51.

[6] Dümichen pointed out, in the masonry of the great eastern staircase of the present temple of Hâthor, a stone obtained from the earlier temple, which bears the name of Amenemhâît (*Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, p. 19; MARIETTE, *Dendérah, Supplément*, pl. H, *e*); another fragment, discovered and published by Mariette (*Dendérah, Supplément*, pl. H, *f*), shows that Amenemhâît I. is here again referred to. The buildings erected by this monarch at Dendera must have been on a somewhat large scale, if we may judge from the size of this last fragment, which is the lintel of a door.

[7] This is the tomb referred to by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 20, PARTHEY'S edition, p. 34), and which was so long sought for in vain by Mariette, who believed it to have been built on the soil itself, and not on the terrace of the temple (MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, 1881, vol. i. p. 83).

[8] Indeed, the inscriptions state, in the case of most of these votive stelæ, that they were deposited "under the staircase of the great god," and that they were regarded as representing the whole tomb

the priestly coffers were filled, and every year the original temple was felt to be more and more inadequate to meet the requirements of worship. Ûsirtasen I. desired to come to the rescue:[1] he despatched Monthotpû, one of his great vassals, to superintend the works.[2] The ground-plan of the portico of white limestone which preceded the entrance court may still be distinguished; this portico was supported by square pillars, and, standing against the remains of these, we see the colossi of rose granite, crowned with the Osirian head-dress, and with their feet planted on the "Nine Bows," the symbol of vanquished enemies. The best preserved of these figures represents the founder,[3] but several others are likenesses of those of his successors who interested themselves in the temple.[4] Monthotpû dug a

ÛSIRTASEN I. OF ABYDOS.[5]

(MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 127-129): hence the view, which obtained during the Greek period, and according to which the richer sort of Egyptians caused themselves to be buried at Abydos, "because they held it an honour to repose near the tomb of Osiris" (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 20, PARTHEY'S edition, p. 34). The Greeks confused the actual burying-place with the stelæ representing that burying-place, which the Egyptians piously deposited near the staircase leading to the resting-place of Osiris.

[1] The foundation is attributed to Ûsirtasen I. by Amonisonbû, who restored the temple under Pharaoh Nozirrî of the XIIIth dynasty (*Stele C 12*, in the Louvre, ll. 9, 10; cf. P. HORRACK, *Sur deux stèles de l'Ancien Empire*, in CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 205, 207, 211).

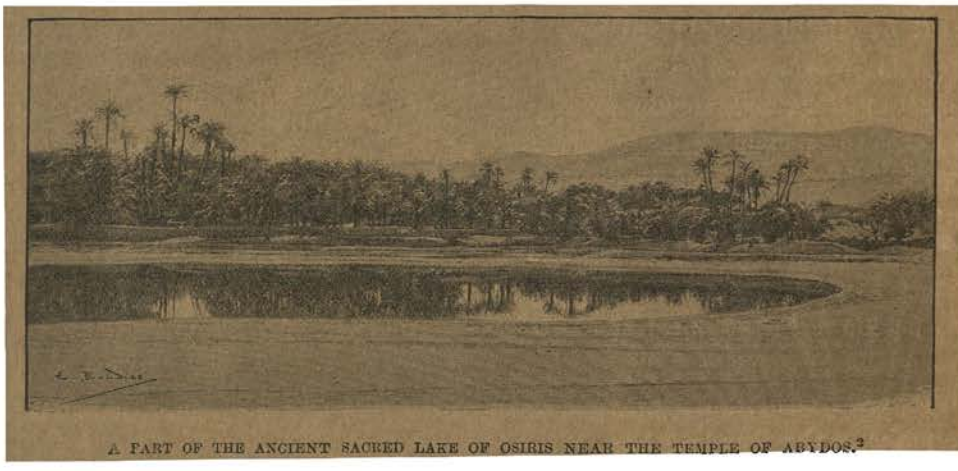
[2] The stele of Monthotpû (VIREY, *Notice des principaux Monuments exposés au Musée de Gizeh*, p. 38, No. 120) has been published by Mariette (*Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. xxiii.), by E. and J. de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pl. cccliii., ccciv.), by Daressy (*Remarques et Notes*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. pp. 144–149); the front in Brugsch (*Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 132, 133), and in Lushington (*The Stele of Mentuhotep*, in the *Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. viii. pp. 353, 369).

[3] It was transferred to Bûlaq in 1884 (MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1864, p. 288, No. 3, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. xxi. *a–c*, and *Catalogue Général*, p. 29, No. 345; BANVILLE-ROUGÉ, *Album photographique de la Mission de M. de Rougé*, Nos. 111, 112).

[4] Colossal statue of Ûsirtasen III. (MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. xxi. *d*, and *Cat. Gén.*, p. 29, No. 346).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by M. de Banville (cf. BANVILLE-ROUGÉ, *Album photographique de la Mission de M. de Rougé*, Nos. 111, 112).

well which was kept fully supplied by the infiltrations from the Nile. He enlarged and cleaned out the sacred lake upon which the priests launched the Holy Ark, on the nights of the great mysteries.[1] The alluvial deposits of fifty centuries have not as yet wholly filled it up: it is still an irregularly shaped pond, which dries up in winter, but is again filled as soon as the inundation reaches the village of El-Kharbeh. A few stones, corroded with saltpetre, mark here and there the lines of the landing stages, a thick grove of palms fringes its northern and southern banks, but to the west the prospect is open, and extends as far as the entrance to the gorge, through which the souls set forth in search of Paradise and the solar bark. Buffaloes now come to drink and wallow



A PART OF THE ANCIENT SACRED LAKE OF OSIRIS NEAR THE TEMPLE OF ABYDOS.[2]

at midday where once floated the gilded "bari" of Osiris, and the murmur of bees from the neighbouring orchards alone breaks the silence of the spot which of old resounded with the rhythmical lamentations of the pilgrims.

Heracleopolis the Great, the town preferred by the earlier Theban Pharaohs as their residence in times of peace, must have been one of those which they proceeded to decorate *con amore* with magnificent monuments. Unfortunately it has suffered more than any of the rest, and nothing of it is now to be seen but a few wretched remains of buildings of the Roman period, and the ruins of a barbaric colonnade on the site of a Byzantine basilica almost contemporary with the Arab conquest. Perhaps the enormous mounds which cover its site may still conceal the remains of its ancient temples. We can merely estimate their magnificence by casual allusions to them in the inscriptions. We know, for instance, that Ûsirtasen III. rebuilt the sanctuary

[1] Inscription of Monthotpû, recto, l. 22, in the Gîzeh Museum.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1884.

of Harshâfîtû, and that he sent expeditions to the Wady Hammamât to quarry blocks of granite worthy of his god:[1] but the work of this king and his successors has perished in the total ruin of the ancient town. Something at least has remained of what they did in that traditional dependency of Heracleopolis, the Fayûm:[2] the temple which they rebuilt to the god Sobkû

THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT HERACLEOPOLIS.[3]

in Shodît retained its celebrity down to the time of the Cæsars, not so much, perhaps, on account of the beauty of its architecture as for the unique character of the religious rites which took place there daily. The sacred lake contained a family of tame crocodiles, the image and incarnation of the god, whom the faithful fed with their offerings—cakes, fried fish, and drinks sweetened with honey. Advantage was taken of the moment when one of these creatures, wallowing on the bank, basked contentedly in the sun: two priests opened his jaws, and a third threw in the cakes, the fried morsels, and finally the liquid. The crocodile bore all this without even winking; he swallowed down his provender, plunged into the lake, and lazily reached the opposite bank,

[1] Expedition in the XIVth year of Ûsirtasen III. (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. p. 136 *a*). Navilles' excavations brought to light fragments bearing the name Ûsirtasen II. (*Ahnas-el-Medîneh*, pp. 2, 10, 11, pl. i. *d–e*).

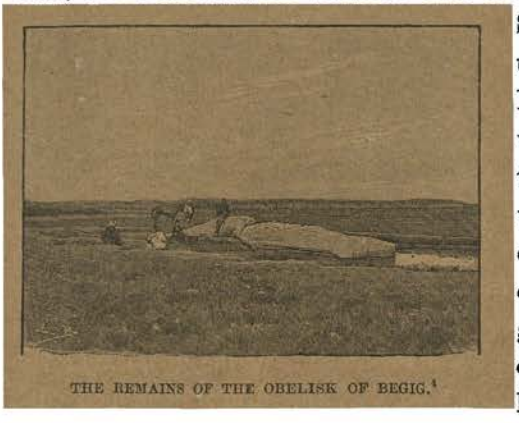
[2] Group of statues representing Amenemhâît I., discovered at Shodît (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 138 *e–f*), and reference to gifts made by this monarch to the temple of Sobkû (PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 49, 50). Expedition to the valley of Hammamât in the XIXth year of Amenemhâît III.: the king himself goes in search of the stone required for the monuments of Sobkû, master of Shodît (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 138 *a*; cf. 138 *b*). It is probably to these works that reference is made in the few lines of inscription found on the fragment of a pillar (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 118 *g*), according to which a king, not named, but who certainly belongs to the XIIth dynasty, erected a pillared hall in the temple of his father Sobkû.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Golénischeff.

hoping to escape for a few moments from the oppressive liberality of his devotees. As soon, however, as another of these approached, he was again beset at his new post and stuffed in a similar manner.[1] These animals were in their own

SOBKÛ, THE GOD OF THE FAYÛM, UNDER THE FORM OF A SACRED CROCODILE.[2]

way great dandies: rings of gold or enamelled terra-cotta were hung from their ears, and bracelets were soldered on to their front paws.[3] The monuments of Shodît, if any still exist, are buried under the mounds of Medinet el-Fayûm, but in the neighbourhood we meet with more than one authentic relic of the XIIth dynasty. It was Ûsirtasen I. who erected that curious thin granite obelisk, with a circular top, whose fragments lie forgotten on the ground near the village of Begig: a sort of basin has been hollowed out around it, which fills during the inundation, so that the monument lies in a pool of muddy water during the greater part of the year. Owing to this treatment, most of the inscriptions on it have almost disappeared, though we can still make out a series of five scenes in which the king hands offerings to several divinities.[5]



THE REMAINS OF THE OBELISK OF BEGIG.[4]

[1] STRABO, xvii. p. 811; cf. DIODORUS SICULUS, i. 84.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1885. The original in black granite is now in the Berlin Museum. It represents one of the sacred crocodiles mentioned by Strabo; we read on the base a Greek inscription in honour of Ptolemy Neos Dionysos, in which the name of the divine reptile "Petesûkhos, the great god," is mentioned (WILCKEN, *Der Labyrintherbauer Petesukhos*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1886, p. 136).

[3] Herodotus, ii. 69; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, pp. 289–304.

[4] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Golénischeff.

[5] CARISTIE, *Description de l'Obélisque de Begyg, auprès de l'ancienne Crocodilopolis*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. pp. 517–520. The obelisk has been reproduced in the *Description de l'Égypte, Ant.*, iv. pl. lxxi., in BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xxix., and in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 119.

Near to Biahmû there was an old temple which had become ruinous:[1] Amenemhâît III. repaired it, and erected in front of it two of those colossal statues which the Egyptians were wont to place like sentinels at their gates, to ward off baleful influences and evil spirits. The colossi at Biahmû were of red sand-stone, and were seated on high limestone pedestals, placed at the end of a

THE RUINED PEDESTAL OF ONE OF THE COLOSSI OF BIAHMÛ.[2]

rectangular court; the temple walls hid the lower part of the pedestals, so that the colossi appeared to tower above a great platform which sloped gently away from them on all sides.[3] Herodotus, who saw them from a distance at the time of the inundation, believed that they crowned the summits of two pyramids rising out of the middle of a lake.[4] Near Illahun, Queen Sovkûnofriûri herself has left a few traces of her short reign.[5]

[1] The existence of this temple, the foundation of which may date back to the Heracleopolitan or Memphite dynasties, is proved by a fragment of inscription (PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmû and Arsinoe*, pl. xxvii. 1), in which King Amenemhâît III. declares "that he found the building falling into ruins," and that he ordered "that it should either be restored or rebuilt."

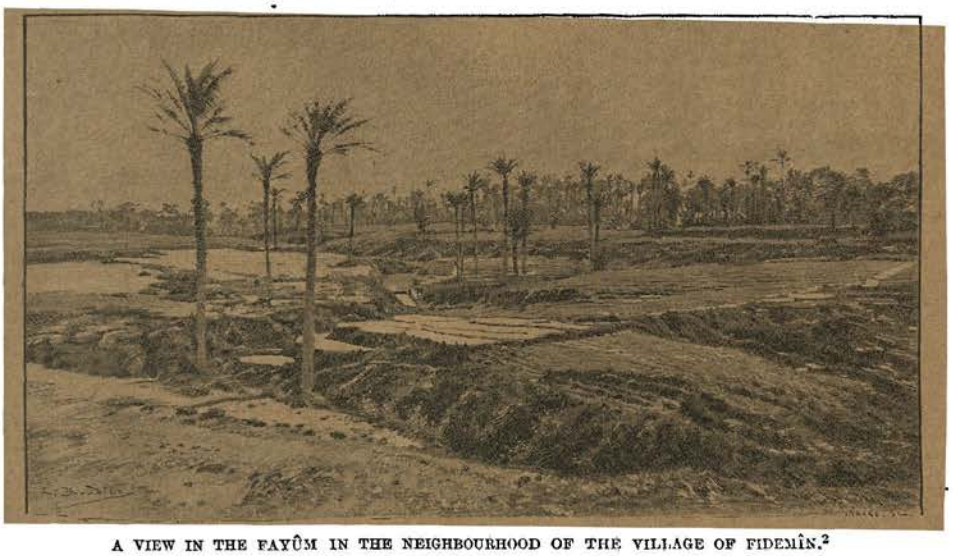
[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after Major Brown (cf. *The Fayûm and Lake Mœris*, pl. xxii.).

[3] The ruins of Biahmû were in the XVIIth century in a less dilapidated condition than at present: Vansleb (*Nouvelle Relation en forme de journal d'un Voyage fait en Égypte en 1672 et en 1673*, p. 260) assures us that it was still possible to see there a colossal headless granite statue standing upright on its base, and five smaller pedestals—a statement which Paul Lucas repeats with his usual exaggeration. Jomard has described the ruins (see *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. p. 447). The ruins have been recently excavated by Petrie, who has made out a plan and history of them (*Hawara, Biahmû and Arsinoe*, pp. 53–56, pls. xxvi., xxvii.; cf. BROWN, *The Fayûm and Lake Mœris*, pp. 76, 77, 85–87).

[4] HERODOTUS, cxlix.; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 534–545. Diodorus Siculus adds that one of the pyramids was said to belong to the king and the other to his wife (l. 52).

[5] Fragments of pillars bear her name side by side with the prænomen of her father Amenemhâît III.

The Fayûm, by its fertility and pleasant climate, justified the preference which the Pharaohs of the XIIth dynasty bestowed upon it.[1] On emerging from the gorges of Illahun, it opens out like a vast amphitheatre of cultivation, whose slopes descend towards the north till they reach the desolate waters of the Birket-Kerun. On the right and left, the amphitheatre is isolated from the surrounding mountains by two deep ravines, filled with willows, tamarisks, mimosas, and thorny acacias. Upon the high ground, lands



A VIEW IN THE FAYÛM IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE VILLAGE OF FIDEMÎN.[2]

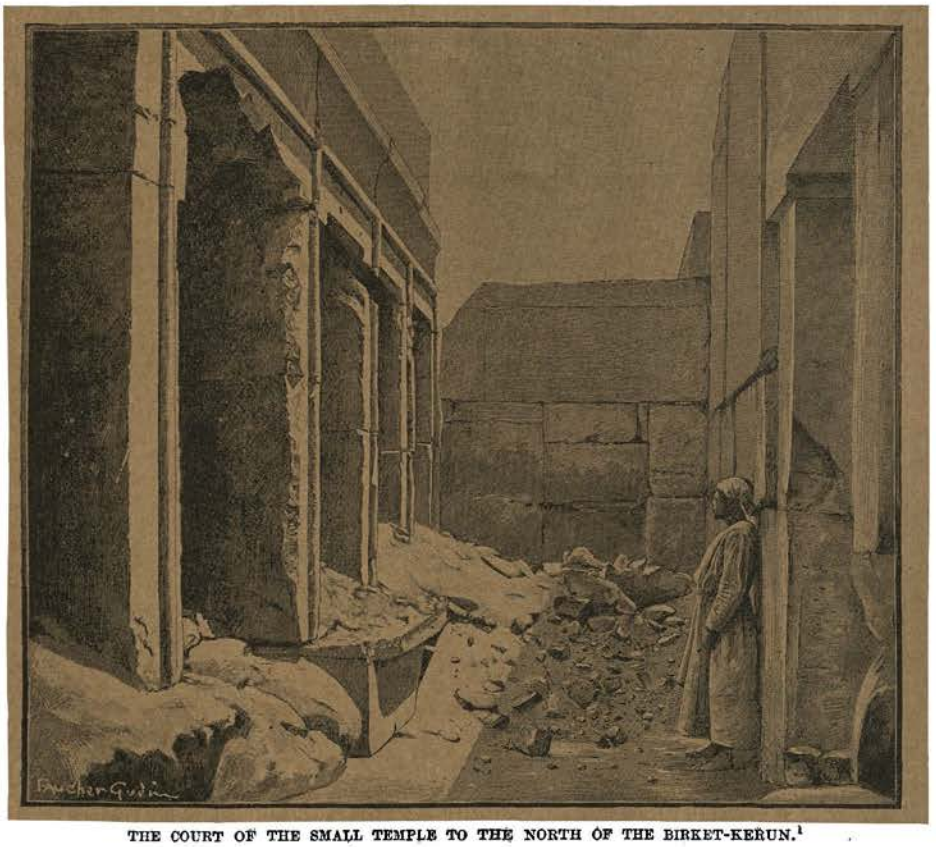
devoted to the culture of corn, durra, and flax, alternate with groves of palms and pomegranates, vineyards and gardens of olives, the latter being almost unknown elsewhere in Egypt. The slopes are covered with cultivated fields, irregularly terraced woods, and meadows enclosed by hedges, while lofty trees, clustered in some places and thinly scattered in others, rise in billowy masses of verdure one behind the other. Shodît [Shâdû] stood on a peninsula stretching out into a kind of natural reservoir, and was connected with the mainland by merely a narrow dyke; the water of the inundation flowed

(LEPSIUS, *Briefe aus Ægypten*, p. 74, et seq.; *Denkm.*, ii. 140 *e*, *f*, *k*; PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmû and Arsinoe*, pl. xxvii. 12; cf. PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. xi. 1). Petrie considers that the columns of the XIIth dynasty, discovered by Naville at Heracleopolis, came from the Labyrinth, but it is not necessary to fall back on this supposition; the kings of the XIIth dynasty constructed a sufficient number of monuments at Henassieh to account for the remains of edifices bearing their names without its being necessary to search for their source elsewhere.

[1] As to the Fayûm, see JOMARD, *Description des vestiges d'Arsinoé ou Crocodilopolis* (in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. pp. 437, 456) and *Mémoire sur le lac Mœris* (in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. vi. pp. 157–162); also, quite recently, SCHWEINFURTH, *Reise in das Depressionsgebiet im Umkreise des Fajum im Januar 1886* (in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdekunde zu Berlin*, 1886, No. 2), where the geological formation of the country is treated minutely, and the work of Major BROWN, *The Fayûm and Lake Mœris*, in which questions relating to the history of the province are discussed.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Golénischeff.

into this reservoir and was stored here during the autumn. Countless little rivulets escaped from it, not merely such canals and ditches as we meet with in the Nile Valley, but actual running brooks, coursing and babbling between the trees, spreading out here and there into pools of water, and in places forming little cascades like those of our own streams, but dwindling in volume as they proceeded, owing to constant drains made



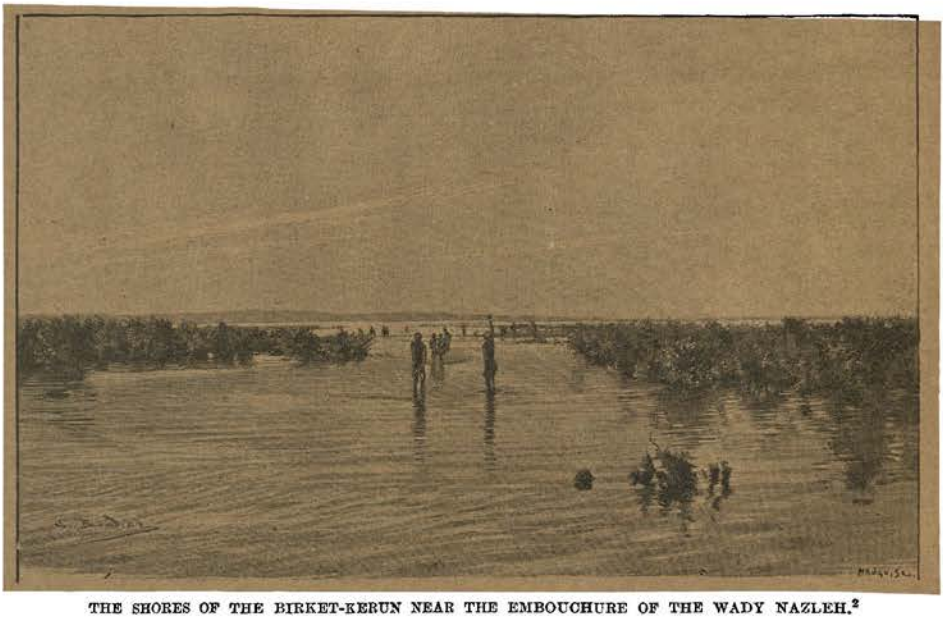
THE COURT OF THE SMALL TEMPLE TO THE NORTH OF THE BIRKET-KERUN.[1]

on them, until they were for the most part absorbed by the soil before finally reaching the lake. They brought down in their course part of the fertilizing earth accumulated by the inundation, and were thus instrumental in raising the level of the soil. The water of the Birkeh rose or fell according to the season of the year.[2] It formerly occupied a much larger area than it does at present, and half of the surrounding districts was covered by it. Its northern shores, now deserted and uncultivated, then shared in the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Major Brown (cf. *The Fayûm and Lake Mœris*, pl. xv.).

[2] A description of the shores of the lake will be found in JOMARD, *Mémoire sur le lac Mœris* (in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. vi. pp. 162–164), and SCHWEINFURTH, *Reise in das Depressionsgebiet*, p. 34, et seq.

benefits of the inundation, and supplied the means of existence for a civilized population. In many places we still find the remains of villages, and walls of uncemented stone; a small temple even has escaped the general ruin, and remains almost intact in the midst of the desolation, as if to point out the furthest limit of Egyptian territory. It bears no inscriptions, but the beauty of the materials of which it is composed, and the perfection of the work, lead us to attribute its construction to some prince of the XIIth dynasty. An ancient causeway runs from its entrance to what was probably at one time the original margin of the lake.[1] The continual sinking of the level of the



THE SHORES OF THE BIRKET-KERUN NEAR THE EMBOUCHURE OF THE WADY NAZLEH.[2]

Birkeh has left this temple isolated on the edge of the Libyan plateau, and all life has retired from the surrounding district, and has concentrated itself on the southern shores of the lake. Here the banks are low and the bottom deepens almost imperceptibly. In winter the retreating waters leave exposed long patches of the shore, upon which a thin crust of snow-white salt is deposited, concealing the depths of mud and quicksands beneath. Immediately after the inundation, the lake regains in a few days the ground it had lost: it encroaches on the tamarisk bushes which fringe its banks, and the district is soon surrounded by a belt of marshy vegetation, affording cover for ducks, pelicans, wild geese, and a score of different kinds of birds which disport

[1] This temple was discovered by SCHWEINFURTH in 1884 (cf. *Reise in das Depressionsgebiet im Umkreise des Fajums in Januar 1886*, extracted from the *Zeitschrift für Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1886, p. 48, et seq.); it has been visited since then by FLINDERS PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, pp. 104–106, and by Major BROWN, *The Fayûm and Lake Mœris*, pp. 52–56, and pls. xiv.–xvi.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Golénischeff.

themselves there by the thousand. The Pharaohs, when tired of residing in cities, here found varied and refreshing scenery, an equable climate, gardens always gay with flowers, and in the thickets of the Kerun they could pursue their favourite pastimes of interminable fishing and of hunting with the boomerang.[1]

They desired to repose after death among the scenes in which they had lived. Their tombs stretch from Heracleopolis till they nearly meet the last pyramids of the Memphites: at Dahshur there are still two of them standing.

THE TWO PYRAMIDS OF THE XIIth DYNASTY AT LISHT.[2]

The northern one is an immense erection of brick, placed in close proximity to the truncated pyramid, but nearer than it to the edge of the plateau, so as to overlook the valley.[3] We might be tempted to believe that the Theban kings, in choosing a site immediately to the south of the spot where Papi II. slept in his glory, were prompted by the desire to renew the traditions of the older dynasties prior to those of the Heracleopolitans, and thus proclaim to all beholders the antiquity of their lineage. One of their residences was situated at no great distance, near Miniet Dahshur, the city of Titoûi, the favourite residence of Amenemhâît I. It was here that those royal princesses, Nofirhonît, Sonît-Sonbît, Sîthâthor, and Monît, his sisters, wives, and daughters,

[1] Several personages of the first Theban empire bear the various titles belonging to the "masters of the royal hunts" of the Fayûm; for instance, the Sovkhotpû, whose statue is in the Marseilles Museum (E. NAVILLE, *Un Fonctionnaire de la XIIe dynastie*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 107–112).

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[3] This pyramid has been summarily described by Perring in the third volume of Vyse's great work, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids in 1837*, vol. ii. pp. 57–63.

whose tombs lie opposite the northern face of the pyramid, flourished side by side with Amenemhâît III. There, as of old in their harem, they slept side by side, and, in spite of robbers, their mummies have preserved the ornaments with which they were adorned, on the eve of burial, by the pious act of their lords. The art of the ancient jewellers, which we have hitherto known only from pictures on the walls of tombs or on the boards of coffins, is here exhibited in all its cunning. The ornaments comprise a wealth of gold gorgets, necklaces of agate beads or of enamelled lotus-flowers, cornelian, amethyst, and onyx scarabs. Pectorals of pierced gold-work, inlaid with flakes of vitreous paste or precious stones, bear the cartouches of Ûsirtasen III. and of Amenemhâît II., and every one of these gems of art reveals a perfection of taste and a skilfulness of handling which are perfectly wonderful. Their delicacy, and their freshness in spite of their antiquity, make it hard for us to realize that fifty centuries have elapsed since they were made. We are tempted to imagine that the royal ladies to whom they belonged must still be waiting within earshot, ready to reply to our summons as soon as we deign to call them; we may even anticipate the joy they will evince when these sumptuous ornaments are restored to them, and we need to glance at the worm-eaten coffins which contain their stiff and disfigured mummies to recall our imagination to the stern reality of fact.[2] Two other pyramids, but in this case of stone, still exist further south, to the left of the village of Lisht:[3] their casing, torn off by the fellahîn, has entirely disappeared, and from a distance they appear to be merely two mounds which break the desert horizon line, rather than two buildings raised by the hand of man. The sepulchral chambers, excavated at a great depth in the sand, are now filled with water which has infiltrated through the soil, and they have not as yet been sufficiently emptied to

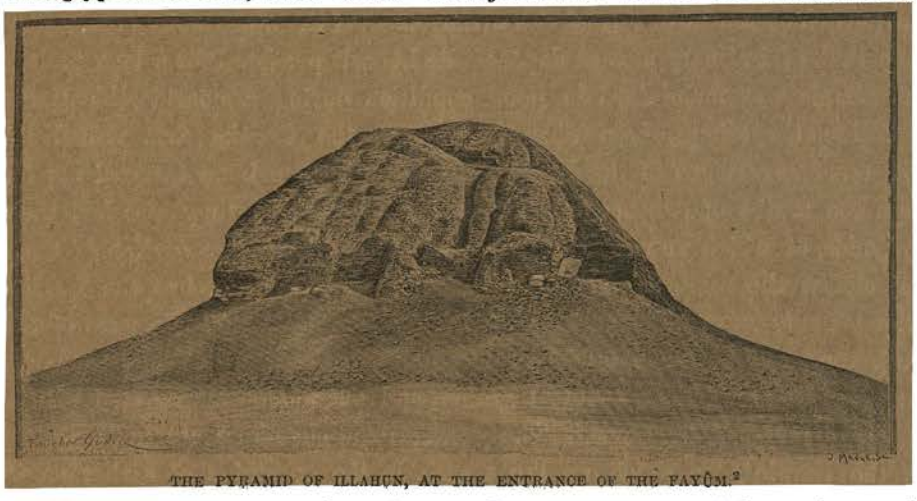
PECTORAL ORNAMENT OF ÛSIRTASEN III.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

[2] These are the jewels discovered by M. de Morgan in 1894, during his excavations in the neighbourhood of the pyramid of Dahshur (cf. the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1894, and published now by him in the first volume of *Dahshour*).

[3] These pyramids, referred to by JOMARD, *Description des Antiquités de l'Heptanomide* (in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. pp. 429, 430), and by PERRING-VYSE, *Operations carried on*, vol. iii. pp. 77, 78, were opened between 1882 and 1886. It was not possible to explore the chambers (MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. i. pp. 148, 149). Excavations conducted by Gautier have led, in 1895, to the discovery of eleven statues of King Ûsirtasen I., in the ruins of the exterior chapel; cf. *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 222, 223, Nos. 1054–1057).

permit of an entrance being effected: one of them contained the body of Ûsirtasen I.; does Amenemhâît I. or Amenemhâît II. repose in the other?[1] We know, at all events, that Ûsirtasen II. built for himself the pyramid of Illahun, and Amenemhâît III. that of Hawâra. "Hotpû," the tomb of Ûsirtasen II., stood upon a rocky hill at a distance of some two thousand feet from the cultivated lands. To the east of it lay a temple, and close to the temple a town, Haît-Ûsirtasen-Hotpû—"the Castle of the Repose of Ûsirtasen"—which was inhabited by the workmen employed in building the pyramid, who resided there with their families. The remains of the temple consist of scarcely anything more than the enclosing wall, whose sides were originally faced with fine white limestone covered with hieroglyphs and sculptured scenes. It adjoined the wall of the town, and the



THE PYRAMID OF ILLAHUN, AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE FAYÛM.[2]

neighbouring quarters are almost intact: the streets were straight, and crossed each other at right angles, while the houses on each side were so regularly built that a single policeman could keep his eye on each thoroughfare from one end to the other. The structures were of rough material hastily put together, and among the *débris* are to be found portions of older buildings, stelæ, and fragments of statues. The town began to dwindle after the Pharaoh had taken possession of his sepulchre; it was abandoned during the XIIIth dynasty, and its ruins were entombed in the sand which the wind heaped over them.[3] The city which Amenemhâît III. had connected with his tomb maintained, on the contrary, a long existence in the course of the centuries. The king's last resting-place consisted of a large sarcophagus of quartzose sandstone, while

[1] The task of building the pyramid of Ûsirtasen I. was entrusted to Merri, who describes it on a stele preserved in the Louvre (C 3, ll. 1–7, PIERRET, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites*, vol. ii. pp. 104, 105; GAYET, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pls. iv., v.; cf. MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. pp. 221, 222; *Études de Mythologie*, vol. i. p. 3, note 2).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Golénischeff.

[3] The pyramid of Illahun was opened, and its identity with the pyramid of Ûsirtasen II. proved by PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pp. 11, 12, 21–32, and *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 1–15.

his favourite consort, Nofriuphtah, reposed beside him in a smaller coffin.[1] The sepulchral chapel was very large, and its arrangements were of a somewhat complicated character. It consisted of a considerable number of chambers, some tolerably large, and others of moderate dimensions, while all of them were difficult of access and plunged in perpetual darkness: this was the Egyptian Labyrinth, to which the Greeks, by a misconception, have given a world-wide renown.[2] Amenemhâît III. or his architects had no intention of building such a childish structure as that in which classical tradition so fervently believed. He had richly endowed the attendant priests, and bestowed upon the cult of his double considerable revenues, and the chambers above mentioned were so many storehouses for the safe-keeping of the treasure and provisions for the dead, and the arrangement of them was not more singular than that of ordinary storage depôts. As his cult persisted for a long period, the temple was maintained in good condition during a considerable time: it had not, perhaps, been abandoned when the Greeks first visited it.[3] The other sovereigns of the XIIth dynasty must have been interred not far from the tombs of Amenemhâît III. and Ûsirtasen II.: they also had their pyramids, of which we may one day discover the site.[4] The outline of these was almost the same as that of the Memphite pyramids, but the interior arrangements were different. As at Illahun and Dahshur, the mass of the work consisted of crude bricks of large size, between which fine sand was introduced to bind them solidly together, and the whole was covered with a facing of polished limestone.[5] The passages and chambers are not arranged on the simple plan which we meet with in the pyramids of earlier date.[6]

[1] Like the pyramid of Illahun, that of Hawâra has also been opened, and the sarcophagus of the Pharaoh discovered by PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmû and Arsinoe*, pp. 3–8; *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pp. 5–8, 12–17.

[2] The word "Labyrinth," λαβύρινθος, is a Greek adaptation of the Egyptian name *rapû-rahûnît*, "temple of Rahûnît," pronounced in the local dialect *lapû-rahûnît* (MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, vol. i. p. 8, note 2; BRUGSCH, *Das Ægyptische Seeland*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1872, p. 91, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 501). Brugsch has since disputed this etymology, which he had, however, been one of the first to accept (*Der Möris-See*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. p. 70).

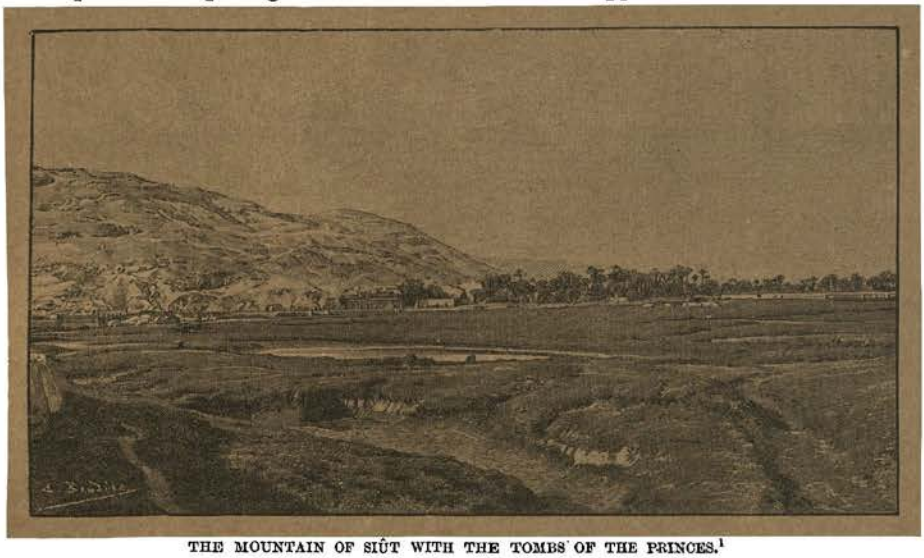
[3] As to the Labyrinth of Egypt and the conjectures to which it has given rise, see JOMARD-CARISTIE, *Description des ruines situées près de la pyramide d'Haouârah, considérées comme les restes du Labyrinthe, et comparaison de ces ruines avec les récits des anciens*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. pp. 478–524. The identity of the ruins at Hawâra with the remains of the Labyrinth, admitted by Jomard-Caristie and by Lepsius (*Briefe aus Ægypten*, p. 74, et seq.), disputed by Vassali (*Rapport sur les fouilles du Fayoum adressé à M. Auguste Mariette*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. vi. pp. 37–41), has been definitely proved by Petrie (*Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 4, et seq.), who found remains of the buildings erected by Amenemhâît III. under the ruins of a village and some Græco-Roman tombs.

[4] We know the names of most of these pyramids; *e.g.* that of Amenemhâît I. was called *Ka-nofir* (*Louvre*, C 2, l. 1; GAYET, *Stèle de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. ii.).

[5] The peculiar construction of these pyramids, to which attention was drawn by JOMARD-CARISTIE, *Pyramide d'Haouârah* and *Description de la Pyramide d'Illahûn* (in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. iv. pp. 482, 483, 514–516), has been gone into in greater detail by VYSE-PERRING, *Operations carried on at the Pyramids in 1837*, vol. iii. pp. 80–83; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 210, 211.

[6] See the plans of the pyramid of Hawâra in PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pls. ii.–iv., and of these the pyramid of Illahun in PETRIE, *Illahun, Gurob and Arsinoe*, pl. ii.

Experience had taught the Pharaohs that neither granite walls nor the multiplication of barriers could preserve their mummies from profanation: no sooner was vigilance relaxed, either in the time of civil war or under a feeble administration, than robbers appeared on the scene, and boring passages through the masonry with the ingenuity of moles, they at length, after indefatigable patience, succeeded in reaching the sepulchral vault and despoiling the mummy of its valuables. With a view to further protection, the builders multiplied blind passages and chambers without apparent exit, but in which



THE MOUNTAIN OF SIÛT WITH THE TOMBS OF THE PRINCES.[1]

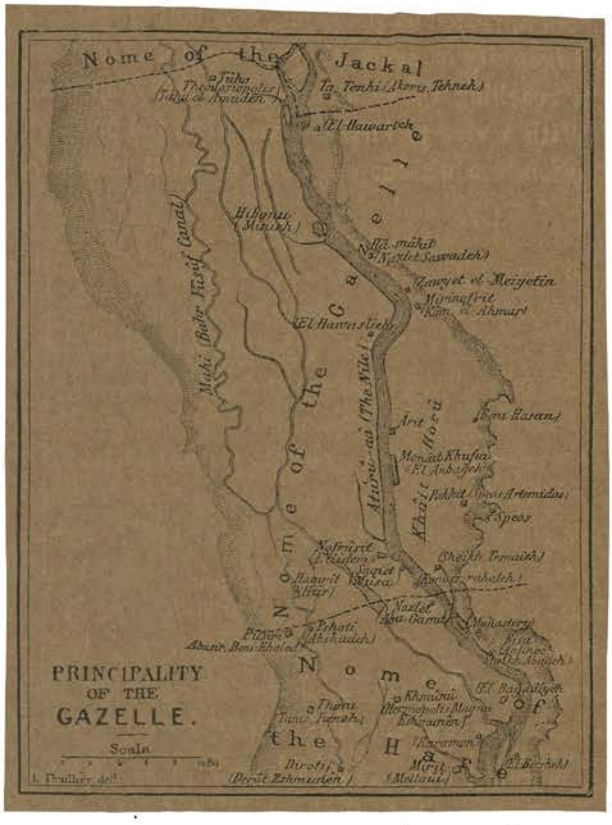
a portion of the ceiling was movable, and gave access to other equally mysterious rooms and corridors. Shafts sunk in the corners of the chambers and again carefully closed put the sacrilegious intruder on a false scent, for, after causing him a great loss of time and labour, they only led down to the solid rock. At the present day the water of the Nile fills the central chamber of the Hawâra pyramid and covers the sarcophagus; it is possible that this was foreseen, and that the builders counted on the infiltration as an additional obstacle to depredations from without.[2] The hardness of the cement, which fastens the lid of the stone coffin to the lower part, protects the body from damp, and the Pharaoh, lying beneath several feet of water, still defies the greed of the robber or the zeal of the archæologist.

The absolute power of the kings kept their feudal vassals in check: far

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Emil Brugsch-Bey, taken in 1884.

[2] Indeed, it should be noted that in the Græco-Roman period the presence of water in a certain number of the pyramids was a matter of common knowledge, and so frequently was it met with, that it was even supposed to exist in a pyramid into which water had never penetrated, viz. that of Kheops. Herodotus (ii. 124) relates that, according to the testimony of the interpreters who acted as his guides, the waters of the Nile were carried to the sepulchral cavern of the Pharaoh by a subterranean channel, and shut it in on all sides, like an island.

from being suppressed, however, the seignorial families continued not only to exist, but to enjoy continued prosperity. Everywhere, at Elephantinê,[1] Koptos,[2] Thinis,[3] in Aphroditopolis,[4] and in most of the cities of the Said and of the Delta, there were ruling princes who were descended from the old feudal lords or even from Pharaohs of the Memphite period, and who were of equal, if not superior rank, to the members of the reigning family. The princes of Siût no longer enjoyed an authority equal to that exercised by their ancestors under the Heracleopolitan dynasties, but they still possessed considerable influence. One of them, Hapizaûfi I., excavated for himself, in the reign of Ûsirtasen I., not far from the burying-place of Khîti and Tefabi, that beautiful tomb, which, though partially destroyed by Coptic monks or Arabs, still attracts visitors and excites their astonishment.[5] The lords of Shashotpû in the south,[6] and those of Hermopolis in the north, had acquired to some extent



[1] We know of Siranpîtû I. at Elephantinê (cf. pp. 493, 494 of the present work), under Ûsirtasen I. and under Amenemhâît II. (BOURIANT, *Les Tombeaux d'Assouân*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. x. pp. 189, 190), as well as of several other princes whose tombs have come down to us in a less perfect state of preservation.

[2] We ought, probably, to connect the Zaûtaqîr, mentioned in two inscriptions collected by GOLÉNISCHEFF (*Résultats épigraphiques d'une excursion au Ouady Hammamat*, pl. ii., No. 4, pl. iii., No. 3, and translated by MASPERO, *Sur quelques inscriptions du temps d'Amenemhâît I. au Ouady Hammamat*, p. 10, et seq.; cf. p. 464 of the present work), with the principality of Koptos.

[3] The most important of the princes of Thinis under the XIIth dynasty is Antûf, who is mentioned on Stele C 26 in the Louvre (GAYET, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pls. xiv.-xxii.).

[4] Zobûi, the lordship of Aphroditopolis Parva, is known to us, in so far as this period is concerned, from a stele in the Museum at Gîzeh, probably of the time of Amenemhâît III.; it is consecrated to a *wakîl* of the *Prince of Zobûi* (MARIETTE, *Catalogue Général*, p. 192, No. 687).

[5] So far, we know of only two members of the new line of the lords of Siût—Hapizaûfi I., who was a contemporary of Ûsirtasen I., and Hapizaûfi II.—whose tombs, described by GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr-Rîfeh*, pls. i.-x., xx., contain some religious texts of great interest but no historical details.

[6] The tomb of Khnûmnofir, son of Mazi, has been noted by GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût*

the ascendency which their neighbours of Siût had lost. The Hermopolitan princes dated at least from the time of the VIth dynasty, and they had passed safely through the troublous times which followed the death of Papi II.[1] A branch of their family possessed the nome of the Hare, while another governed that of the Gazelle.[2] The lords of the nome of the Hare espoused the Theban cause, and were reckoned among the most faithful vassals of the sovereigns of the south: one of them, Thothotpû, caused a statue of himself, worthy of a Pharaoh,[3] to be erected in his loyal town of Hermopolis, and their burying-places at el-Bersheh bear witness to their power no less than to their taste in art.[4] During the troubles which put an end to the XIth dynasty, a certain Khnûmhotpû, who was connected in some unknown manner with the lords of the nome of the Gazelle, entered the Theban service and accompanied Amenemhâît I. on his campaigns into Nubia. He obtained, as a reward of faithfulness, Monâît-Khûfûi and the district of Khûît-Horû,—"the Horizon of Horus,"—on the east bank of the Nile.[5] On becoming possessed of the western bank also, he entrusted the government of the district which he was giving up to his eldest son, Nakhîti I.; but, the latter having died without heirs, Ûsirtasen I. granted to Biqît, the sister of Nakhîti, the rank and prerogative of a reigning princess. Biqît married Nûhri, one of the princes of Hermopolis, and brought with her as her dowry the fiefdom of the Gazelle, thus doubling the possessions of her husband's house. Khnûmhotpû II., the eldest of the children born of this union, was, while still young, appointed Governor of Monâît-Khûfuî, and this title appears to have become an appanage of his heir-apparent, just as the title of "Prince of Kaûshû" was, from the XIXth dynasty onwards, the special designation of the heir to the throne. The marriage of Khnûmhotpû II. with the youthful Khîti, the heiress of the nome of the Jackal, rendered him master of one of the most fertile provinces of Middle Egypt. The power of this family was further augmented under Nakhîti II., son of Khnûmhotpû II. and Khîti: Nakhîti, prince of the nome of the Jackal in right of his mother, and lord of that

and Dêr-Rifeh, pl. xvi. 1, as belonging to the XIIth dynasty, together with several other unpublished tombs of the same locality.

[1] At any rate, the Hermopolitan princes of the XIIth dynasty affirmed that those of the VIth dynasty were their direct ancestors (MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Béni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 178, 179), and treated them as such in their inscriptions (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 112 *a–e*). Thothotpû caused their tombs to be restored as being those of his fathers.

[2] MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Béni-Hassan*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 177, 178.

[3] See on p. 335 of the present work, the woodcut representing the removal of this colossal statue.

[4] The tombs of el-Bersheh have been described by NESTOR L'HOTE, *Lettres écrites de l'Égypte*, pp. 46–52, partly reproduced by PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments*, pl. xv. p. 3; and by LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 134, 135, and published *in extenso* by NEWBERRY and GRIFFITH, *El-Bersheh*, i.–ii., 1894–1895. The most important of them, which belonged to Thothotpû, was greatly mutilated some years ago by dealers in antiquities.

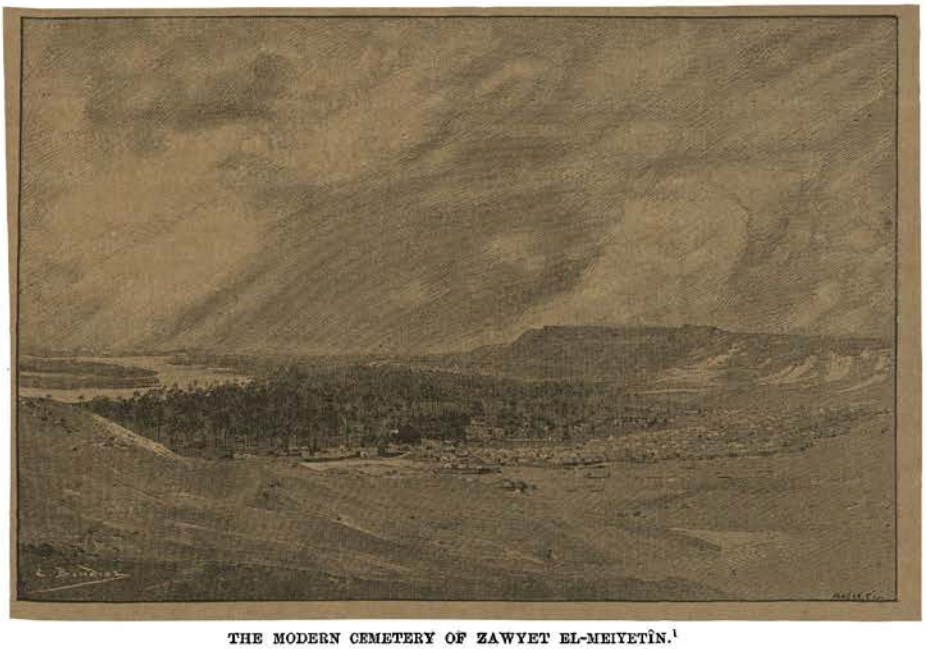
[5] NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pl. xliv. ll. 4–7, and p. 84; cf. p. 464 of the present work.

of the Gazelle after the death of his father, received from Ûsirtasen II. the administration of fifteen southern nomes, from Aphroditopolis to Thebes.[1] This is all we know of his history, but it is probable that his descendants retained the same power and position for several generations. The career of these dignitaries depended greatly on the Pharaohs with whom they were contemporary: they accompanied the royal troops on their campaigns, and with the spoil which they collected on such occasions they built temples or erected tombs for themselves. The tombs of the princes of the nome of the Gazelle are disposed along the right bank of the Nile, and the most ancient are exactly opposite Minieh. It is at Zawyet el-Meiyetîn and at Kom-el-Ahmar, nearly facing Hibonû, their capital, that we find the burying-places of those who lived under the VIth dynasty. The custom of taking the dead across the Nile had existed for centuries, from the time when the Egyptians first cut their tombs in the eastern range; it still continues to the present day, and part of the population of Minieh are now buried, year after year, in the places which their remote ancestors had chosen as the site of their "eternal houses." The cemetery lies peacefully in the centre of the sandy plain at the foot of the hills; a grove of palms, like a curtain drawn along the river-side, partially conceals it; a Coptic convent and a few Mahommedan hermits attract around them the tombs of their respective followers, Christian or Mussulman. The rock-hewn tombs of the XIIth dynasty succeed each other in one long irregular line along the cliffs of Beni-Hasan, and the traveller on the Nile sees their entrances continuously coming into sight and disappearing as he goes up or descends the river. These tombs are entered by a square aperture, varying in height and width according to the size of the chapel. Two only, those of Amoni-Amenemhâît and of Khnûmhotpû II., have a columned façade, of which all the members—pillars, bases, entablatures—have been cut in the solid rock: the polygonal shafts of the façade look like a bad imitation of ancient Doric. Inclined planes or flights of steps, like those at Elephantinê, formerly led from the plain up to the terrace.[2] Only a few traces of these exist at the present day, and the visitor has to climb the sandy slope as best he can: wherever he enters, the walls present to his view inscriptions of immense extent, as well as civil, sepulchral, military, and historical scenes. These are not incised like those of the Memphite mastabas, but are painted in fresco on

[1] The history of the principalities of the Hare and of the Gazelle has been put together by MASPERO, *La Grande Inscription de Beni-Hassan* (in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 169–181), but parts of it need correction from fresh documents which have been published by NEWBERRY, in the *Memoir* of the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund, *Beni-Hasan*, vols. i. and ii., and made use of by GRIFFITH in *Beni-Hasan*, ii. pp. 5–16.

[2] ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. i. pp. 63, 64; cf. pp. 430, 431 of the present volume for the description of these tombs at Elephantinê, and for the vignette which gives their external aspect.

the stone itself. The technical skill here exhibited is not a whit behind that of the older periods, and the general conception of the subjects has not altered since the time of the pyramid-building kings. The object is always the same, namely, to ensure wealth to the double in the other world, and to enable him to preserve the same rank among the departed as he enjoyed among the living: hence sowing, reaping, cattle-rearing, the exercise of different trades, the preparation and bringing of offerings, are all represented with the same minute-



THE MODERN CEMETERY OF ZAWYET EL-MEIYETÎN.[1]

ness as formerly. But a new element has been added to the ancient themes. We know, and the experience of the past is continually reiterating the lesson, that the most careful precautions and the most conscientious observation of customs were not sufficient to perpetuate the worship of ancestors. The day was bound to come when not only the descendants of Khnûmhotpû, but a crowd of curious or indifferent strangers, would visit his tomb: he desired that they should know his genealogy, his private and public virtues, his famous deeds, his court titles and dignities, the extent of his wealth; and in order that no detail should be omitted, he relates all that he did, or he gives the representation of it upon the wall. In a long account of two hundred and twenty-two lines, he gives a *résumé* of his family history, introducing extracts from his archives, to show the favours received by his ancestors from the hands of their

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Insinger.

sovereigns.[1] Amoni and Khîti, who were, it appears, the warriors of their race, have everywhere recounted the episodes of their military career, the movements of their troops, their hand-to-hand fights, and the fortresses to which they laid siege.[2] These scions of the house of the Gazelle and of the Hare, who shared with Pharaoh himself the possession of the soil of Egypt, were no mere princely ciphers: they had a tenacious spirit, a warlike disposition, an insatiable desire for enlarging their borders, together with sufficient ability to realize their aims by court intrigues or advantageous marriage alliances. We can easily picture from their history what Egyptian feudalism really was, what were its component elements, what were the resources it had at its disposal, and we may well be astonished when we consider the power and tact which the Pharaohs must have displayed in keeping such vassals in check during two centuries.

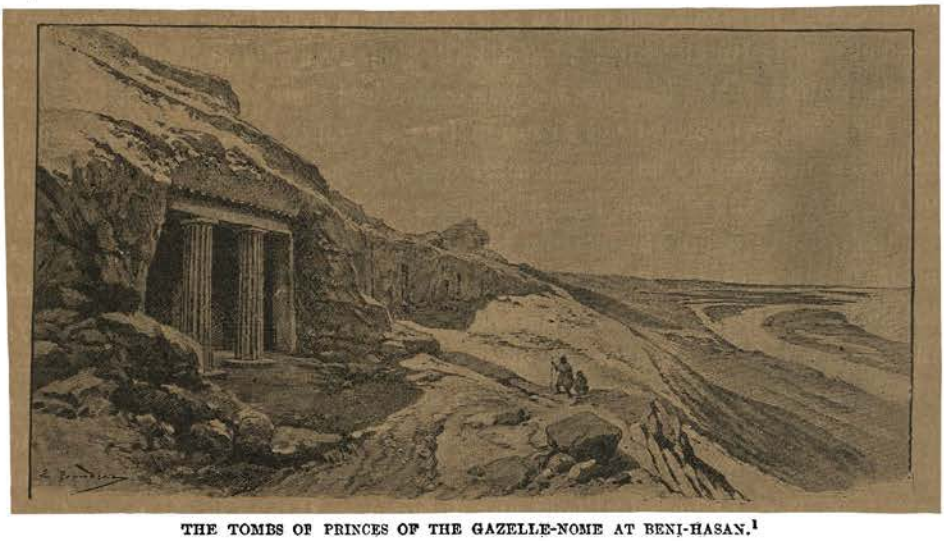
Amenemhâît I. had abandoned Thebes as a residence in favour of Heracleopolis and Memphis, and had made it over to some personage who probably belonged to the royal household. The nome of Ûisît had relapsed into the condition of a simple fief, and if we are as yet unable to establish the series of the princes who there succeeded each other contemporaneously with the Pharaohs, we at least know that all those whose names have come down to us played an important part in the history of their times. Montûnsîsû, whose stele was engraved in the XXIVth year of Amenemhâît I., and who died in the joint reign of this Pharaoh and his son Ûsirtasen I., had taken his share in most of the wars conducted against neighbouring peoples,—the Anîtiû of Nubia, the Monîtû of Sinai, and the "Lords of the Sands:" he had dismantled their cities and razed their fortresses.[3] The principality retained no doubt the same boundaries which it had acquired under the first Antûfs, but Thebes itself grew daily larger, and gained in importance in proportion as its frontiers extended southward. It had become, after the conquests of Ûsirtasen III., the very centre of the Egyptian world—a centre from which the power of the Pharaoh could equally well extend in a northerly direction towards the Sinaitic Peninsula and Libya, or towards the Red Sea and the "humiliated Kûsh" in the south. The influence of its lords increased accordingly: under Amenem-

[1] The inscription of Khnûmhotpû was copied for the first time by BURTON, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pls. xxiii., xxiv. The tomb was described by CHAMPOLLION (*Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 385–425), and many of the scenes were reproduced with much accuracy in the plates to his great work, as well as in that of Rosellini. We find it reproduced in its entirety in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 123–130, and in NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pls. xxii.–xxxviii.

[2] The tomb of Amoni-Amenemhâît has been described with great minuteness by CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 425–434, and by NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pls. iii.–xxxi.; that of Prince Khîti has also been described in the younger Champollion's *Mon. de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. pp. 334–358, and in NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. ii. pp. 51–62, pls. ix.–xix.

[3] Stele C 1 in the Louvre (GAYET, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, pl. i.; PIERRET, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, vol. ii. pp. 27, 28), interpreted by MASPERO, *Un Gouverneur de Thèbes au début de la XIIe dynastie* (extracted from the *Mémoires du premier Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu à Paris*, vol. ii. pp. 48–61).

hâît III. and Amenemhâît IV. they were perhaps the most powerful of the great vassals, and when the crown slipped from the grasp of the XIIth dynasty, it fell into the hands of one of these feudatories. It is not known how the transition was brought about which transferred the sovereignty from the elder to the younger branch of the family of Amenemhâît I. When Amenemhâît IV.



THE TOMBS OF PRINCES OF THE GAZELLE-NOME AT BENI-HASAN.[1]

died, his nearest heir was a woman, his sister Sovkûnofriûrî: she retained the supreme authority for not quite four years,[2] and then resigned her position to a certain Sovkhotpû.[3] Was there a revolution in the palace, or a popular rising, or a civil war? Did the queen become the wife of the new sovereign, and thus bring about the change without a struggle? Sovkhotpû was probably lord of Ûisît, and the dynasty which he founded is given by the native

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from a chromolithograph in LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, i. pl. 61. The first tomb on the left, of which the portico is shown, is that of Khnûmhotpû II.

[2] She reigned exactly three years, ten months, and eighteen days, according to the fragments of the "Royal Canon of Turin" (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, pl. v. col. vii. l. 2).

[3] Sovkhotpû Khûtoûirî, according to the present published versions of the Turin Papyrus (LEPSIUS, *Auswahl*, pl. v. col. vii. l. 5), an identification which led Lieblein (*Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, pp. 102, 103) and Wiedemann (*Ægyptische Geschichte*, pp. 266, 267) to reject the generally accepted assumption that this first king of the XIIIth dynasty was Sovkhotpû Sakhemkhûtoûirî (E. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions des rochers de Semneh*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. v. pp. 313, 314; LAUTH, *Manetho und der Turiner Königspapyrus*, p. 236). Still, the way in which the monuments of Sovkhotpû Sakhemkhûtoûirî and his papyri (GRIFFITH, in PETRIE'S *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 50) are intermingled with the monuments of Amenemhâît III. at Semneh and in the Fayûm, show that it is difficult to separate him from this monarch. Moreover, an examination of the original Turin Papyrus shows that there is a tear before the word *Khûtoûirî* on the first cartouche, no indication of which appears in the facsimile, but which has, none the less, slightly damaged the initial solar disk and removed almost the whole of one sign. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that *Sakhemkhûtoûirî* was written instead of *Khûtoûirî*, and that, therefore, all the authorities are in the right, from their different points of view, and that the founder of the XIIIth dynasty was a Sakhemkhûtoûirî I., while the Sovkhotpû Sakhemkhûtoûirî, who occupies the fifteenth place in the dynasty, was a Sakhemkhûtoûirî II.

historians as of Theban origin. His accession entailed no change in the Egyptian constitution; it merely consolidated the Theban supremacy, and gave it a recognized position. Thebes became henceforth the head of the entire country: doubtless the kings did not at once forsake Heracleopolis and the Fayûm, but they made merely passing visits to these royal residences at considerable intervals, and after a few generations even these were given up.[1] Most of these sovereigns resided and built their Pyramids at Thebes, and the administration of the kingdom became centralized there.[2] The actual capital of a king was determined not so much by the locality from whence he ruled, as by the place where he reposed after death. Thebes was the virtual capital of Egypt from the moment that its masters fixed on it as their burying-place.

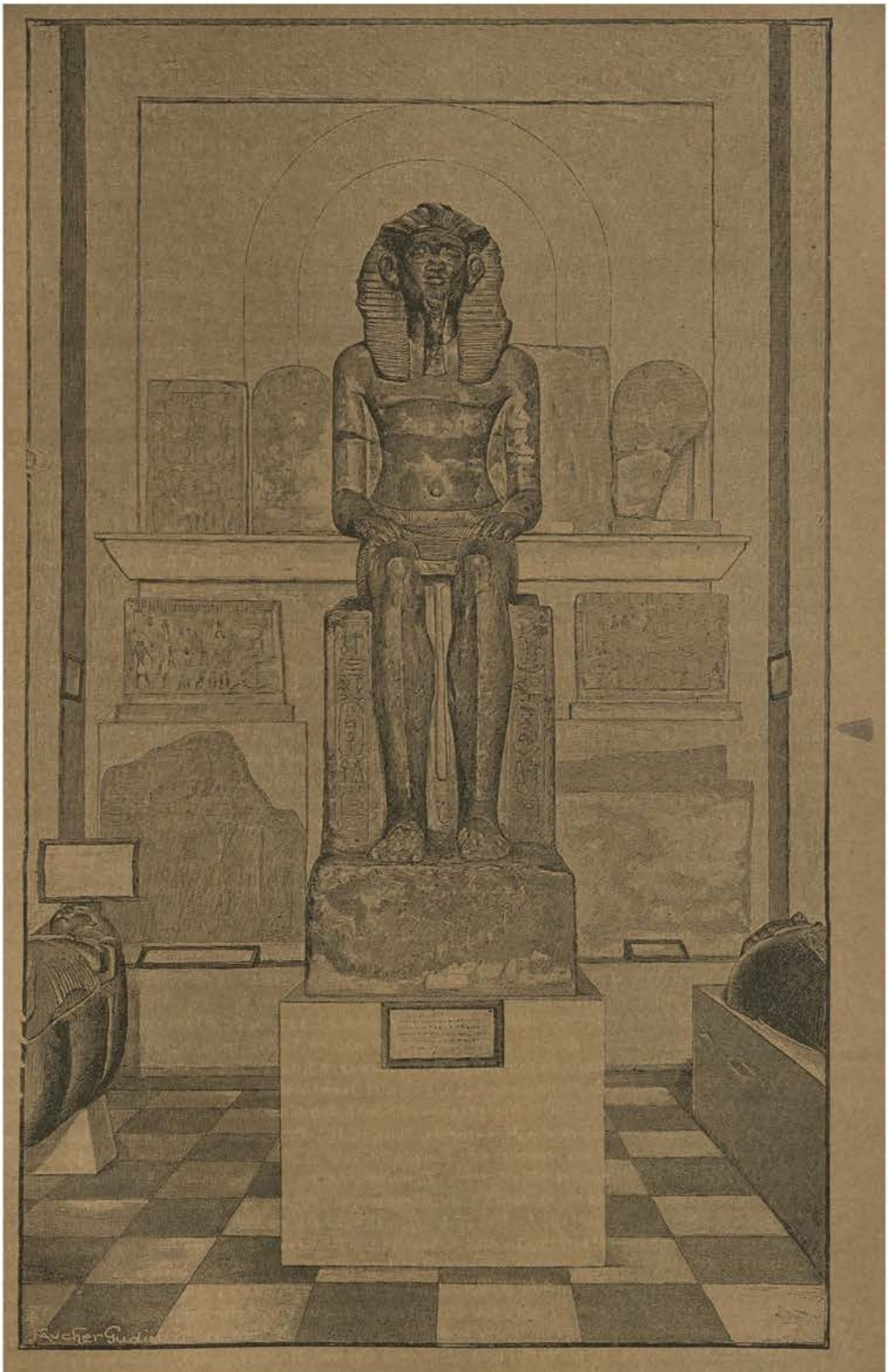
Uncertainty again shrouds the history of the country after Sovkhotpû I.: not that monuments are lacking or names of kings, but the records of the many Sovkhotpûs and Nofirhotpûs found in a dozen places in the valley, furnish as yet no authentic means of ascertaining in what order to classify them. The XIIIth dynasty contained, so it is said, sixty kings, who reigned for a period of over 453 years.[3] The succession did not always take place in the direct line from father to son: several times, when interrupted by default of male heirs, it was renewed without any disturbance, thanks to the transmission of royal rights to their children by princesses, even when their husbands did not belong to the reigning family. Monthotpû, the father of Sovkhotpû III., was an ordinary priest, and his name is constantly quoted by his son; but solar blood flowed in the veins of his mother, and procured for him the crown.[4] The father of his successor, Nofirhotpû II., did not belong to the reigning branch, or was only distantly connected with it, but his mother Kamâît was the daughter of Pharaoh, and that was sufficient to make her son of royal

[1] Prof. Petrie has found Papyri of Sovkhotpû I. at Hawâra (PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 50).

[2] We know of the pyramid of Sovkhûmsaûf and of his wife, Queen Nûbkhâs, at Thebes, from the testimony of the Abbott Papyrus (pl. iii. ll. 1–7, pl. vi. ll. 2, 3; BIRCH-CHABAS, *Étude sur le Papyrus Abbott*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1st series, vol. xvi. pp. 269–271; CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. i. pp. 63, 64, 68, 104; MASPERO, *Une enquête judiciaire á Thèbes*, pp. 18, 19, 41, 73), and of the Salt Papyrus (CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. p. 1, et seq.). The excavations conducted by Mr. de Morgan have shown that Aûtûabrî I. Horû caused himself to be interred on the plateau of Dahshur, near Memphis.

[3] This is the number given in one of the lists of Manetho, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 565. Lepsius's theory, according to which the shepherds overran Egypt from the end of the XIIth dynasty and tolerated the existence of two vassal dynasties, the XIIIth and XIVth (BUNSEN, *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. iii. p. 3, et seq.), was disputed and refuted by E. de Rougé as soon as it appeared (*Examen Critique de l'ouvrage de M. le Chevalier de Bunsen*, ii. p. 52, et seq.); we find the theory again in the works of some contemporary Egyptologists, but the majority of those who continued to support it have since abandoned their position, *e.g.* NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, p. 15, et seq.

[4] The genealogy of Sovkhotpû III. Sakhmûaztoûirî was made out by BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 180, and completed by WIEDEMANN, *Ægyptische Geschichte*, suppl., pp. 29, 30, from a number of scarabæi more recently collected by PETRIE in *Historical Scarabs*, Nos. 290–292, and from several inscriptions in the Louvre, especially *Inscription C 8*, reproduced in PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. viii.; and in PIERRET, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites*, vol. ii. p. 107.



THE COLOSSAL STATUE OF KING SOVKHOTPÛ IN THE LOUVRE.
Drawn by Faucher-Gudin.

rank.[1] With careful investigation, we should probably find traces of several revolutions which changed the legitimate order of succession without, however, entailing a change of dynasty. The Nofirhotpûs and Sovkhotpûs continued both at home and abroad the work so ably begun by the Amenemhâîts and the Usirtasens. They devoted all their efforts to beautifying the principal towns of Egypt, and caused important works to be carried on in most of them—at Karnak,[2] in the great temple of Amon, at Luxor,[3] at Bubastis,[4] at Tanis,[5] at Tell-Mokhdam,[6] and in the sanctuary of Abydos. At the latter place, Khâsoshûshrî Nofirhotpû restored to Khontamentît considerable possessions which the god had lost;[7] Nozirri[8] sent thither one of his officers to restore the edifice built by Ûsirtasen I.; Sovkûmsaûf II. dedicated his own statue in this temple,[9] and private individuals, following the example set them by their sovereigns, vied with each other in their gifts of votive stelæ.[10] The pyramids of this period were of moderate size, and those princes who abandoned the custom of building them were content like Aûtûabrî I. Horû with a modest tomb, close to the gigantic pyramids of their ancestors.[11] In style the statues of this epoch show a certain inferiority when compared with the beautiful

[1] The genealogy of Norfirhotpû II. has been obtained, like that of Sovkhotpû, from scarabs recently brought together in PETRIE'S *Historical Scarabs*, Nos. 293–298, and by the inscriptions at Konosso (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 151 *f*,) at Sehêl (MARIETTE, *Monuments divers*, pl. lxx. 3), and at Aswân (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, ii. 151 *e*). His immediate successors, Sihâthorrî and Sovkhotpû IV., and later, Sovkhotpû V., are mentioned as royal princes in these inscriptions (BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 180).

[2] Table of offerings of Sonkhabrî Amoni-Antûf-Amenemhâît found at Karnak (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pls. ix., x., and pp. 45, 46), now at Gîzeh (VIREY, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1893, p. 39, No. 123); statues of various Sovkhotpûs (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. viii. *k–m*, and pp. 44, 45); cartouche-block of Nofirhotpû II. and Sovkhotpû Khânofirrî (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. viii. *n–o*, and p. 45).

[3] Architrave with the name of Sovkhotpû II. (GRÉBAUT, *Fouilles de Louqsor*, in the *Bulletin de l'Inst. Égyptien*, 2nd ser., vol. x. pp. 335, 336; cf. VIREY, *Notice des princ. Monuments*, p. 44, No. 136).

[4] An architrave with the name of Sakhemkhûtoûirî Sovkhotpû I. (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, vol. i. pl. xxxiii. *G-I*), showing that this prince must have constructed a hall of large size in the temple at Bubastis (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, vol i. p. 15). Naville thinks that a statue from Bubastis, in the Museum at Geneva, belonged to a king of the XIIIth dynasty before it was appropriated by Ramses II. (NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, vol. i. pl. xiv.).

[5] Statues of Mirmâshâû (BURTON, *Exerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xxx. 1, 7; MARIETTE, *Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, pp. 5–7, and *Deuxième Lettre*, pp. 4, 5; *Fragments et Documents relatifs aux fouilles de Tanis*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ix. p. 14; BANVILLE-ROUGÉ, *Album photographique de la Mission de M. de Rougé*, No. 114, and *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pl. lxxvi.; PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. pl. iii. 17 *B*, and pp. 8, 9); statues of Sovkhotpû Khânofirrî in the Louvre (*A 16, 17*; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice Sommaire des Monuments*, 1880, p. 16; PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. p. 8) and at Tanis (E. and J. DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions recueillies en Égypte*, pl. lxxvi.; PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. pl. iii. 16 *A–B*); statues of Sovkhotpû Khûkhopirrî (MARIETTE, *Deuxième Lettre*, p. 4) and of Monthotpû, son of Sovkhotpû Sakkmûaztoûirî (BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ægyptens*, p. 182), obelisk of Nahsi (PETRIE, *Tanis*, i. pl. iii. 19 *A–D*, and p. 8; NAVILLE, *Le Roi Nehasi*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. p. 99).

[6] Statue of King Nahsirî (NAVILLE, *Le Roi Nehasi*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 97–101).

[7] MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pls. xxviii.–xxx., and *Cat. Général des Monuments*, No. 766, pp. 233, 334.

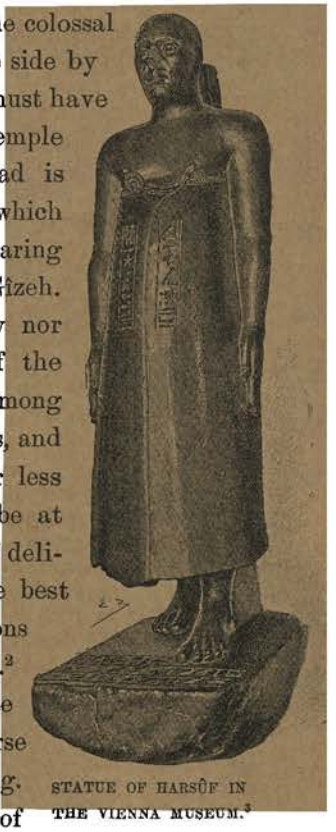
[8] *Louvre C 11, 12*, stelæ published by J. DE HORRACK, *Sur deux stèles de l'Ancien Empire*; CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 203–217; the prænomen of the king was Râ-ni mâît-ânû (MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de Gram. et d'Hist.*, § 12, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. i. 140).

[9] MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. xxvi., and *Catalogue Général*, No. 347, p. 30.

[10] There are thousands of them in the museums; those discovered by Mariette fill a hundred and fifty pages of his *Catalogue Général, des Monuments d'Abydos*, Nos. 766–1046, pp. 231–373.

[11] Tomb of Aûtûabrî I. Horû, discovered at Dahshûr by M. de Morgan in April, 1894.

work of the XIIth dynasty: the proportions of the human figure are not so good, the modelling of the limbs is not so vigorous, the rendering of the features lacks individuality; the sculptors exhibit a tendency, which had been growing since the time of the Ûsirtasens, to represent all their sitters with the same smiling, commonplace type of countenance. There are, however, among the statues of kings and private individuals which have come down to us, a few examples of really fine treatment. The colossal statue of Sovkhotpû IV., which is now in the Louvre side by side with an ordinary-sized figure of the same Pharaoh, must have had a good effect when placed at the entrance to the temple at Tanis:[1] his chest is thrown well forward, his head is erect, and we feel impressed by that noble dignity which the Memphite sculptors knew how to give to the bearing and features of the diorite Khephren enthroned at Gîzeh. The sitting Mirmâshaû of Tanis lacks neither energy nor majesty, and the Sovkûmsaûf of Abydos, in spite of the roughness of its execution, decidedly holds its own among the other Pharaohs. The statuettes found in the tombs, and the smaller objects discovered in the ruins, are neither less carefully nor less successfully treated. The little scribe at Gîzeh, in the attitude of walking, is a *chef d'œuvre* of delicacy and grace, and might be attributed to one of the best schools of the XIIth dynasty, did not the inscriptions oblige us to relegate it to the Theban art of the XIIIth.[2] The heavy and commonplace figure of the magnate now in the Vienna Museum is treated with a rather coarse realism, but exhibits nevertheless most skilful tooling. It is not exclusively at Thebes, or at Tanis, or in any of the other great cities of Egypt, that we meet with excellent examples of work, or that we can prove that flourishing schools of sculpture existed at this period; probably there is scarcely any small town which would not furnish us at the present day, if careful excavation were carried out, with some monument or object worthy of being placed in a museum. During the XIIIth dynasty both art and everything else in Egypt were fairly prosperous. Nothing attained a very high standard, but, on the other hand, nothing



STATUE OF HARSÛF IN THE VIENNA MUSEUM.[3]

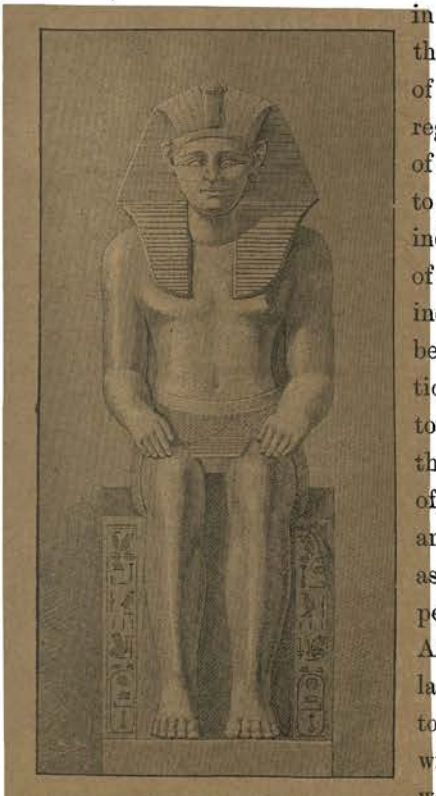
[1] E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice des Monuments Égyptiens*, 1849, pp. 3, 4; cf. the woodcut on p. 529 of the present work.

[2] MASPERO, *Voyage d'inspection en 1884*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 64. This exquisite example has, unfortunately, remained almost unknown up to the present, in consequence of its small size.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by Ernest de Bergmann.

fell below a certain level of respectable mediocrity. Wealth exercised, however, an injurious influence upon artistic taste. The funerary statue, for instance, which Aûtûabrî I. Horû ordered for himself was of ebony, and seems to have been inlaid originally with gold,[1] whereas Kheops and Khephren were content to have theirs of alabaster and diorite.

During this dynasty we hear nothing of the inhabitants of the Sinaitic Peninsula to the east, or of the Libyans to the west: it was in the south, in Ethiopia, that the Pharaohs expended all their surplus energy. The most important of them, Sovkhotpû I., had continued to register the height of the Nile on the rocks of Semneh, but after his time we are unable to say where the Nilometer was moved to, nor, indeed, who displaced it. The middle basin of the river as far as Gebel-Barkal was soon incorporated with Egypt, and the population became quickly assimilated. The colonization of the larger islands of Say and Argo took place first, as their isolation protected them from sudden attacks: certain princes of the XIIIth dynasty built temples there, and erected their statues within them, just as they would have done in any of the most peaceful districts of the Saîd or the Delta. Argo is still at the present day one of the largest of these Nubian islands:[2] it is said to be 12¼ miles in length, and about 2½ in width towards the middle. It is partly wooded, and vegetation grows there with tropical luxuriance; creeping plants climb from tree to tree, and form an almost impenetrable undergrowth, which swarms with game secure from the sportsman. A score of villages are dotted about in the clearings, and are surrounded by carefully cultivated fields, in which durra predominates. An unknown Pharaoh of the XIIIth dynasty built, near to the principal village, a temple of considerable size; it covered an area, whose limits may still easily be traced, of 174 feet wide by



STATUE OF SOVKHOTPÛ III.[3]

[1] From Dahshûr, now at Gîzeh; it has been published in Morgan's *Dahshûr*.

[2] The description of Argo and its ruins is borrowed from CAILLAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, vol. ii. pp. 1–7.

[3] Drawn by Boudier, from the sketch by Lepsius (*Denkm.*, ii. 120 *h–i*; cf. the inscription, *ibid.*, 150 *i*): the head was "quite mutilated and separated from the bust" (CAILLAUD, *Voyage à Méroé*, vol. ii. p. 5).

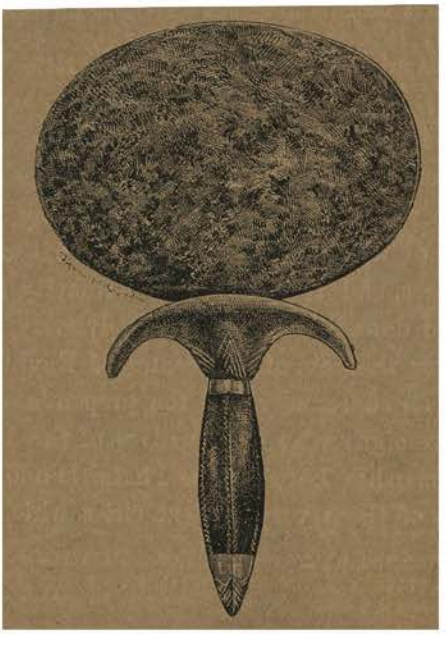
292 long from east to west. The main body of the building was of sandstone, probably brought from the quarries of Tombos: it has been pitilessly destroyed piecemeal by the inhabitants, and only a few insignificant fragments, on which some lines of hieroglyphs may still be deciphered, remain *in situ*. A small statue of black granite of good workmanship is still standing in the midst of the ruins. It represents Sovkhotpû III. sitting, with his hands resting on his knees; the head, which has been mutilated, lies beside the body. The same king erected colossal statues of himself at Tanis, Bubastis, and at

ONE OF THE OVERTURNED AND BROKEN STATUES OF MIRMASHAÛ AT TANIS.[1]

Thebes: he was undisputed master of the whole Nile Valley, from near the spot where the river receives its last tributary to where it empties itself into the sea. The making of Egypt was finally accomplished in his time, and if all its component parts were not as yet equally prosperous, the bond which connected them was strong enough to resist any attempt to break it, whether by civil discord within or invasions from without. The country was not free from revolutions, and if we have no authority for stating that they were the cause of the downfall of the XIIIth dynasty, the lists of Manetho at least show that after that event the centre of Egyptian power was again shifted. Thebes lost its supremacy, and the preponderating influence passed into the hands of sovereigns who were natives of the Delta. Xoïs, situated in the midst of the marshes, between the Phatnitic and Sebennytic branches of the Nile, was one of those very ancient cities which had played but an

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the photograph in ROUGÉ-BANVILLE'S *Album photographique de la Mission de M. de Rougé*, No. 114.

insignificant part in shaping the destinies of the country. By what combination of circumstances its princes succeeded in raising themselves to the throne of the Pharaohs, we know not: they numbered, so it was said, seventy-five kings, who reigned four hundred and eighty-four years, and whose mutilated names darken the pages of the Turin Papyrus. The majority of them did little more than appear upon the throne, some reigning three years, others two, others a year or scarcely more than a few months: far from being a regularly constituted line of sovereigns, they appear rather to have been a series of Pretenders, mutually jealous of and deposing one another. The feudal lords who had been so powerful under the Ûsirtasens had lost none of their prestige under the Sovkhotpûs: and the rivalries of usurpers of this kind, who seized the crown without being strong enough to keep it, may perhaps explain the long sequence of shadowy Pharaohs with curtailed reigns who constitute the XIVth dynasty. They did not withdraw from Nubia, of that fact we are certain: but what did they achieve in the north and north-east of the empire? The nomad tribes were showing signs of restlessness on the frontier, the peoples of the Tigris and Euphrates were already pushing the vanguards of their armies into Central Syria. While Egypt had been bringing the valley of the Nile and the eastern corner of Africa into subjection, Chaldæa had imposed both her language and her laws upon the whole of that part of Western Asia which separated her from Egypt: the time was approaching when these two great civilized powers of the ancient world would meet each other face to face and come into fierce collision.



ANCIENT CHALDÆA.

THE CREATION, THE DELUGE, THE HISTORY OF THE GODS—THE COUNTRY, ITS CITIES, INHABITANTS, AND EARLIEST DYNASTIES.

The account of the Creation: gods and monsters, the rebellion of ***Tiâmat****—The struggle between Tiâmat and Bel-Merodach, the formation of the earth, the theogony—The world as the Chaldæans imagined it—The fish-god Oannes and the first men*

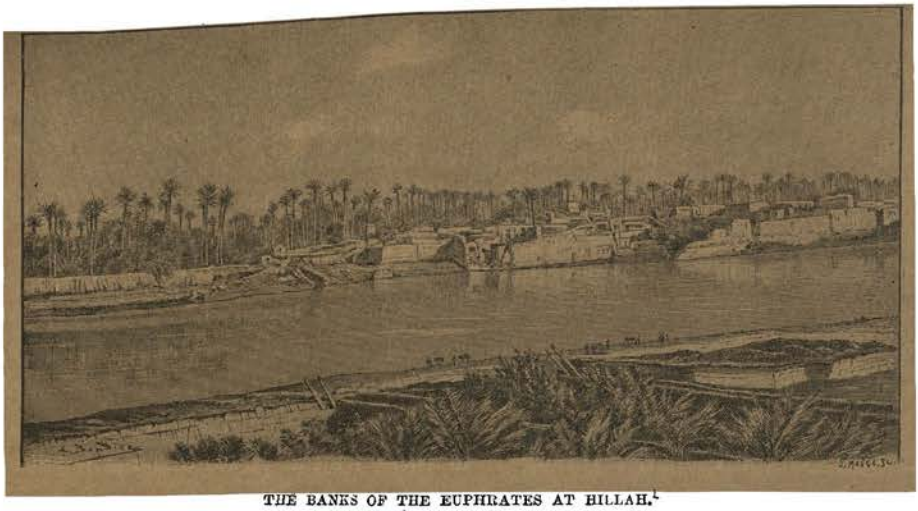
The Euphrates and the Tigris: their tributaries and floods—The Sumerians and the Semites: the country reclaimed from the rivers—The flora: cereals and palm trees—The fauna: fish, birds, the lion, elephant, and wild ox (urus), domestic animals—Northern Chaldæa and its cities: Southern Chaldæa.

The ten kings prior to the Deluge—Xisuthros-Shamashnapishtim and the Chaldæan account of the Deluge: the destruction of mankind, the resting of the ark on Mount Nizir, the sacrifice and reconciliation of gods and men—The kings after the Deluge: Nera, Etana, Nimrod.

The legend of Gilgames and its astronomical bearing—The seduction of Eabâni—The death of Khumbaba, Ishtar's love for Gilgames, and the struggle with the urus of Anu—The death of Eabâni and the voyage in search of the country of life: scorpion-men, the goddess Sabitum and the pilot Arad-Ea—Shamashnapishtim's welcome, and the cure of

Gilgames—The return to Uruk [Warka], the invocation of the soul of Eabâni—Antiquity of the poem of Gilgames.

The beginnings of true history: the system of dynasties established by the Babylonian scribes--The kings of Agadé: Shargani-shar-ali and the legend concerning him, Naramsin and the first Chaldœan empire—The cities of the South: Lagash and its kings, Urninâ, Idinghiranaghin—The vicegerents of Lagash: Gudea, the bas-reliefs and statues of Telloh—Uru and its first dynasty: Urbau and Dunghi—The kings of Larsam, Nishin, and Uruk: the second dynasty of Uru.



THE BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES AT HILLAH.[1]

CHAPTER VII.

ANCIENT CHALDÆA.

The Creation, the Deluge, the history of the gods—The country, its cities, its inhabitants, its early dynasties.

"IN the time when nothing which was called heaven existed above, and when nothing below had as yet received the name of earth,[2] Apsu, the Ocean, who first was their father, and Chaos-Tiâmat, who gave birth to them all, mingled their waters in one, reeds which were not united, rushes which bore no fruit."[3] Life germinated slowly in this inert mass, in which the elements of our world lay still in confusion: when at length it did spring up, it was but feebly, and at rare intervals, through the hatching of divine couples devoid of personality and almost without form. "In the time when the gods were not created, not one as yet, when they had neither been called by their names, nor had their destinies been assigned to them by fate, gods manifested themselves. Lakhmu and Lakhamu were the first to appear, and waxed great for

[1] Drawn by Boudier, after J. DIEULAFOY, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, p. 615. The vignette, which is by Faucher-Gudin, is reproduced from an intaglio in the Cabinet des Médailles (LAJARD, *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, pl. xvi., No. 7).

[2] In Chaldæa, as in Egypt, nothing was supposed to have a real existence until it had received its name: the sentence quoted in the text means practically, that at that time there was neither heaven nor earth (HAUPT, *Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze*, pp. 31, 32; SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, p. 385).

[3] Apsu has been transliterated 'Απασὼν in Greek, by the author an extract from whose works has been preserved by Damascius (*Damascii Successoris Solutiones*, RUELLE'S edition, pp. 321, 322). He gives a different version of the tradition, according to which the amorphous goddess Mummu-Tiâmat consisted of two persons. The first, Tauthé, was the wife of Apasôn; the second, Moymis (Μωϋμις), was the son of Apasôn and of Tauthé. The last part of the sentence is very obscure in the Assyrian

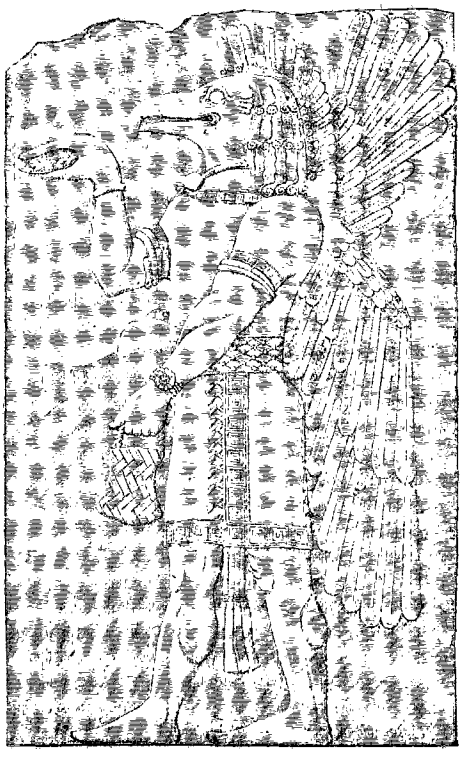
ages; then Anshar and Kishar were produced after them. Days were added to days, and years were heaped upon years: Anu, Inlil, and Ea were born in their turn, for Anshar and Kishar had given them birth."[1] As the generations emanated one from the other, their vitality increased, and the personality of each became more clearly defined; the last generation included none but beings of an original character and clearly marked individuality. Anu, the sunlit sky by day, the starlit firmament by night; Inlil-Bel, the king of the earth; Ea, the sovereign of the waters and the personification of wisdom.[2] Each of them duplicated himself, Anu into Anat, Bel into Belit, Ea into Damkina, and united himself to the spouse whom he had deduced from himself. Other divinities sprang from these fruitful pairs, and the impulse once given, the world was rapidly peopled by their descendants. Sin, Shamash, and Ramman, who presided respectively over the moon, the sun, and the air, were all three of equal rank; next came the lords of the planets, Ninib, Merodach, Nergal, the warrior-goddess Ishtar, and Nebo; then a whole army of lesser deities, who ranged themselves around Anu as round a supreme master. Tiâmat, finding her domain becoming more and more restricted owing to the activity of the others, desired to raise battalion against battalion, and set herself to create unceasingly; but her offspring, made in her own image, appeared like those incongruous phantoms which men see in dreams, and which are made up of members borrowed from a score of different animals.

text, and has been translated in a variety of different ways. It seems to contain a comparison between Apsû and Mummu-Tiâmat on the one hand, and the reeds and clumps of rushes so common in Chaldæa on the other; the two divinities remain inert and unfruitful, like water-plants which have not yet manifested their exuberant growth.

[1] *Tablet I.*, ll. 7–15. The ends of nearly all these lines are mutilated; the principal parts of the text only have been restored with certainty, by FR. LENORMANT (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. p. 496), from the well-known passage in Damascius (RUELLE'S edition, p. 322): Εἶτα αὖ τρίτην ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, Κισσαρὴ καὶ Ἀσσωρὸν ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι τρεῖς, Ἀνὸν καὶ Ἴλλινον καὶ Ἀὸν. The identification of Ἴλλινος with Inlil, pronounced Illil by the Assyrians, is due to JENSEN (*De Incantamentorum Sumerico-Assyriorum, seriei quæ dicitur Shurbu Tabulâ VI.*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. i. p. 311, note 1, and *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 271).

[2] The first fragments of the Chaldæan account of the Creation were discovered by G. Smith, who described them in the *Daily Telegraph* (of March 4, 1875), and published them in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (*On some fragments of the Chaldæan Account of the Creation*, vol. iv. pp. 363, 364, and six plates), and translated in his Chaldæan account of Genesis (1st edit., pp. 61–100) all the fragments with which he was acquainted; other fragments have since been collected, but unfortunately not enough to enable us to entirely reconstitute the legend. It covered at least six tablets, possibly more. Portions of it have been translated after Smith, by Talbot (*The Revolt in Heaven*, in the *Trans. of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. pp. 349–362, *The Fight between Bel and the Dragon*, and *The Chaldæan Account of the Creation*, in the *Trans.*, vol. v. pp. 1–21, 426–440; cf. *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vii. 123, et seq.; vol. ix. p. 135, et seq.), by Oppert (*Fragments cosmogoniques*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire d'Israël*, vol. i. pp. 411–422), by Lenormant (*Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. pp. 494–505, 507–517), by Schrader (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., pp. 1–17), by Sayce (*Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 377–390, and *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 122–146), by Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 261–364), by Winckler (*Keilinschriftliche Textbuch*, pp. 88–97), by Zimmern (H. GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 401–419), and lastly by Delitzsch (*Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*, in *Abhandlungen der K. Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. xvii). Since G. Smith wrote *The Chaldæan Account* (pp. 101–107), a fragment of a different version has been considered to be a part of the dogma of the Creation, as it was put forth at Kutha.

They appeared in the form of bulls with human heads, of horses with the snouts of dogs, of dogs with quadruple bodies springing from a single fish-like tail. Some of them had the beak of an eagle or a hawk; others, four wings and two faces; others, the legs and horns of a goat; others, again, the hind quarters of a horse and the whole body of a man.[1] Tiâmat furnished them with terrible weapons, placed them under the command of her husband Kingu, and set out to war against the gods.[2]



ONE OF THE EAGLE-HEADED GENII.[3]

At first they knew not whom to send against her. Anshar despatched his son Anu; but Anu was afraid, and made no attempt to oppose her. He sent Ea; but Ea, like Anu, grew pale with fear, and did not venture to attack her. Merodach, the son of Ea, was the only one who believed himself strong enough to conquer her. The gods, summoned to a solemn banquet in the palace of Anshar, unanimously chose him to be their champion, and proclaimed him king. "Thou, thou art glorious among the great gods, thy will is second to none, thy bidding is Anu; Marduk (Merodach), thou art glorious among the great gods, thy will is second to none,[4] thy bidding is Anu.[5] From this day, that which thou orderest may not be changed, the power to raise or to abase shall be in thy hand,

[1] The description of these monsters is borrowed from Berossus (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire des Fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, pp. 7, 8, 11, 12, 74-85); their creation was described in the second tablet of the Assyrian edition of the Creation (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 275, 276; PINCHES, *A Babylonian Duplicate of Tablets I. and II. of the Creation Series* in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. ii. pp. 27–33; DELITZSCH, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 96, 97), and in the fragment of the Kutha version (SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 372, 373). A certain number of them will be found represented on the embroideries of the royal garment, the details of which are reproduced in LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pls. 43–50.

[2] The preparations of Tiâmat are described in the third tablet (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 275–279); the text is in too mutilated a state to permit of a connected translation being given.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from an Assyrian bas-relief from Khorsabad (BOTTA, *Le Monument de Ninive*, pl. 74).

[4] The Assyrian runs, "thy *destiny* is second to none." This refers not to the *destiny* of the god himself, but to the fate which he allots to others. I have substituted, here and elsewhere, for the word "destiny," the special meaning of which would not have been understood, the word "will," which, though it does not exactly reproduce the Assyrian expression, avoids the necessity for paraphrases or formulas calculated to puzzle the modern reader.

[5] Or, to put it less concisely, "When thou commandest, it is Anu himself who commands," and the same blind obedience must be paid to thee as to Anu.

the word of thy mouth shall endure, and thy commandment shall not meet with opposition. None of the gods shall transgress thy law; but whereso-ever a sanctuary of the gods is decorated, the place where they shall give their oracles shall be thy place.[1] Marduk, it is thou who art our avenger! We bestow on thee the attributes of a king; the whole of all that exists, thou hast it, and everywhere thy word shall be exalted. Thy weapons shall not be turned aside, they shall strike thy enemy. O master, who trusts in thee, spare thou his life; but the god who hath done evil, pour out his life like water." They clad their champion in a garment, and thus addressed him: "Thy will, master, shall be that of the gods. Speak the word, 'Let it be so,' it shall be so. Thus open thy mouth, this garment shall disappear; say unto it, 'Return,' and the garment shall be there." He spoke with his lips, the garment disappeared; he said unto it, "Return," and the garment was restored.[2] Merodach having been once convinced by this evidence that he had the power of doing everything and of undoing everything at his pleasure, the gods handed to him the sceptre, the throne, the crown, the insignia of supreme rule, and greeted him with their acclamations: "Be king!—Go! Cut short the life of Tiâmat, and let the wind carry her blood to the hidden extremities of the universe."[3] He equipped himself carefully for the struggle. "He made a bow and placed his mark upon it;"[4] he had a spear brought to him and fitted a point to it; the god lifted the lance, brandished it in his right hand, then hung the bow and quiver at his side. He placed a thunderbolt before him, filled his body with a devouring flame, then made a net in which to catch the anarchic Tiâmat; he placed the four winds in such a way that she could not escape, south and north, east and west, and with his own hand he brought them the net, the gift of his father Anu. He created the hurricane, the evil wind, the storm, the tempest, the four winds, the seven winds, the waterspout, the wind that is second to none; then he let loose the winds he had created, all seven of them, in order to bewilder the anarchic Tiâmat by charging behind her. And the master of the waterspout raised his mighty weapon, he mounted his chariot, a work without

[1] The meaning is uncertain. The sentence seems to convey that henceforth Merodach would be at home in all temples that were constructed in honour of the other gods.

[2] *Tablet IV.*, ll. 1-26; cf. SAYCE, *The Assyrian Story of the Creation*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, pp. 136, 137, JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 278-281, and DELITZSCH, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 103, 104.

[3] Sayce was the first, I believe (*The Assyrian Story of the Creation*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 141, note 2), to cite, in connection with this mysterious order, the passage in which Berossus tells (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, pp. 9, 12) how the gods created men from a little clay, moistened with the blood of the god Bêlos. Here there seems to be a fear lest the blood of Tiâmat, mingling with the mud, should produce a crop of monsters similar to those which the goddess had already created; the blood, if carried to the north, into the domain of the night, would there lose its creative power, or the monsters who might spring from it would at any rate remain strangers to the world of gods and men.

[4] "Literally, "he made his weapon known;" perhaps it would be better to interpret it, "and he made it known that the bow would henceforth be his distinctive weapon."

its equal, formidable; he installed himself therein, tied the four reins to the side, and darted forth, pitiless, torrent-like, swift."[1] He passed through the serried ranks of the monsters and penetrated as far as Tiâmat, and provoked her with his cries. "'Thou hast rebelled against the sovereignty of the gods, thou hast plotted evil against them, and hast desired that my fathers should taste of thy malevolence; therefore thy host shall be reduced to slavery, thy weapons shall be torn from thee. Come, then, thou and I must give battle to one

BEL-MERODACH, ARMED WITH THE THUNDERBOLT, DOES BATTLE WITH THE TUMULTUOUS TIÂMAT.[2]

another!' Tiâmat, when she heard him, flew into a fury, she became mad with rage; then Tiâmat howled, she raised herself savagely to her full height, and planted her feet firmly on the earth. She pronounced an incantation, recited her formula, and called to her aid the gods of the combat, both them and their weapons. They drew near one to another, Tiâmat and Marduk, wisest of the gods; they flung themselves into the combat, they met one another in the struggle. Then the master unfolded his net and seized her; he caused the hurricane which waited behind him to pass in front of him, and, when Tiâmat opened her mouth to swallow him, he thrust the hurricane into it so that the monster could not close her jaws again. The mighty wind

[1] *Tablet IV.*, ll. 31–52: cf. SAYCE, *The Assyrian Story of the Creation*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 137, 138; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 280–283; and DELITZSCH, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 104–105.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the bas-relief from Nimrûd preserved in the British Museum (cf. LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 5).

filled her paunch, her breast swelled, her maw was split. Marduk gave a straight thrust with his lance, burst open the paunch, pierced the interior, tore the breast, then bound the monster and deprived her of life. When he had vanquished Tiâmat, who had been their leader, her army was disbanded, her host was scattered, and the gods, her allies, who had marched beside her, trembled, were scared, and fled."[1] He seized hold of them, and of Kingu their chief, and brought them bound in chains before the throne of his father.

He had saved the gods from ruin, but this was the least part of his

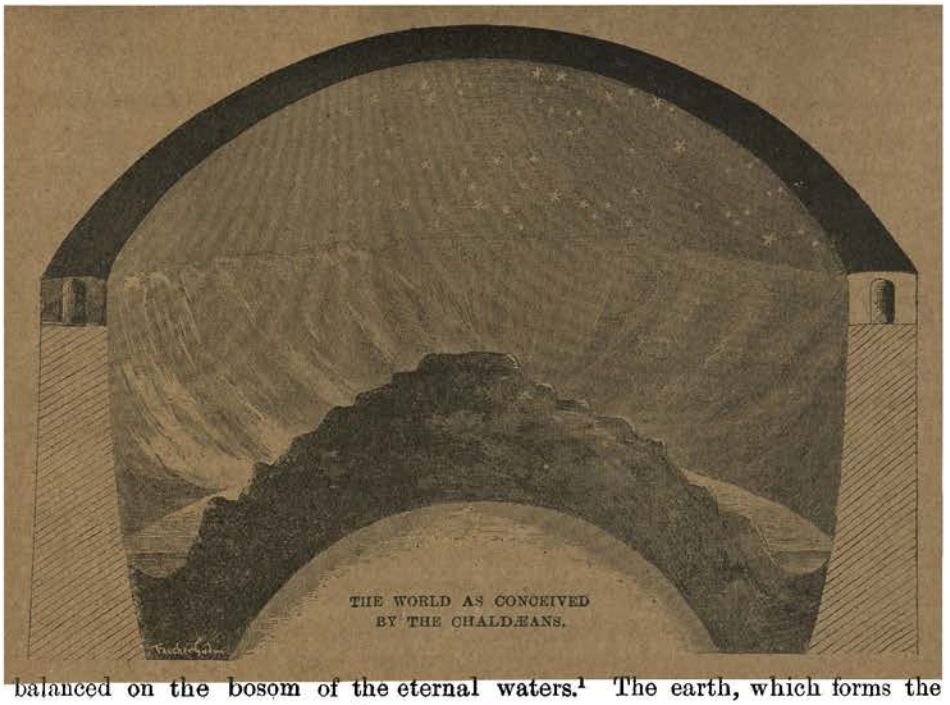
A KUFA LADEN WITH STONES AND MANNED BY A CREW OF FOUR MEN.[2]

task; he had still to sweep out of space the huge carcase which encumbered it, and to separate its ill-assorted elements, and arrange them afresh for the benefit of the conquerors. "He returned to Tiâmat whom he had bound in chains. He placed his foot upon her, with his unerring knife he cut into the upper part of her; then he cut the blood-vessels, and caused the blood to be carried by the north wind to the hidden places. And the gods saw his face, they rejoiced, they gave themselves up to gladness, and sent him a present, a tribute of peace; then he recovered his calm, he contemplated the corpse, raised it and wrought marvels. He split it in two as one does a fish for drying;"[3] then he hung up one of the halves on high, which became the heavens; the other half he spread out under his feet to form the earth, and made the universe such as men have since known it. As in Egypt, the world was a kind of enclosed chamber

[1] *Tablet IV.*, ll. 99–106; cf. SAYCE, *The Assyrian Story of the Creation*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 139, 140; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 284–287, and DELITZSCH, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 106, 107.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief at Koyunjik (LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 12, No. 2; cf. PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, pl. 44bis *a*). Behind the *kufa* may be seen a fisherman seated astride on an inflated skin with his fish-basket attached to his neck.

[3] *Tablet IV.*, ll. 126–136; cf. SAYCE, *The Assyrian Story of the Creation*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 141, 142; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 276–289; and DELITZSCH, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 107–108. The story of the separation of Tiâmat into halves filled the end of Tablet IV. (cf. JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 288, 289).



THE WORLD AS CONCEIVED BY THE CHALDÆANS.

balanced on the bosom of the eternal waters.[1] The earth, which forms the lower part of it, or floor, is something like an overturned boat in appearance, and hollow underneath, not like one of the narrow skiffs in use among other races, but a kufa, or kind of semicircular boat such as the tribes of the Lower Euphrates have made use of from earliest antiquity down to our own times.[2] The earth rises gradually from the extremities to the centre, like a great mountain, of which the snow-region, where the Euphrates finds its source, approximately marks the summit.[3] It was at first supposed to be divided into seven zones, placed one on the top of the other along its sides, like the stories of a temple;[4] later on it was divided into four "houses," each of which, like the "houses" of Egypt, corresponded with one of the four cardinal points, and was

[1] The description of the Egyptian world will be found on p. 16 of the present work. So far the only systematic attempt to reconstruct the Chaldæan world, since Lenormant (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 141–144), has been made by Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 1890); Jensen, after examining all the elements which went to compose it, one after another (pp. 1–253), sums up in a few pages (pp. 253–260), and reproduces in a plate (pl. iii.) the principal results of his inquiry. It will be seen at a glance how much I have taken from his work, and in what respects the drawing here reproduced differs from his.

[2] DIODORUS SICULUS, ii. 29; Περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἰδιωτάτας ἀποφάσεις ποιοῦνται λέγοντες ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν σκαφοειδῆ καὶ κοίλην. Cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Le Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 141, 142; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 247.

[3] It is the *Kharsag kurkura*, the "Mountain of the World" of the cuneiform texts, which is usually placed at the north (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 117–122) or to the east, more accurately to the north-east (FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez lez Chaldéens*, pp. 142, 156, et seq., and *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. p. 123, et seq.). Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 206, et seq.) seems to me to have proved that this was a name used to indicate the earth itself; the overturned boat does, as a matter of fact, somewhat resemble a round mountain, the sides of which rise gently till they meet at the same point.

[4] FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 123–126; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, p. 170, et seq.

under the rule of particular gods.[1] Near the foot of the mountain, the edges of the so-called boat curve abruptly outwards, and surround the earth with a continuous wall of uniform height having no opening.[2] The waters accumulated in the hollow thus formed, as in a ditch; it was a narrow and mysterious sea, an ocean stream, which no living man might cross save with permission from on high, and whose waves rigorously separated the domain of men from the regions reserved to the gods.[3] The heavens rose above the "mountain of the world" like a boldly formed dome, the circumference of which rested on the top of the wall in the same way as the upper structures of a house rest on its foundations.[4] Merodach wrought it out of a hard resisting metal which shone brilliantly during the day in the rays of the sun, and at night appeared only as a dark blue surface, strewn irregularly with luminous stars. He left it quite solid in the southern regions, but tunnelled it in the north, by contriving within it a huge cavern which communicated with external space by means of two doors placed at the east and the west.[5] The sun came forth each morning by the first of these doors; he mounted to the zenith, following the internal base of the cupola from east to south; then he slowly descended again to the western door, and re-entered the tunnel in the firmament, where he spent the night.[6] Merodach regulated the course of the whole universe on the movements of the sun. He instituted the year and divided it into twelve months. To each month he assigned three decans, each of whom exercised his

[1] Cf. p. 128 of the present work. In regard to the *kibrât arbaî* or *irbiti*, consult Jensen (*Die Kosmologie*, pp. 163-170). We shall see later on (p. 596) the meaning attached to this term in the royal titles. It seems to me that the *kibrâ tarbai* represent four *houses*, and is an astronomical or astrological expression used in relation to the geographical knowledge or the history of the time.

[2] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 143. The texts call this curved edge *shupuk* or *shubuk shami*, the embankment of the heavens, the rampart of earth, on which the edge of the heavens rested (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 37-42).

[3] The waters which surrounded the earth were called *abzû*, *apsû*, like the primordial waters with which they were sometimes confused (FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 143; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 243-253; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 116, 117, 374, 375).

[4] The texts frequently mention these *ishid shami*, foundations of the heavens (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 9, 10); but instead of distinguishing them from the embankment of the heavens, *shupuk shami*, as Jensen does (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 40, 41), I am inclined to believe that the two are identical (cf. FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 143).

[5] Jensen (*Die Kosmologie*, p. 10) has made a collection of the texts which speak of the interior of the heavens (*Kirib shami*) and of their aspect. The expressions which have induced many Assyriologists to conclude that the heavens were divided into different parts subject to different gods (SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 189-191; A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 59, 60) may be explained without necessarily having recourse to this hypothesis; the "heaven of Anu," for instance, is an expression which merely affirms Anu's sovereignty in the heavens, and is only a more elegant way of designating the heavens by the name of the god who rules them (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 11, 12). The gates of heaven are mentioned in the account of the Creation (*Tablet V.*, l. 9).

[6] It is generally admitted that the Chaldæans believed that the sun passed over the world in the daytime, and underneath it during the night. The general resemblance of their theory of the universe to the Egyptian theory leads me to believe that they, no less than the Egyptians (cf. pp. 18, 19 of the present work), for a long time believed that the sun and moon revolved round the earth in a horizontal plane.

influence successively for a period of ten days; he then placed the procession of the days under the authority of Nibiru,[1] in order that none of them should wander from his track and be lost. "He lighted the moon that she might rule the night, and made her a star of night that she might indicate the days:[2] 'From month to month, without ceasing, shape thy disk,[3] and at the beginning of the month kindle thyself in the evening, lighting up thy horns so as to make the heavens distinguishable; on the seventh day, show to me thy disk; and on the fifteenth, let thy two halves be full from month to month.'" He cleared a path for the planets, and four of them he entrusted to four gods; the fifth, our Jupiter, he reserved for himself, and appointed him to be shepherd of this celestial flock; in order that all the gods might have their image visible in the sky, he mapped out on the vault of heaven groups of stars which he allotted to them, and which seemed to men like representations of real or fabulous beings, fishes with the heads of rams, lions, bulls, goats and scorpions.[4]

The heavens having been put in order, he set about peopling the earth, and the gods, who had so far passively and perhaps powerlessly watched him at his work, at length made up their minds to assist him. They covered the soil with verdure, and all collectively "made living beings of many kinds. The cattle of the fields, the wild beasts of the fields, the reptiles of the fields, they fashioned them and made of them creatures of life."[5] According to one legend, these first animals had hardly left the hands of their creators, when, not being able to withstand the glare of the light, they fell dead one after the other. Then Merodach, seeing that the earth was again becoming desolate, and that its fertility was of no use to any one, begged his father Ea to cut off his head and mix clay with the blood which welled from the trunk, then from this clay to fashion new beasts and men, to whom the virtues of this divine blood would give the necessary strength to enable them to resist the air and light.[6]

[1] Nibiru, the ferryman, is our planet Jupiter (JENSEN, *Der Kalkab Mischri der Antares*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 265, note 3; and *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 128, 129).

[2] This obscure phrase seems to be explained, if we remember that the Chaldæan, like the Egyptian day, dated from the rising of one moon to the rising of the following moon; for instance, from six o'clock one evening to about six o'clock the next evening. The moon, the star of night, thus marks the appearance of each day and "indicates the days."

[3] The word here translated by "disk" is literally the royal cap, decorated with horns, "Agu," which Sin, the moon-god, wears on his head. I have been obliged to translate the text rather freely, so as to make the meaning clear to the modern reader.

[4] The arrangement of the heavens by Merodach is described at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth tablets (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 288–291; SAYCE, *The Assyrian Story of the Creation*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 142–144). The text, originally somewhat obscure, is so mutilated in places that it is not always possible to make out the sense with certainty.

[5] The creation of the animals and then of man is related on the seventh tablet, and on a tablet the place of which, in the series, is still undetermined (G. SMITH, *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 75–80; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 389, 390, and *The Assyrian Story of the Creation*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 145; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 290–292).

[6] Berossus had recorded this legend (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire*, pp. 8, 9, 12), which

At first they led a somewhat wretched existence, and "lived without rule after the manner of beasts. But, in the first year, appeared a monster endowed with human reason named Oannes,[1] who rose from out of the Erythræan sea, at the point where it borders Babylonia. He had the whole body of a fish, but above his fish's head he had another head which was that of a man, and human feet emerged from beneath his fish's tail; he had a human voice, and his image is preserved to this day. He passed the day in the midst of men without taking any food; he taught them the use of letters, sciences and arts of all kinds, the rules for the founding of cities, and the construction of temples, the principles of law and of surveying; he showed them how to sow and reap; he gave them all that contributes to the comforts of life. Since that time nothing excellent has been invented. At sunset this monster Oannes plunged back into the sea, and remained all night beneath the waves, for he was amphibious. He wrote a book on the origin of things and of civilization, which he gave to men."[2] These are a few of the fables which were current among the races of the Lower Euphrates with regard to the first beginnings of the universe. That they possessed many other legends of which we now know nothing is certain, but either they have perished for ever, or the works in which they were recorded still await discovery, it may be under the ruins of a palace or in the cupboards of some museum.[3] They do not seem to have conceived the possibility of an absolute creation, by means of which the gods, or one of them, should have evolved out of nothing all that exists: the creation was for them merely the setting in motion of pre-existing elements, and the creator only an organizer of the various materials floating in chaos.[4] Popular fancy

seems to be a clumsy combination of two traditions relating to the creation of man (SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 370, 371). In regard to Ea, and the manner in which he made men from clay, cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. pp. 45–47; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 293–295; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 141, 142.

[1] Different etymologies have been suggested for this name; the one most generally accepted is that proposed by Lenormant, according to which Oannes is the Hellenised form of *Ea-khan*, *Ea-ghanna*, Ea the fish (FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. p. 585). Jensen has drawn attention to the fact that the word *khan* or *ghanna* has not, up to the present, been found in any text (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 322, 323); the name Oannes remains, therefore, so far, unexplained. Hommel has shown elsewhere (*Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, vol. i. p. 488, note) that the allusion to the myth of Oannes, referred to some years ago by Sayce (*Babylonian Literature*, p. 25; cf. *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. xi. p. 155), is not really to be found in the original text.

[2] Berossus, fragment ix., in FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire sur les fragments cosmogonique de Bérose*, p. 182, et seq.

[3] As to these variations in the traditions, see the observations made by Smith in *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 101, et seq., and the very exhaustive chapter on *Cosmogonies and Astro-theology* in SAYCE'S *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 367, et seq.

[4] Diodorus Siculus had already noticed this (ii. 30), or rather the writers of the Alexandrine period from whom he obtained his information had done so: *τὴν μὲν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἀΐδιόν φασιν εἶναι καὶ ωὴτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν ἐσχηκέναι, μήθ' ὕστερον φθορὰν ἐπιδέξεσθαι.* The Chaldæan account of the creation, as given above on p. 537, et seq., of the present work, confirms the words of the Greek historian.

in different towns varied the names of the creators and the methods employed by them; as centuries passed on, a pile of vague, confused, and contradictory traditions were amassed, no one of which was held to be quite satisfactory, though all found partisans to support them. Just as in Egypt, the theologians of local priesthoods endeavoured to classify them and bring them into a kind of harmony: many they rejected and others they recast in order to better reconcile their statements: they arranged them in systems, from which they undertook to unravel, under inspiration from on high, the true history of the universe. That which I have tried to set forth above is very ancient, if, as is said to be the case, it was in existence two or even three thousand years before our era; but the versions of it which we possess were drawn up much later, perhaps not till about the VIIth century B.C.[1] It had been accepted by the inhabitants of Babylon because it flattered their religious vanity by attributing the credit of having evolved order out of chaos to Merodach, the protector of their city.[2] He it was whom the Assyrian scribes had raised to a position of honour at the court of the last kings of Nineveh:[4] it was Merodach's name which Berossus inscribed at the beginning of his book, when he set about relating to the Greeks the origin of the world according to the Chaldeans, and the dawn of Babylonian civilization.

A GOD-FISH.[3]

Like the Egyptian civilization, it had had its birth between the sea and

[1] The question as to whether the text was originally written in Sumerian or in the Semitic tongue has frequently been discussed (*vide* the bibliography in BEZOLD'S *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, p. 175); the form in which we have it at present is not very old, and does not date much further back than the reign of Assurbanipal (SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 386, 393), if it is not even contemporary with that monarch (BEZOLD, *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick*, p. 175). According to Sayce (*op. cit.*, pp. 373, 374, 377, 378) the first version would date back beyond the XXth century, to the reign of Khammurabi; according to Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 319, 320), beyond the XXXth century before our era.

[2] Sayce (*The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 378–391–393) thinks that the myth originated at Eridu, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and afterwards received its present form at Babylon, where the local schools of theology adapted it to the god Merodach.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian bas-relief from Nimrûd (LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 6, No. 1).

[4] The tablets in which it is preserved for us come partly from the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, partly from that of the temple of Nebo at Borsippa; these latter are more recent than the others, and seem to have been written during the period of the Persian supremacy (SAYCE, *The Assyrian Story of the Creation*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 142, note 3).

the dry land on a low, marshy, alluvial soil, flooded annually by the rivers which traverse it, devastated at long intervals by tidal waves of extraordinary violence.[1] The Euphrates and the Tigris cannot be regarded as mysterious streams like the Nile, whose source so long defied exploration that people were tempted to place it beyond the regions inhabited by man.[2] The former rise in Armenia, on the slopes of the Niphates, one of the chains of mountains which lie between the Black Sea and Mesopotamia, and the only range which at certain points reaches the line of eternal snow. At first they flow parallel to one another, the Euphrates from east to west as far as Malatiyeh, the Tigris from the west "towards the east in the direction of Assyria." Beyond Malatiyeh, the Euphrates bends abruptly to the south-west, and makes its way across the Taurus as though desirous of reaching the Mediterranean by the shortest route,[3] but it soon alters its intention, and makes for the south-east in search of the Persian Gulf. The Tigris runs in an oblique direction towards the south from the point where the mountains open out, and gradually approaches the Euphrates. Near Bagdad the two rivers are only a few leagues apart. However, they do not yet blend their waters; after proceeding side by side for some twenty or thirty miles, they again separate and only finally unite at a point some eighty leagues lower down. At the beginning of our geological period their course was not such a long one. The sea then penetrated as far as lat. 33°, and was only arrested by the last undulations of the great plateau of secondary formation, which descend from the mountain group of Armenia: the two rivers entered the sea at a distance of about twenty leagues apart, falling into a gulf bounded on the east by the last spurs of the mountains of Iran, on the west by the sandy heights which border the margin of the Arabian Desert.[4] They filled up this gulf with their alluvial deposit, aided by the Adhem, the Diyâleh, the Kerkha, the Karun, and other rivers, which at the end of long independent courses became tributaries of the Tigris. The present beds of the two rivers, connected by numerous canals, at length meet near the village of Kornah and form one single river, the Shatt-el-Arab,

[1] A local legend preserved by Ainsworth, in his *Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa*, attributes the destruction of the ancient Bassorah to a series of inundations and tempests.

[2] For a detailed description of the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, see ÉLISÉE RECLUS, *Géographie universelle*, vol. ix. p. 377, et seq. The Euphrates was called in Assyrian Purattu, the river of rivers, "the great water," being an adaptation of the Sumerian Pura-nunu; the Tigris was Diglat or Idiglat (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 169-173). The classic etymology which attributed to this last name the meaning of *arrow*, so called in consequence of the prodigious rapidity of the current (STRABO, xi. 14, 8; PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 127; QUINTUS CURTIUS, iv. 9, 6), is of Persian origin.

[3] These are the precise words used by POMPONIUS MELA, *De Situ Orbis*, iii. 8: "Occidentem petit, ni Taurus obstet, in nostra maria venturus."

[4] This fact has been established by Ross and Lynch in two articles in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. ix. pp. 446, 472. The Chaldæans and Assyrians called the gulf into which the two rivers debouched, Nâr Marrâtum, or "salt river," a name which they extended to the Chaldæan Sea, *i.e.* to the whole Persian Gulf (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 180-182).

which carries their waters to the sea. The mud with which they are charged is deposited when it reaches their mouth, and accumulates rapidly; it is said that the coast advances about a mile every seventy years.[1] In its upper reaches the Euphrates collects a number of small affluents, the most important of which, the Kara-Su, has often been confounded with it.[2] Near the middle of its course, the Sadjur on the right bank carries into it the waters of the Taurus and the Amanus,[3] on the left bank the Balikh and the Khabur[4] contribute those of the Karadja-Dagh; from the mouth of the Khabur to the sea the Euphrates receives no further affluent. The Tigris is fed on the left by the Bitlis-Khai,[5] the two Zabs,[6] the Adhem,[7] and the Diyâleh.[8] The Euphrates is navigable from Sumeisat, the Tigris from Mossul,[9] both of them almost as soon as they leave the mountains. They are subject to annual floods, which occur when the winter snow melts on the higher ranges of Armenia. The Tigris, which rises from the southern slope of the Niphates and has the more direct course, is the first to overflow its banks, which it does at the beginning of March, and reaches its greatest height about the 10th or 12th of May. The Euphrates rises in the middle of March, and does not attain its highest level till the close of May. From June onwards it falls with increasing rapidity; by September all the water which has not been absorbed by the soil has returned to the river-bed. The inundation does not possess the same importance

[1] Loftus (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 282) estimated, about the middle of the present century, the progress of alluvial deposit at about one English mile in every seventy years; H. Rawlinson (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xxvii. p. 186) considers that the progress must have been more considerable in ancient times, and estimates it at an English mile in thirty years. Kiepert (*Lehrbuch der Alten Geographie*, p. 138, note 2) thinks, taking the above estimate as a basis, that in the sixth century before our era the fore-shore came from about ten to twelve German miles (47 to 56 English) higher up than the present fore-shore. G. Rawlinson (*The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 4, 5) estimates on his part that between the thirtieth and twentieth centuries B.C., a period in which he places the establishment of the first Chaldæan Empire, the fore-shore was more than 120 miles above the mouth of Shatt-el-Arab, to the north of the present village of Kornah.

[2] This is the Arzania of the cuneiform texts, a name which, in its Hellenised form of Arsanias, has been transferred by the classical geographers and historians to the other arm of the Euphrates, the Murad-Su (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 182, 183).

[3] In Assyrian, Sagura, Saguri (Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 220).

[4] The Balikh is called in Assyrian Balikhi, Βάλιχα, Βίλοχος, Belios (Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxiii. 3, 7). The Khabur has not changed its name since ancient times; it is fed on the right by the Kharmish (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 183). The Greek form of the name is Χαβώρας, Ἀβόρρας.

[5] The Kentrites of Xenophon (*Anabasis*, iv. 2, 1).

[6] The upper Zab, the Lycos of the Greeks, is in Assyrian Zabu Elu; the lower, the Kapros, is the Zabu Shupalu. The name "Zabatos" is found in Herodotus (v. 52), applied to the two rivers (Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der Alten Geographie*, p. 136, note 3).

[7] The Radânu of the Assyrians, the Physcos of Xenophon (*Anabasis*, ii. 4, 25): the name is still preserved in that of one of the towns watered by this river, Râdhân (Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 185).

[8] In Assyrian, Turnat, the Tornadotus of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 132), already named Διάλας by the Greek geographers (Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der Alten Geographie*, p. 137, note 4).

[9] Chesney, *The Expedition of the Survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. i. pp. 44, 45; it was at Samosata that the Emperor Julian had part of the fleet built which he took with him in his disastrous expedition against the Persians. The Tigris is navigable from Diarbekîr during the whole period of inundation (Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 3).

for the regions covered by it, that the rise of the Nile does for Egypt. In fact, it does more harm than good, and the river-side population have always worked hard to protect themselves from it and to keep it away from their lands rather than facilitate its access to them; they regard it as a sort of necessary evil to which they resign themselves, while trying to minimize its effects.[1]

The first races to colonize this country of rivers, or at any rate the first of which we can find traces, seem to have belonged to three different types. The most important were the Semites, who spoke a dialect akin to Aramaic, Hebrew, and Phœnician. It was for a long time supposed that they came down from the north, and traces of their occupation have been pointed out in Armenia in the vicinity of Ararat, or halfway down the course of the Tigris, at the foot of the Gordyæan mountains.[2] It has recently been suggested that we ought rather to seek for their place of origin in Southern Arabia, and this view is gaining ground among the learned.[3] Side by side with these Semites, the monuments give evidence of a race of ill-defined character, which some have sought, without much success, to connect with the tribes of the Ural[4] or Altaï; these people are for the present provisionally called Sumerians.[5] They came, it would appear, from some northern country; they brought with them from their original home a curious system of writing, which, modified, transformed, and adopted by ten different nations, has preserved for us all that we know in

[1] The traveller Olivier noticed this, and writes as follows: "The land there is rather less fertile [than in Egypt], because it does not receive the alluvial deposits of the rivers with the same regularity as that of the Delta. It is necessary to irrigate it in order to render it productive, and to protect it sedulously from the inundations which are too destructive in their action and too irregular" (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, An 12, vol. ii. p. 423).

[2] This is the opinion expressed by Renan (*Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, 2nd edit., p. 29), where a reference will be found to the authors who have adopted this view: since Renan, J. Guidi (*Della Sede primitiva dei Popoli Semitici*, in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 3rd series, vol. iii.), Fr. Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. p. 196), Hommel (*La Patrie originaire des Sémites*, in the *Atti del IV. Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, pp. 217, 218; *Die Namen der Säugethiere*, p. 496, et seq.; *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, pp. 7, 11, 12, 59-63, 95, et seq.) have written in support of the northern origin of the Semites.

[3] SAYCE, *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes*, 1st edit., p. 13; SPRENGER, *Leben und Lehre des Muhammad*, vol. i. p. 241, et seq.; and *Alte Geographie Arabiens*, pp. 293-295, especially the note on p. 294; E. SCHRADER, *Die Abstammung der Chaldæer und die Ursitze der Semiten*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellchaft*, vol. xxvii. p. 397, et seq.; TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 106, 107; WINCKLER, *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. p. 136.

[4] Fr. Lenormant has energetically defended this hypothesis in the majority of his works: it is set forth at some length in his work on *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée*. Hommel, on the other hand, maintains and strives to demonstrate scientifically the relationship of the non-Semitic tongue with Turkish (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 125, 244, et seq.).

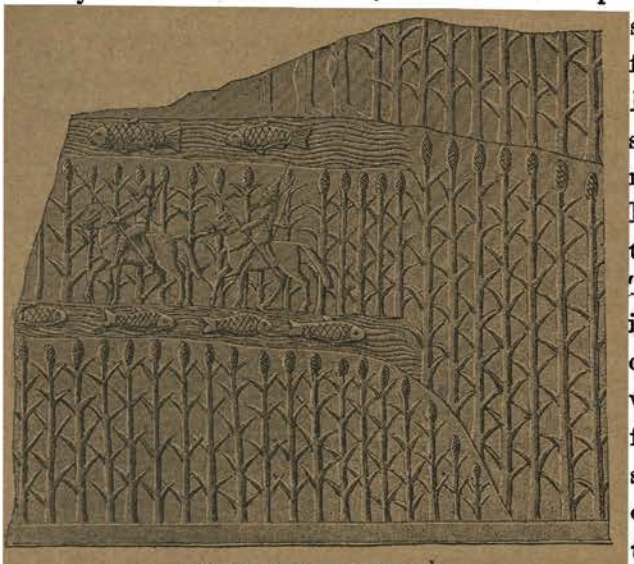
[5] The name *Accadian*, proposed by H. Rawlinson and by Hincks, and adopted by Sayce, seems to have given way to *Sumerian*, the title put forward by Oppert. The existence of the Sumerian or Sumero-Accadian has been contested by Halévy in a number of noteworthy works: *Recherches critiques sur l'Origine de la Civilisation Babylonienne*, 8vo, 1876 (which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1874-76); *Étude sur les documents philologiques assyriens*, 1878; *Les Nouvelles Inscriptions chaldéennes et la question de Sumer et d'Accad*, 1882; *Observations sur les noms de nombre sumériens*, 1883 (articles collected from the *Mélanges de Critique et d'Histoire relatifs aux peuples sémitiques*, 8vo, Paris, 1884); *Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie* (8vo, Paris, 1883); *Aperçu Grammatical de*

regard to the majority of the empires which rose and fell in Western Asia before the Persian conquest. Semite or Sumerian, it is still doubtful which preceded the other at the mouths of the Euphrates. The Sumerians, who were for a time all-powerful in the centuries before the dawn of history, had already mingled closely with the Semites when we first hear of them. Their language gave way to the Semitic, and tended gradually to become a language of ceremony and ritual, which was at last learnt less for everyday use, than for the drawing up of certain royal inscriptions, or for the interpretation of very ancient texts of a legal or sacred character. Their religion became assimilated to the religion, and their gods identified with the gods, of the Semites. The process of fusion commenced at such an early date, that nothing has really come down to us from the time when the two races were strangers to each other. We are, therefore, unable to say with certainty how much each borrowed from the other, what each gave, or relinquished of its individual instincts and customs. We must take and judge them as they come before us, as forming one single nation, imbued with the same ideas, influenced in all their acts by the same civilization, and possessed of such strongly marked characteristics that only in the last days of their existence do we find any appreciable change. In the course of the ages they had to submit to the invasions and domination of some dozen different races, of whom some—Assyrians and Chaldæans—were descended from a Semitic stock, while the others—Elamites, Cossæans, Persians, Macedonians, and Parthians—either were not connected with them by any tie of blood, or traced their origin in some distant manner to the Sumerian branch. They got quickly rid of a portion of these superfluous elements, and absorbed or assimilated the rest; like the Egyptians, they seem to have been one of those races which, once established, were incapable of ever undergoing modification, and remained unchanged from one end of their existence to the other.

Their country must have presented at the beginning very much the same aspect of disorder and neglect which it offers to modern eyes. It was a flat

l'Allographie Assyro-Babylonienne (in the *Actes du 6me Congrès International des Orientalistes*, vol. i. pp. 535–568), and in a number of other articles which have appeared in the interval. M. Halévy wishes to recognize in the so-called Sumerian documents the Semitic tongue of the ordinary inscriptions, but written in a priestly syllabic character subject to certain rules; this would be practically a *cryptogram*, or rather an *allogram*. M. Halévy won over Messrs. Guyard and Pognon in France, Delitzsch and a part of the Delitzsch school in Germany, to his view of the facts. The controversy, which has been carried on on both sides with a somewhat unnecessary vehemence, still rages; it has been simplified quite recently by Delitzsch's return to the Sumerian theory (*Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftssystems*, 1897. Without reviewing the arguments in detail, and while doing full justice to the profound learning displayed by M. Halévy, I feel forced to declare with Tiele that his criticisms "oblige scholars to carefully reconsider all that has been taken as proved in these matters, but that they do not warrant us in rejecting as untenable the hypothesis, still a very probable one, according to which the difference in the graphic systems corresponds to a real difference in idiom" (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 67).

interminable moorland stretching away to the horizon, there to begin again seemingly more limitless than ever, with no rise or fall in the ground to break the dull monotony; clumps of palm trees and slender mimosas, intersected by lines of water gleaming in the distance, then long patches of wormwood and mallow, endless vistas of burnt-up plain, more palms and more mimosas, make up the picture of the land, whose uniform soil consists of rich, stiff, heavy clay, split up by the heat of the sun into a network of deep narrow fissures, from which the shrubs and wild herbs shoot forth each year in spring-time. By an almost imperceptible slope it falls gently away from north to south towards the Persian Gulf, from east to west towards the Arabian plateau. The Euphrates flows through it with unstable and changing course, between shifting banks which it shapes and re-shapes from season to season. The slightest impulse of its current encroaches on them, breaks through them, and makes openings for streamlets, the majority of which are clogged up and obliterated by the washing away of their margins, almost as rapidly as they are formed. Others grow wider and longer, and, sending out branches, are transformed into permanent canals or regular rivers, navigable at certain seasons. They meet on the left bank detached offshoots of the Tigris, and after wandering capriciously in the space between the two rivers, at last rejoin their parent stream: such are the Shatt-el-Haî and the Shatt-en-Nil. The overflowing waters on the right bank, owing to the fall of the land, run towards the low limestone hills which shut in the basin of the Euphrates in the direction of the desert; they are arrested at the foot of these hills, and are diverted on to the low-lying ground, where they lose themselves in the morasses, or hollow out a series of lakes along its borders, the largest of which, Bahr-î-Nedjîf, is shut in on three sides by steep cliffs, and rises or falls periodically with the floods. A broad canal, which takes its origin in the direction of Hît at the beginning of the alluvial plain, bears with it the overflow, and, skirting the lowest terraces of the Arabian chain, runs almost



GIGANTIC CHALDÆAN REEDS.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian bas-relief of the palace of Nimrûd (LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*. 2nd series, pl. xxvii.).

parallel to the Euphrates.[1] In proportion as the canal proceeds southward the ground sinks still lower, and becomes saturated with the overflowing waters, until, the banks gradually disappearing, the whole neighbourhood is converted into a morass. The Euphrates and its branches do not at all times succeed in reaching the sea:[2] they are lost for the most part in vast lagoons to which the tide comes up, and in its ebb bears their waters away with it. Reeds grow there luxuriantly in enormous beds, and reach sometimes a height of from

THE MARSHES ABOUT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE KERKHA AND TIGRIS.[3]

thirteen to sixteen feet; banks of black and putrid mud emerge amidst the green growth, and give off deadly emanations. Winter is scarcely felt here: snow is unknown, hoar-frost is rarely seen, but sometimes in the morning a thin film of ice covers the marshes, to disappear under the first rays of the sun.[4] For six weeks in November and December there is much rain: after this period there are only occasional showers, occurring at longer and longer

[1] The arm of the Euphrates which skirts the chain in this way is called Pallacopas, or, according to others, Pallacottas (APPIAN, *Bel. civ.*, lib. ii. 153, DIDOT'S edition): this form, if it is authentic, would allow us to identify the canal mentioned by classical writers with the Nar-Pallukat of the Babylonian inscriptions (DELATTRE, *Les Travaux Hydrauliques en Babylonie*, p. 47).

[2] Classical writers mention this fact more than once; for instance, Arrian (*Anabasis*, vii. 7) in the time of Alexander, and Polybius (ix. 40) in that of his successors. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 27) attributes the disappearance of the river to irrigation works carried out by the inhabitants of Uruk, "longo tempore Euphratem præclusere Orcheni, et accolæ agros irrigantes, nec nisi per Tigrim defertur ad mare."

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by J. DIEULAFOY, *A Suze, 1884–1886, Journal des Fouilles*, p. 93.

[4] Loftus (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa*, pp. 73, 74, 146, 147) attributes the lowering of the temperature during the winter to the wind blowing over a soil impregnated with saltpetre. "We were," he says, "in a kind of immense freezing chamber."

intervals until May, when they entirely cease, and the summer sets in, to last until the following November. There are almost six continuous months of depressing and moist heat, which overcomes both men and animals and makes them incapable of any constant effort.[1] Sometimes a south or east wind suddenly arises, and bearing with it across the fields and canals whirlwinds of sand, burns up in its passage the little verdure which the sun had spared. Swarms of locusts follow in its train, and complete the work of devastation. A sound as of distant rain is at first heard, increasing in intensity as the creatures approach. Soon their thickly concentrated battalions fill the heavens on all sides, flying with slow and uniform motion at a great height. They at length alight, cover everything, devour everything, and, propagating their species, die within a few days: nothing, not a blade of vegetation, remains on the region where they alighted.[2]

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the country was not lacking in resources. The soil was almost as fertile as the loam of Egypt, and, like the latter, rewarded a hundredfold the labour of the inhabitants.[3] Among the wild herbage which spreads over the country in the spring, and clothes it for a brief season with flowers, it was found that some plants, with a little culture, could be rendered useful to men and beasts.[4] There were ten or twelve different species of pulse to choose from—beans, lentils, chick-peas, vetches, kidney beans, onions, cucumbers, egg-plants, "gombo," and pumpkins. From the seed of the sesame an oil was expressed which served for food, while the castor-oil plant furnished that required for lighting. The safflower and henna supplied the women with dyes for the stuffs which they manufactured from hemp and flax. Aquatic plants were more numerous than on the banks of the Nile, but they did not occupy such an important place among food-stuffs. The "lily bread" of the Pharaohs would have seemed meagre fare to people accustomed from early times to wheaten bread. Wheat and barley are considered to be indigenous on the plains of the Euphrates; it was supposed to be here that they

[1] Loftus (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa*, p. 9, note) says that he himself had witnessed in the neighbourhood of Bagdad during the daytime birds perched on the palm trees in an exhausted condition, and panting with open beaks. The inhabitants of Bagdad during the summer pass their nights on the housetops, and the hours of day in passages within, expressly constructed to protect them from the heat (OLIVIER, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, vol. ii. pp. 381, 382, 392, 393).

[2] As to the locusts, see Olivier (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 424, 425; iii. 441), who was on two occasions a witness of their invasions. It is not, properly speaking, a locust, but a cricket, the *Acridium peregrinum*, frequently met with in Egypt, Syria, and Arabia.

[3] Olivier, who was a physician and naturalist, and had visited Egypt as well as Mesopotamia, thought that Babylonia was somewhat less fertile than Egypt (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 423). Loftus, who was neither, and had not visited Egypt, declares, on the contrary, that the banks of the Euphrates are no less productive than those of the Nile (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa*, p. 14).

[4] The flora of Mesopotamia is described briefly by HŒFER, *Chaldée*, pp. 180–182; cf. Olivier's account of it (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 416, et seq., and 443, et seq.).

were first cultivated in Western Asia, and that they spread from hence to Syria, Egypt, and the whole of Europe.[1] "The soil there is so favourable to the growth of cereals, that it yields usually two hundredfold, and in places of exceptional fertility three hundredfold. The leaves of the wheat and barley have a width of four digits. As for the millet and sesame, which in altitude are as great as trees, I will not state their height, although I know it from experience, being convinced that those who have not lived in Babylonia would regard my

THE GATHERING OF THE SPATHES OF THE MALE PALM TREE.[2]

statement with incredulity."[3] Herodotus in his enthusiasm exaggerated the matter, or perhaps, as a general rule, he selected as examples the exceptional instances which had been mentioned to him: at present wheat and barley give a yield to the husbandman of some thirty or forty fold.[4] "The date-palm meets all the other needs of the population; they make from it a kind of bread, wine, vinegar, honey, cakes, and numerous kinds of stuffs; the smiths use the stones of its fruit for charcoal; these same stones, broken and macerated,

[1] Native traditions collected by Berossus confirm this (fragm. i. in FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire sur les fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, p. 6), and the testimony of Olivier is usually cited as falling in with that of the Chaldæan writer. Olivier is considered, indeed, to have discovered wild cereals in Mesopotamia. He only says, however (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, vol. iii. p. 460), that on the banks of the Euphrates above Anah he had met with "wheat, barley, and spelt in a kind of ravine;" from the context it clearly follows that these were plants which had reverted to a wild state—instances of which have been observed several times in Mesopotamia. A. de Candolle admitted the Mesopotamian origin of the various species of wheat and barley (*Origine des plantes cultivées*, pp. 354, 361; cf. *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. ii. p. 266).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a cylinder in the Museum at the Hague (MENANT, *Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux du Cabinet des Médailles*, pl. iii., No. 14; cf. LAJARD, *Introduction à l'étude du Culte de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, pl. xxvii. 7). The original measures almost an inch in height.

[3] HERODOTUS, i. 193, to whose testimony may be added, among ancient writers, that of Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum*, viii. 7) and that of the geographer Strabo (xvi. p. 742).

[4] OLIVIER, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, etc., vol. ii. p. 400.

are given as a fattening food to cattle and sheep."[1] Such a useful tree was tended with a loving care, the vicissitudes in its growth were observed, and its reproduction was facilitated by the process of shaking the flowers of the male palm over those of the female: the gods themselves had taught this artifice to men, and they were frequently represented with a bunch of flowers in their right hand, in the attitude assumed by a peasant in fertilizing a palm tree.[2] Fruit trees were everywhere mingled with ornamental trees—the fig, apple, almond, walnut, apricot, pistachio, vine, with the plane tree, cypress, tamarisk, and acacia; in the prosperous period of the country the plain of the Euphrates was a great orchard which extended uninterruptedly from the plateau of Mesopotamia to the shores of the Persian Gulf.[3]

The flora would not have been so abundant if the fauna had been sufficient for the supply of a large population.[4] A considerable proportion of the tribes on the Lower Euphrates lived for a long time on fish only. They consumed them either fresh, salted, or smoked: they dried them in the sun, crushed them in a mortar, strained the pulp through linen, and worked it up into a kind of bread or into cakes.[5] The barbel and carp attained a great size in these sluggish waters, and if the Chaldæans, like the Arabs who have succeeded them in these regions, clearly preferred these fish above others, they did not despise at the same time such less delicate species as the eel, murena, silurus, and even that singular gurnard whose habits are an object of wonder to our naturalists. This fish spends its existence usually in the water, but a life in the open air has no terrors for it: it leaps out on the bank, climbs trees without much difficulty, finds a congenial habitat on the banks of mud exposed by the falling tide, and basks there in the sun, prepared to vanish in the ooze in the twinkling of an eye if some approaching bird should catch sight of it.[6]

[1] STRABO, xvi. i. 14: cf. THEOPHRASTUS, *Hist. Plant.*, ii. 2; PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, xiii. 4. Even to this day the inhabitants use the palm tree and its various parts in a similar way (A. RICH, *Voyage aux ruines de Babylone*, p. 154, French translation by Raimond, formerly French Consul at Bagdad, who has added to the information supplied by the English author).

[2] E. B. Tylor was the first to put forward the view that the Chaldæans were acquainted with the artificial fertilization of the palm tree from the earliest times (*The Fertilization of Date-Palms*, in the *Academy*, June 8, 1886, p. 396, and in *Nature*, 1890, p. 283; *The Winged Figures of the Assyrian and other Ancient Monuments*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. xii., 1890, pp. 383, 393; cf. BONAVIA, *Did the Assyrians know the Sexes of the Date-Palms?* in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iv. pp. 64–69, 89–95).

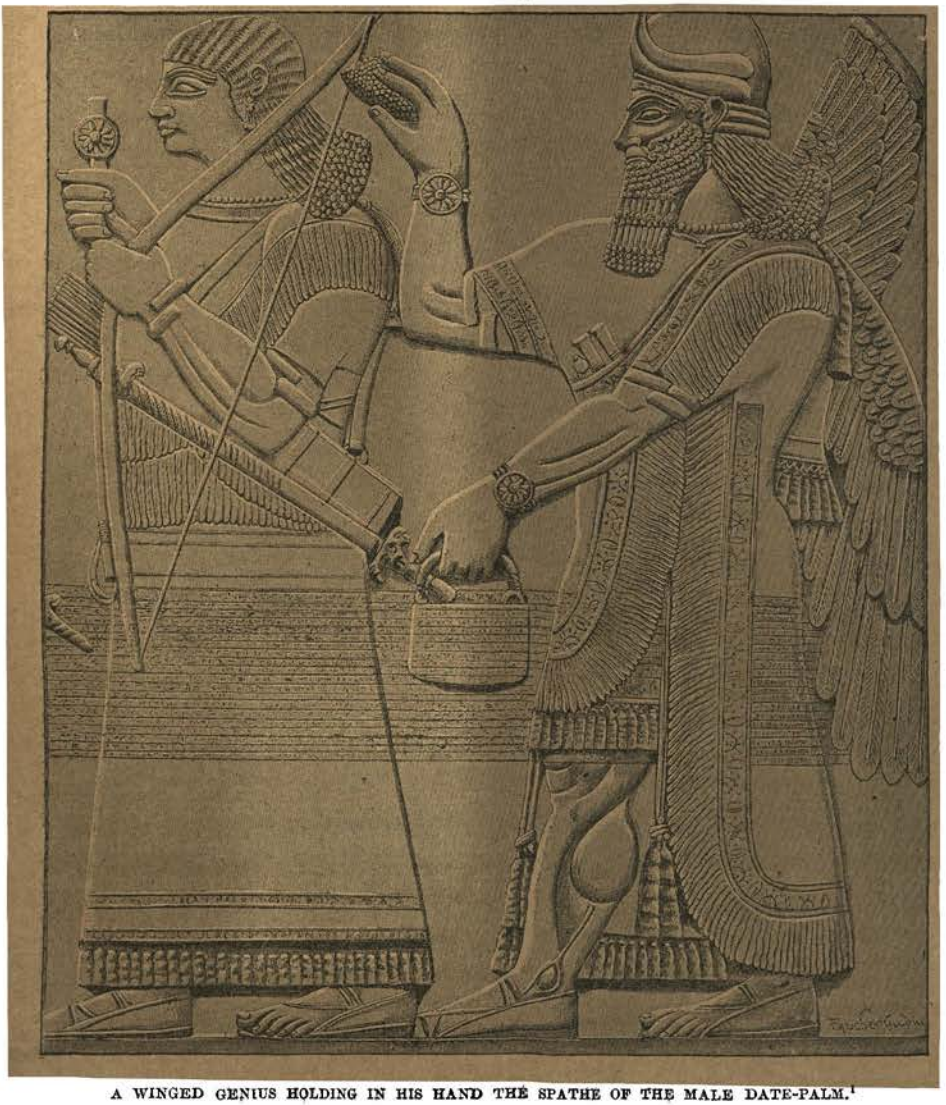
[3] This was still its condition when the Roman legions, in their last campaign under Julian, invaded it, in the IVth century of our era: "In his regionibus agri sunt plures consiti vineis varioque pomorum genere: ubi oriri arbores adsuetæ palmarum, per spatia ampla adusque Mesenem et mare pertinent magnum, instar ingentium nemorum" (AMMIANUS MARC., lib. xxiv. 3, 12).

[4] Hœfer has collected all the information we possess on the existing fauna of the country of the Tigris and Euphrates (*Chaldée*, pp. 182, 186), and his work is the only one we have upon the subject. As to the animals represented and named on the monuments, see FR. DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Studien: I. Assyrische Thiernamen;* and W. HOUGHTON, *On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 33–64, 319–388.

[5] HERODOTUS, i. 200. The odd fashion in which the Arabs of the Lower Euphrates catch the barbel with the harpoon has been briefly described by LAYARD, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 567.

[6] AINSWORTH, *Researches in Assyria*, pp. 135, 136; FRAZER, *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, p. 373.

Pelicans, herons, cranes, storks, cormorants, hundreds of varieties of sea-gulls, ducks, swans, wild geese, secure in the possession of an inexhaustible



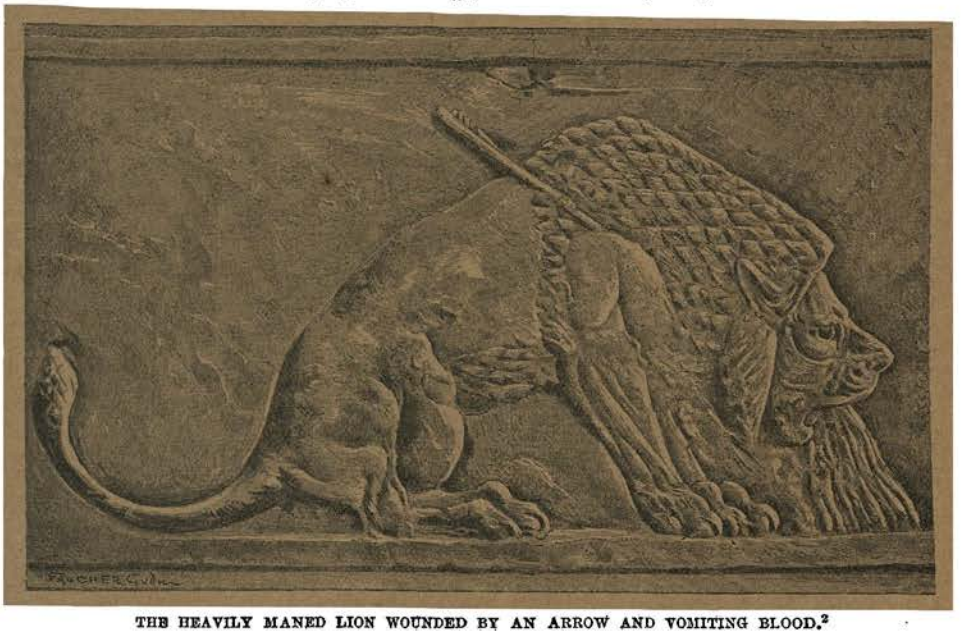
A WINGED GENIUS HOLDING IN HIS HAND THE SPATHE OF THE MALE DATE-PALM.[1]

supply of food, sport and prosper among the reeds. The ostrich, greater bustard, the common and red-legged partridge and quail, find their habitat on the borders of the desert; while the thrush, blackbird, ortolan, pigeon, and turtle-dove abound on every side, in spite of daily onslaughts from eagles, hawks, and other birds of prey.[2] Snakes are found here and there,

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief from Nimrûd in the British Museum.

[2] For the birds represented or named on the monuments, see the monograph by W. HOUGHTON, *The Birds of the Assyrian Monuments and Records*, in the *Trans. of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 42-142.

but they are for the most part of innocuous species: three poisonous varieties only are known, and their bite does not produce such terrible consequences as that of the horned viper or Egyptian uræus. There are two kinds of lion —one without mane, and the other hooded, with a heavy mass of black and tangled hair: the proper signification of the old Chaldæan name was "the great dog," and they have, indeed, a greater resemblance to large dogs than to the red lions of Africa.[1] They fly at the approach of man; they betake themselves



THE HEAVILY MANED LION WOUNDED BY AN ARROW AND VOMITING BLOOD.[2]

in the daytime to retreats among the marshes or in the thickets which border the rivers, sallying forth at night, like the jackal, to scour the country. Driven to bay, they turn upon the assailant and fight desperately. The Chaldæan kings, like the Pharaohs, did not shrink from entering into a close conflict with them, and boasted of having rendered a service to their subjects by the destruction of many of these beasts. The elephant seems to have roamed for some time over the steppes of the middle Euphrates;[3] there is no indication of its presence after the XIIIth century before our era, and from that time

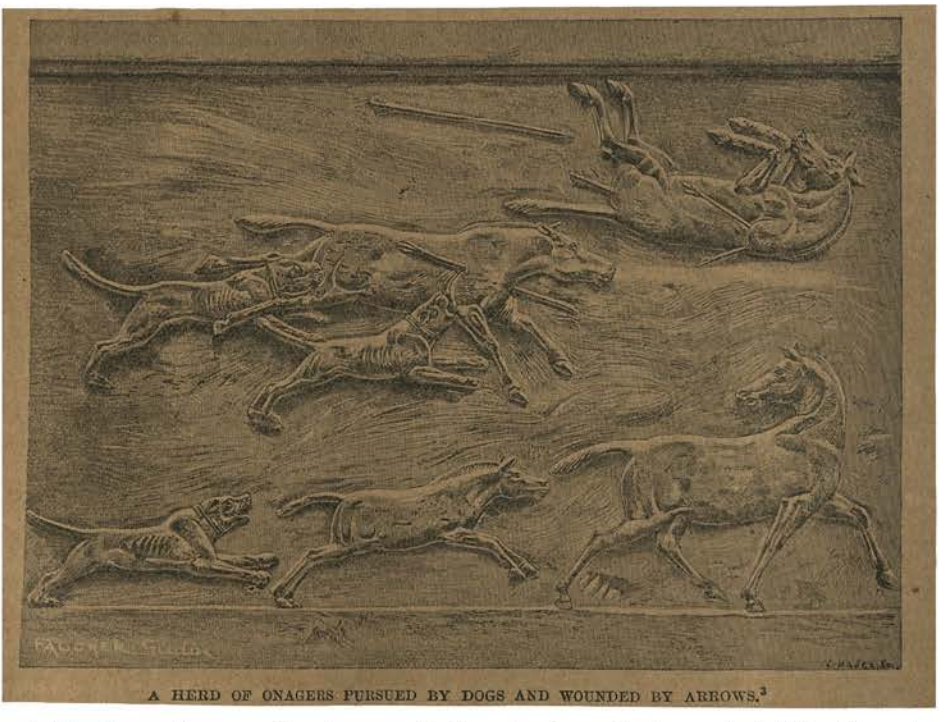
[1] The Sumerian name of the lion is *ur-makh*, "the great dog." The best description of the first-mentioned species is still that of Olivier (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, vol. ii. pp. 426, 427), who saw in the house of the Pasha of Bagdad five of them in captivity; cf. LAYARD, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 487. Father Scheil tells me the lions have disappeared completely since the last twenty years.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief from Nimrûd, in the British Museum.

[3] The existence of the elephant in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria is well established by the Egyptian inscription of Amenemhabi in the XVth century before our era; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Sur l'existence de l'éléphant dans la Mésopotamie au XIIe siècle avant l'ère chrétienne*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 178–183. Père Delattre has collected the majority of the passages in the cuneiform inscriptions bearing upon the elephant (*Encore un mot sur la Géographie Assyrienne*, pp. 36–40).

forward it was merely an object of curiosity brought at great expense from distant countries. This is not the only instance of animals which have disappeared in the course of centuries; the rulers of Nineveh were so addicted to the pursuit of the urus that they ended by exterminating it.[1] Several sorts of panthers and smaller felidæ had their lairs in the thickets of Mesopotamia. The wild ass and onager roamed in small herds between the Balikh and the Tigris. Attempts were made, it would seem, at a very early

THE URUS IN THE ACT OF CHARGING.[2]



A HERD OF ONAGERS PURSUED BY DOGS AND WOUNDED BY ARROWS.[3]

period to tame them and make use of them to draw chariots; but this attempt either did not succeed at all, or issued in such uncertain results, that it was

[1] This is the *rîmu* of the texts and the colossal bull of the hunting scenes (W. HOUGHTON, *On the Mammalia*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 336-340).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian bas-relief from Nimrûd (LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st series, pl. 11). The animal is partially hidden by the wheels of the chariot.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief in the British Museum (cf. PLACE, *Ninive*, pl. 51, 1).

given up as soon as other less refractory animals were made the subjects of successful experiment.[1] The wild boar, and his relative, the domestic hog, inhabited the morasses. Assyrian sculptors amused themselves sometimes by representing long gaunt sows making their way through the cane-brakes, followed by their interminable offspring.[2] The hog remained here, as in Egypt,

THE CHIEF DOMESTIC ANIMALS OF THE REGIONS OF THE EUPHRATES.[3]

in a semi-tamed condition, and the people were possessed of only a small number of domesticated animals besides the dog—namely, the ass, ox, goat, and sheep; the horse and camel were at first unknown, and were introduced at a later period.[4]

We know nothing of the efforts which the first inhabitants—Sumerians and Semites—had to make in order to control the waters and to bring the land under culture: the most ancient monuments exhibit them as already possessors of the soil, and in a forward state of civilization.[5] Their chief cities

[1] XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, i. 5; cf. LAYARD, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 324, note; G. RAWLINSON; *The Five Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 222–225. The *onager* represented on the monuments seems to be the *Equus Hemippus* (W. HOUGHTON, *On the Mammalia*, in the *Transactions*, vol. v. pp. 379, 380).

[2] With regard to the wild hog or wild boar, and the names of those animals in the cuneiform inscriptions, see JENSEN, *Das Wildschwein in den Assyrisch-Babylonischen Inschriften*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 306–312.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian bas-relief from Kouyunjik (LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 35).

[4] The horse is denoted in the Assyrian texts by a group of signs which mean "the ass of the East," and the camel by other signs in which the character for "ass" also appears. The methods of rendering these two names show that the subjects of them were unknown in the earliest times; the epoch of their introduction is uncertain. A chariot drawn by horses appears on the "Stele of the Vultures." Camels are mentioned among the booty obtained from the Bedouin of the desert.

[5] For an ideal picture of what may have been the beginnings of that civilization, see DELITZSCH, *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftssystems*, p. 214, et seq. I will not enter into the question as to whether it did or did not come by sea to the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris. The legend of the fish-god Oannes (BEROSSUS, frag. 1), which seems to conceal some indication on the subject (cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Essai sur un document mathématique*, pp. 123–135, and *Essai de Commentaire*, pp. 220–223,

were divided into two groups: one in the south, in the neighbourhood of the sea; the other in a northern direction, in the region where the Euphrates and Tigris are separated from each other by merely a narrow strip of land. The southern group consisted of seven, of which Eridu lay nearest to the coast.[1] This town stood on the left bank of the Euphrates, at a point which is now called Abu-Shahrein.[2] A little to the west, on the opposite bank, but at some

THE SOW AND HER LITTER MAKING THEIR WAY THROUGH A BED OF REEDS.[3]

distance from the stream, the mound of Mugheîr marks the site of Uru, the most important, if not the oldest, of the southern cities.[4] Lagash occupied the

where this idea is developed for the first time), is merely a mythological tradition, from which it would be wrong to deduce historical conclusions (TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 101).

[1] The majority of the commonly accepted identifications of the ancient names with the modern sites were due to the first Assyriologists—Hincks, Oppert, H. Rawlinson. As these identifications are scattered among books not easily procured, I confine my references to works in which Assyriologists of the second generation have collected them, and completed them by further research, especially to that of FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* and to that of HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 195–234, which contain such information in a convenient form.

[2] Eridu, shortened into *Ritu* (SMITH, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 29), possibly the Rata of Ptolemy (OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 269), in the non-Semitic language *Nun* and *Eridugga* (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 227–238). Its ruins have been described by Taylor (*Notes on Abu-Shahrein and Tel-el-Lahm*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xiv. p. 412, et seq.).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief from Kouyunjik (LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 12, No. 1).

[4] Urum, Uru, which signifies "the town" *par excellence* (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 226, 227), is possibly the Ur of the Chaldees in the Bible (*Genesis* xi. 28; *Nehemiah* ix. 7), but this identification is not quite certain, and many authorities hesitate to adopt it (HALÉVY, *Mélanges d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie sémitiques*, pp. 72–86), in spite of the authority of Rawlinson. Oppert, who at first read the name Kalunu, to find in it the Calneh of Scripture (*Expéd. en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 258), finally accepted the opinion of Rawlinson (*Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan*, pp. 3, 9, note), also Schrader (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1st edit., pp. 383, 384). The name Mugheir (more correctly *Muqayyer*), which it bears to-day, signifies "the bituminous," from *qir* = bitumen, and is explained by the employment of bitumen as cement in some of the structures found here.

site of the modern Telloh to the north of Eridu, not far from the Shatt-el-Haî;[1] Nisin[2] and Mar,[3] Larsam[4] and Uruk,[5] occupied positions at short distances from each other on the marshy ground which extends between the Euphrates and the Shatt-en-Nîl. The inscriptions mention here and there other less important places, of which the ruins have not yet been discovered—Zirlab and Shurippak, places of embarkation at the mouth of the Euphrates for the passage of the Persian Gulf;[6] and the island of Dilmun, situated some forty leagues to the south in the centre of the Salt Sea,—"Nar-Marratum."[7] The northern group comprised Nipur,[8] the "incomparable;" Barsip, on the branch which flows parallel to the Euphrates and falls into the Bahr-î-Nedjîf;[9] Babylon, the "gate of the god," the "residence of life," the only metropolis of the Euphrates region of which posterity never lost a reminiscence; Kishu,[10] Kuta,[11] Agade;[12] and lastly the two Sipparas,[13] that of Shamash and that of Anunit. The earliest

[1] The name was read at first Sirtella, Sirpurla, Sirgulla: the form Lagash was discovered by Pinches (*Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 7; and *Lagash, not Zirgulla, Zirpourla, Sirpulla*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii. p. 24).

[2] Nisin, Nishin or Ishin (BEZOLD, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. p. 430), identified by G. Smith (*Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 29, 30) with Karrak, is Djokha (PETERS, *Notes on Delitzsch's Geschichte* in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. p. 337), in the land Gishban (SCHEIL, *Notes d'epigraphie dans le Recueil*, t. xviii.

[3] Mar is the present Tell-Ede (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 223).

[4] Larsam was called in Sumerian *Babbar unu*, "the dwelling of the sun"; it is the Senkereh of to-day.

[5] Uruk was called Unug, Unu, in the ancient language; it became later, in the Bible, Erech (*Genesis* x. 10, Ὀρεχ, LXX.), Araka and Orchoe among the Greeks (STRABO, xvi. 1; PTOLEMY, v. 20); it is now Warka, of which the ruins have been described by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 159, et seq.

[6] Zirlaba, Zarilab, is in the non-Semitic language *Kulunu*, "dwelling of the seed;" this fact allows us to identify it with the Calneh or Kalanneh of *Genesis* x. 10, in opposition to Talmudical tradition, according to which it would be the same as Nipur, Niffer (NEUBAUER, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 346, note 6). The identification of Zirlab-Kulunu with Zerghul (OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. pp. 269, 270) is no longer generally accepted (TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 86). The texts bearing on Shurippak, Shuruppak, were collected by G. Smith (*The Eleventh Tablet of the Izdubar Legends*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. p 589); they do not furnish means for identifying the site of the city.

[7] The site of Dilmun is fixed by Oppert (*Le Siège primitif des Assyriens et des Phéniciens*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, vol. xv. pp. 90-92, 349, 350) and by Rawlinson (in the *Journal of the Royal Asiat. Soc.*, 1880, vol. xii. p. 201, et seq.) at Tylos, the largest of the Bahrein islands, now Samak Bahrein, where Captain Durand found remains of Babylonian occupation, among them an inscription (*J. of the R. Asiat. Soc.*, 1880, pp. 192, et seq.). Fr. Delitzsch would identify it with an island, now disappeared, near the mouth of the Shatt-el-Arab (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 229, 230). Dilmun is called *Nituk* in Sumerian (OPPERT-MENANT, *Inscription de Khorsabad*, p. 116).

[8] Nipur, Nippur, in Sumerian Inlil, is Niffer, near the Shatt-en-Nil, on the border of the Affedj marshes.

[9] Barsip, Borsippa, the second Babylon (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 216, 217), is Birs-Nimrud (OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 200, et seq.).

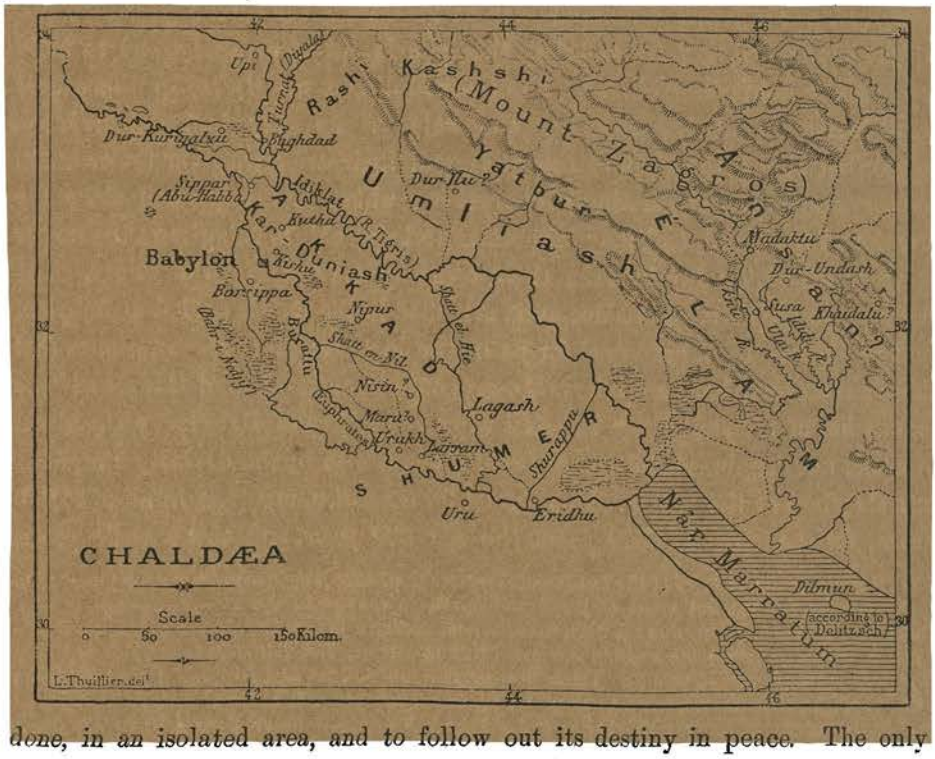
[10] Kishu is the present El-Ohaimir (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 233, 235, et seq.).

[11] Kutu, Kuta, in non-Semitic speech *Gudua*, is the modern Tell-Ibrahim.

[12] Agade, or Agane, has been identified with one of the two towns of which Sippara is made up (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 209-212; FR. LENORMANT, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. p. 195), more especially with that which was called Anunit Sippara (HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 204); the reading Agadi, Agade, was especially assumed to lead to its identification with the Accad of *Genesis* x. 10 (cf. G. SMITH, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 225, note 1) and with the Akkad of native tradition. This opinion has been generally abandoned by Assyriologists (FR. DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., p. 73; LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukîn König von Babylonien*, p. 73), and Agane has not yet found a site. Was it only a name for Babylon?

[13] Sippara of Shamash and Sippara of Anunit are usually identified with the Sepharvaim of the

Chaldæan civilization was confined almost entirely to the two banks of the Lower Euphrates: except at its northern boundary, it did not reach the Tigris, and did not cross this river. Separated from the rest of the world—on the east by the marshes which border the river in its lower course, on the north by the badly watered and sparsely inhabited table-land of Mesopotamia, on the west by the Arabian desert—it was able to develop its civilization, as Egypt had



done, in an isolated area, and to follow out its destiny in peace. The only point from which it might anticipate serious danger was on the east, whence the Kashshi and the Elamites, organized into military states, incessantly harassed it year after year by their attacks. The Kashshi were scarcely better than half-civilized mountain hordes, but the Elamites were advanced in civilization, and their capital, Susa, vied with the richest cities of the Euphrates, Uru and Babylon, in antiquity and magnificence. There was nothing serious to fear from the Guti, on the branch of the Tigris to the north-east, or from the Shuti to the north of these; they were merely marauding tribes, and, however troublesome they might be to their neighbours in their devastating incursions, they could not compromise the existence of the country, or bring it into

Bible (2 *Kings* xvii. 24, 31), but the identification has been rejected by HALÉVY, *Notes Assyriologiques*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 401, 402, and by JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, p. 457; their ruins were discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in the two mounds of Abu Habba and Deir, which are separated from each other by the bed of one and perhaps two ancient canals (*Recent Discoveries of Ancient Babylonian Cities*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii. pp. 172–183).

subjection. It would appear that the Chaldæans had already begun to encroach upon these tribes and to establish colonies among them—El-Ashshur on the banks of the Tigris, Harran on the furthest point of the Mesopotamian plain, towards the sources of the Balikh. Beyond these were vague and unknown regions—Tidanum,[1] Martu,[2] the sea of the setting sun, the vast territories of Milukhkha and Mâgan.[3] Egypt, from the time they were acquainted with its existence, was a semi-fabulous country at the ends of the earth.

How long did it take to bring this people out of savagery, and to build up so many flourishing cities? The learned did not readily resign themselves to a confession of ignorance on the subject. As they had depicted the primordial chaos, the birth of the gods, and their struggles over the creation, so they related unhesitatingly everything which had happened since the creation of mankind, and they laid claim to being able to calculate the number of centuries which lay between their own day and the origin of things. The tradition to which most credence was attached in the Greek period at Babylon, that which has been preserved for us in the histories of Berossus, asserts that there was a somewhat long interval between the manifestation of Oannes and the foundation of a dynasty. "The first king was Alôros of Babylon, a Chaldæan of whom nothing is related except that he was chosen by the divinity himself to be a shepherd of the people. He reigned for ten sari, amounting in all to 36,000 years; for the saros is 3600 years, the ner 600 years, and the soss 60 years.

[1] Tidanum is the country of the Lebanon (HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 329).

[2] Martu is the general name of the Syro-Phœnician country in the non-Semitic speech (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 271), usually read Akharru in Semitic, but for which the Tel-el-Amarna tablets indicate the reading Amurru (BEZOLD-BUDGE, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, pl. xlvii., note 2). The names of the Kashshi, the Elamites, and their neighbours will be explained elsewhere, when these people enter actively into this history.

[3] The question concerning Milukhkha and Mâgan has exercised Assyriologists for twenty years. The prevailing opinion appears to be that which identifies Mâgan with the Sinaitic Peninsula, and Milukhkha with the country to the north of Mâgan as far as the Wady Arish and the Mediterranean (FR. LENORMANT, *Les Noms de l'Airain et de Cuivre dans les deux langues des Inscriptions cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi. pp. 347–353, 399, 402; TIELE, *Is Sumêr en Akkad het zelfde als Makan en Mêlûkha?* in the *Comptes rendus* of the Academy of Amsterdam, 2nd series, part xii.; DELATTRE, *Esquisse de Géog. Assyrienne*, pp. 53, 55; *L'Asie Orient. dans les Inscrip. Assyr.*, pp. 149, 167; AMIAUD, *Sirpourla d'après les inscriptions de la collection de Sarzec*, pp. 11–13; SAYCE, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 57, 58, 61); others maintain, not the theory of Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 129–131, 137–140), according to whom Mâgan and Milukhkha are synonyms for Shumir and Akkad, and consequently two of the great divisions of Babylonia, but an analogous hypothesis, in which they are regarded as districts to the west of the Euphrates, either in Chaldæan regions or on the margin of the desert, or even in the desert itself towards the Sinaitic Peninsula (HOMMEL, *Ges. Babyl. und Assyriens*, pp. 234, 235; JENSEN, *Die Insch. der Könige von Lagasch*, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii., 1st part, p. 53). What we know of the texts induces me, in common with H. Rawlinson (*The Islands of Bahrein*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xii. p. 212, et seq.), to place these countries on the shores of the Persian Gulf, between the mouth of the Euphrates and the Bahrein islands; possibly the Makæ and the Melangitæ of classical historians and geographers (cf. SPRENGER, *Die Alte Geographie Arabiens*, pp. 124–126, 261) were the descendants of the people of Mâgan (Mâkan) and Milukhkha (Melugga), who had been driven towards the entrance to the Persian Gulf by some such event as the increase in these regions of the Kashdi (Chaldæans). The names emigrated to the western parts of Arabia and to the Sinaitic Peninsula in after-times, as the name of India passed to America in the XVIth century of our era.

After the death of Alôros, his son Alaparos ruled for three sari, after which Amillaros,[1] of the city of Pantibibla,[2] reigned thirteen sari. It was under him that there issued from the Red Sea a second Annedôtos, resembling Oannes in his semi-divine shape, half man and half fish. After him Ammenon, also from Pantibibla, a Chaldæan, ruled for a term of twelve sari; under him, they say, the mysterious Oannes appeared. Afterwards Amelagaros[3] of Pantibibla governed for eighteen sari; then Davos,[4] the shepherd from Pantibibla, reigned ten sari: under him there issued from the Red Sea a fourth Annedôtos, who had a form similar to the others, being made up of man and fish. After him Evedoranchos of Pantibibla reigned for eighteen sari; in his time there issued yet another monster, named Anôdaphos, from the sea. These various monsters developed carefully and in detail that which Oannes had set forth in a brief way. Then Amempsinos of Larancha,[6] a Chaldæan, reigned ten sari; and Obartes,[7] also a Chaldæan, of Larancha, eight sari. Finally, on the death of Obartes, his son Xisuthros[8] held the sceptre for eighteen sari. It was under him that the great deluge took place. Thus ten kings are to be reckoned in all, and the duration of their combined reigns amounts to one hundred and twenty sari."[9] From the beginning of the world to the Deluge they reckoned

TWO FISH-LIKE DEITIES OF THE CHALDÆANS.[5]

[1] Otherwise *Almelon*.

[2] Pantibibla has been identified with Sepharvaim and Sippara, on account of the play upon the Hebrew word *Sepher* (book), which is thought to be in Sippara, and the Greek name meaning the *town of all the books*. Fr. Lenormant (*La Langue primitive de la Chaldée*, pp. 341, 342) latterly proposed Uruk; Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 224) prefers Larak; but we really do not know the Assyrian term which corresponds with the Pantibibla of Berossus.

[3] Otherwise *Megalaros*.

[4] Otherwise *Daonos, Daos*.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an intaglio in the British Museum (LAJARD, *Introduction à l'étude du Culte public et des mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, pl. li., No. 4).

[6] Lenormant (*La Langue primitive de la Chaldée*, p. 342) proposes to substitute *Surapcha* in place of *Larancha*, and to recognize in the Greek name the town of Shurappak, Shurippak.

[7] A correction of Lenormant for Otiartes, in order to find in it the name Ubaratutu, who, in the account of the Deluge, is made the father of Xisuthros; the variant Ardates is explained, according to G. Smith (*The Eleventh Tablet of the Isdubar Legend*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 532), by the reading Arda-tutu, Arad-tutu, from the signs which enter into it. Finally, we find alongside this non-Semitic pronunciation the Semitic form Kidin-Marduk (SMITH, *The Eleventh Tablet*, etc., in the *Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 532, 533), of which the tradition recorded by Berossus bears no trace.

[8] Otherwise *Sisithes*.

[9] BEROSSUS, fragm. ix.–xi., in LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire*, pp. 241–251.

691,200 years, of which 259,200 had passed before the coming of Aloros, and the remaining 432,000 were generously distributed between this prince and his immediate successors: the Greek and Latin writers had certainly a fine occasion for amusement over these fabulous numbers of years which the Chaldæans assigned to the lives and reigns of their first kings.[1]

Men in the mean time became wicked; they lost the habit of offering sacrifices to the gods, and the gods, justly indignant at this negligence, resolved to be avenged.[2] Now, Shamashnapishtim[3] was reigning at this time in Shurippak, the "town of the ship:" he and all his family were saved, and he related afterwards to one of his descendants how Ea had snatched him from the disaster which fell upon his people.[4] "Shurippak, the city which thou thyself knowest, is situated on the bank of the Euphrates; it was already an ancient town when the hearts of the gods who resided in it impelled them to bring the deluge upon it—the great gods as many as they are; their father Anu, their counsellor Bel the warrior, their throne-bearer Ninib, their prince Innugi.[5] The master of wisdom, Ea, took his seat with them,"[6] and, moved with pity, was anxious to warn Shamashnapishtim, his servant, of the peril which threatened

[1] CICERO, *De Divinatione*, i. 19.

[2] The account of Berossus implies this as a cause of the Deluge, since he mentions the injunction imposed upon the survivors by a mysterious voice to be henceforward *respectful towards the gods*, θεοσεβεῖς (BEROSSUS, fragm. 15, edit. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire*, p. 259). The Chaldæan account considers the Deluge to have been sent as a punishment upon men for their sins against the gods, since it represents towards the end (cf. p. 571 of this History) Ea as reproaching Bel for having confounded the innocent and the guilty in one punishment (cf. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 145, 146).

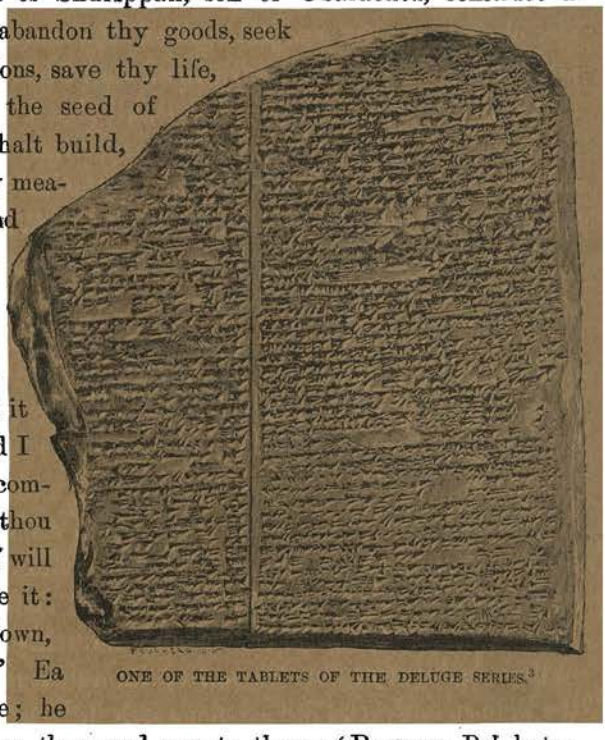
[3] The name of this individual has been read in various ways: Shamashnapishtim, "sun of life" (HAUPT, in SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften d. A. Test.*, 2nd edit., p. 65); Sitnapishtim (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 384, 385; DELITZSCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 334, rem. 4; A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pp. 28, 52, note 72), "the saved;" Pirnapishtim (ZIMMERN, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 68, note 1; A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen des Lebens nach dem Tode*, p. 82). In one passage at least we find, in place of Shamashnapishtim, the name or epithet of Adrakhasis, or by inversion Khasisadra, which appears to signify "the very shrewd," and is explained by the skill with which he interpreted the oracle of Ea (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 385, 386). Khasisadra is most probably the form which the Greeks have transcribed by Xisuthros, Sisuthros, Sisithes.

[4] The account of the Deluge covers the eleventh tablet of the poem of Gilgames. The hero, threatened with death, proceeds to rejoin his ancestor Shamashnapishtim to demand from him the secret of immortality, and the latter tells him the manner in which he escaped from the waters: he had saved his life only at the expense of the destruction of men. The text of it was published by Smith (in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 534–567), by Haupt, fragment by fragment (*Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 95–132), and then restored consecutively (pp. 133–149). The studies of which it is the object would make a complete library. The principal translations are those of Smith (*Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 534–567, afterwards in *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, 1876, pp. 263–272), of Oppert (*Fragments de Cosmogonie Chaldéenne*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire d'Israël*, 1879, vol. i. pp. 422–433, and *Le Poème Chaldéen du Déluge*, 1885), of LENORMANT (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, 1880, vol. i. pp. 601–618), of Haupt (in SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften und das A. Test.*, 1883, pp. 55–79), of Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 1890, pp. 365–446), of A. Jeremias (*Izdubar-Nimrod*, 1891, pp. 32–36), of Sauveplane (*Une Epopée Babylonienne, Istubar-Gilgamès*, pp. 128–151), and of Zimmern (H. GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 423–428).

[5] Innugi appears to be one of the earth-gods (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 389).

[6] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 134, ll. 11–19.

him; but it was a very serious affair to betray to a mortal a secret of heaven, and as he did not venture to do so in a direct manner, his inventive mind suggested to him an artifice. He confided to a hedge of reeds the resolution that had been adopted:[1] "Hedge, hedge, wall, wall! Hearken, hedge, and understand well, wall! Man of Shurippak, son of Ubaratutu, construct a wooden house, build a ship, abandon thy goods, seek life; throw away thy possessions, save thy life, and place in the vessel all the seed of life. The ship which thou shalt build, let its proportions be exactly measured, let its dimensions and shape be well arranged, then launch it in the sea."[2] Shamashnapishtim heard the address to the field of reeds, or perhaps the reeds repeated it to him. "I understood it, and I said to my master Ea: 'The command, O my master, which thou hast thus enunciated, I myself will respect it, and I will execute it: but what shall I say to the town, the people and the elders?'" Ea opened his mouth and spake; he said to his servant: "Answer thus and say to them: 'Because Bel hates me, I will no longer dwell in your town, and upon the land of Bel I will no longer lay my head, but I will go upon the sea, and will dwell with Ea my master. Now Bel will make rain to fall upon you, upon the swarm of birds and the multitude of fishes, upon all the animals of the field, and upon all the crops; but Ea will give you a sign: the god who rules the rain will cause to fall upon you, on a certain evening, an abundant rain. When the dawn of the next day appears, the deluge



ONE OF THE TABLETS OF THE DELUGE SERIES.[3]

[1] The sense of this passage is far from being certain; I have followed the interpretation proposed, with some variations, by Pinches (*Additions and Corrections*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. i. p. 348), by Haupt (*Collation der Isdubar-Legenden*, in the *Beiträge für Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 123, note), and by Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 391–393). The stratagem at once recalls the history of King Midas, and the talking reeds which knew the secret of his ass's ears. In the version of Berossus, it is Kronos who plays the part here assigned to Ea in regard to Xisuthros.

[2] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 134, 135, ll. 19–31.

[3] Facsimile by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph published by G. SMITH, *Chaldæan Account of the Deluge from terra-cotta tablets found at Nineveh.*

will begin, which will cover the earth and drown all living things.'"[1] Shamashnapishtim repeated the warning to the people, but the people refused to believe it, and turned him into ridicule. The work went rapidly forward: the hull was a hundred and forty cubits long, the deck one hundred and forty broad; all the joints were caulked with pitch and bitumen. A solemn festival was observed at its completion, and the embarkation began.[2] "All that I possessed I filled the ship with it, all that I had of silver, I filled it with it; all that I had of gold I filled it with it, all that I had of the seed of life of every kind I filled it with it; I caused all my family and my servants to go up into it; beasts of the field, wild beasts of the field, I caused them to go up all together. Shamash had given me a sign: 'When the god who rules the rain, in the evening shall cause an abundant rain to fall, enter into the ship and close thy door.' The sign was revealed: the god who rules the rain caused to fall one night an abundant rain. The day, I feared its dawning; I feared to see the daylight; I entered into the ship and I shut the door; that the ship might be guided, I handed over to Buzur-Bel, the pilot,[3] the great ark and its fortunes."[4]

"As soon as the morning became clear, a black cloud arose from the foundations of heaven.[5] Ramman growled in its bosom; Nebo and Marduk ran before it—ran like two throne-bearers over hill and dale. Nera the Great tore up the stake to which the ark was moored.[6] Ninib came up quickly; he began the attack; the Anunnaki raised their torches and made the earth to tremble at their brilliancy; the tempest of Ramman scaled the heaven, changed all the light to darkness, flooded the earth like a lake.[7] For a whole day the

[1] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 135, 136, ll. 32–51. The end of the text is mutilated: I have restored the general sense of it from the course of the narrative.

[2] HAUPT (*op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137, ll. 54–80). The text is again mutilated, and does not furnish enough information to follow in every detail the building of the ark. From what we can understand, the vessel of Shamashnapishtim was a kind of immense kelek, decked, but without masts or rigging of any sort. The text identifies the festival celebrated by the hero before the embarkation with the festival Akitu of Merodach, at Babylon, during which "Nebo, the powerful son, sailed from Borsippa to Babylon in the bark of the river *Asmu*, of beauty" (POGNON, *Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wady-Brissa*, pp. 73, 80, 94, 95, 113, 114). The embarkation of Nebo and his voyage on the stream had probably inspired the information according to which the embarkation of Shamashnapishtim was made the occasion of a festival Akitu, celebrated at Shurippak; the time of the Babylonian festival was probably thought to coincide with the anniversary of the Deluge.

[3] It has been, and may still be, read Buzur-Shadî-rabî, or Buzur-Kurgal (HAUPT, in SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften und das A. Test.*, 2nd edit., pp. 58, 72; LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. p. 609), by substituting for the name of the god Bel one of his most common epithets: the meaning is *Protégé of Bel*, or of the *Great mountain god of the earth* (cf. pp. 543, 544 of this History).

[4] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 137, 138, ll. 52–96.

[5] Upon the foundations of heaven, see p. 544 of this History.

[6] The meaning is not clear, and the translations differ much at this point.

[7] The progress of the tempest is described as the attack of the gods, who had resolved on the destruction of men. Ramman is the thunder which growls in the cloud; Nebo, Merodach, Nera the Great (Nergal), and Ninib, denote the different phases of the hurricane from the moment when the wind gets up until it is at its height; the Anunnaki represent the lightning which flashes ceaselessly across the heaven.

hurricane raged, and blew violently over the mountains and over the country; the tempest rushed upon men like the shock of an army, brother no longer beheld brother, men recognized each other no more. In heaven, the gods were afraid of the deluge;[1] they betook themselves to flight, they clambered to the firmament of Anu; the gods, howling like dogs, cowered upon the parapet.[2] Ishtar wailed like a woman in travail; she cried out, the lady of life, the goddess with the beautiful voice: 'The past returns to clay, because I have prophesied evil before the gods! Prophesying evil before the gods, I have counselled the attack to bring my men to nothing;[3] and these to whom I myself have given birth, where are they? Like the spawn of fish they encumber the sea!' The gods wept with her over the affair of the Anunnaki;[5] the gods, in the place where they sat weeping, their lips were closed."[6] It was not pity only which made their tears to flow: there were mixed up with it feelings of regret and fears for the future. Mankind once destroyed, who would then make the accustomed offerings? The inconsiderate anger of Bel, while punishing the impiety of their creatures, had inflicted injury upon themselves. "Six days and nights the wind continued, the deluge and the tempest raged. The seventh day at daybreak the storm abated; the deluge, which had carried on warfare like an army, ceased, the sea became calm and the hurricane disappeared, the deluge ceased. I surveyed the sea with my eyes, raising my voice; but all mankind had returned to clay, neither fields nor woods could be distinguished.[7] I opened

SHAMASHNAPISHTIM SHUT INTO THE ARK.[4]

[1] The gods enumerated above alone took part in the drama of the Deluge: they were the confederates and emissaries of Bel. The others were present as spectators of the disaster, and were terrified.

[2] The upper part of the mountain wall is here referred to, upon which the heaven is supported (cf. p. 544 of this History). There was a narrow space between the escarpment and the place upon which the vault of the firmament rested: the Babylonian poet represented the gods as crowded like a pack of hounds upon this parapet, and beholding from it the outburst of the tempest and the waters.

[3] The translation is uncertain: the text refers to a legend which has not come down to us, in which Ishtar is related to have counselled the destruction of men.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio (G. SMITH, *Chaldæan Account of the Deluge*, p. 283).

[5] The Anunnaki represent here the evil genii whom the gods that produced the deluge had let loose, and whom Ramman, Nebo, Merodach, Nergal, and Ninib, all the followers of Bel, had led to the attack upon men: the others deities shared the fears and grief of Ishtar in regard to the ravages which these Anunnaki had brought about (cf. below, pp. 634–636 of this History).

[6] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 138, 139, ll. 97–127.

[7] I have adopted, in the translation of this difficult passage, the meaning suggested by Haupt (*Nachträge und Berichtigungen*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 321, 322), according to

the hatchway and the light fell upon my face; I sank down, I cowered, I wept, and my tears ran down my cheeks when I beheld the world all terror and all sea. At the end of twelve days, a point of land stood up from the waters, the ship touched the land of Nisir:[1] the mountain of Nisir stopped the ship and permitted it to float no longer. One day, two days, the mountain of Nisir stopped the ship and permitted it to float no longer. Three days, four days, the mountain of Nisir stopped the ship and permitted it to float no longer. Five days, six days, the mountain of Nisir stopped the ship and permitted it to float no longer. The seventh day, at dawn, I took out a dove and let it go: the dove went, turned about, and as there was no place to alight upon, came back. I took out a swallow and let it go: the swallow went, turned about, and as there was no place to alight upon, came back. I took out a raven and let it go: the raven went, and saw that the water had abated, and came near the ship flapping its wings, croaking, and returned no more."[2] Shamashnapishtim escaped from the deluge, but he did not know whether the divine wrath was appeased, or what would be done with him when it became known that he still lived. He resolved to conciliate the gods by expiatory ceremonies "I sent forth the inhabitants of the ark towards the four winds, I made an offering, I poured out a propitiatory libation on the summit of the mountain. I set up seven and seven vessels, and I placed there some sweet-smelling rushes, some cedar-wood, and storax."[3] He thereupon re-entered the ship to await there the effect of his sacrifice.

The gods, who no longer hoped for such a wind-fall, accepted the sacrifice with a wondering joy. "The gods sniffed up the odour, the gods sniffed up the excellent odour, the gods gathered like flies above the offering. When Ishtar, the mistress of life, came in her turn, she held up the great amulet which Anu had made for her."[4] She was still furious against those

which it ought to be translated, "The field makes nothing more than one with the mountain;" that is to say, "mountains and fields are no longer distinguishable one from another." I have merely substituted for *mountain* the version *wood, piece of land covered with trees*, which Jensen has suggested (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 433, 434).

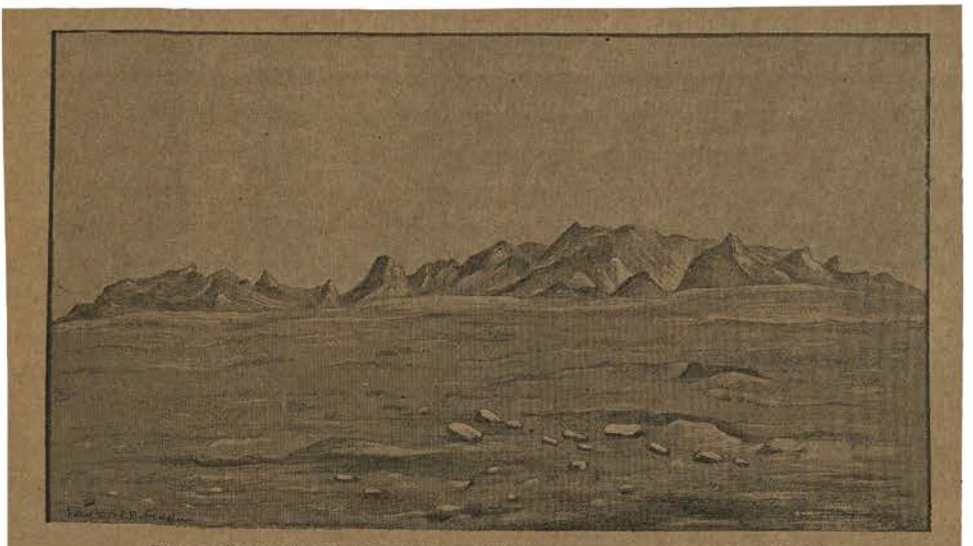
[1] The mountain of Nisir is replaced in the version of Berossus (LENORMANT, *Essai sur les fragments cosmogoniques*, p. 259) by the Gordyæan mountains of classical geography; a passage of Assur-nazir-pal informs us that it was situated between the Tigris and the Great Zab, according to Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 105) between 35° and 36° N. latitude. The Assyrian-speaking people interpreted the name as *Salvation*, and a play upon words probably decided the placing upon its slopes the locality where those *saved* from the deluge landed on the abating of the waters. Fr. Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. p. 64) proposes to identify it with the peak Rowandîz.

[2] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 140, 141, ll. 128–155.

[3] HAUPT, *ibid.*, p. 141, ll. 156–159. The word which I have translated *storax*, more properly denotes an odoriferous bark or wood, but the exact species remains to be determined.

[4] HAUPT, *ibid.*, p. 141, ll. 160–164. We are ignorant of the object which the goddess lifted up: it may have been the sceptre surmounted by a radiating star, such as we see on certain cylinders (cf. below, p. 659 of this History). Several Assyriologists translate it arrows or lightning (SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 380, note 3; HAUPT, *Collation der Izdubar-Legenden*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 136; A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, p. 35). Ishtar is, in fact, an armed goddess who throws the arrow or lightning made by her father Anu, the heaven.

who had determined upon the destruction of mankind, especially against Bel: "These gods, I swear it on the necklace of my neck! I will not forget them; these days I will remember, and will not forget them for ever. Let the other gods come quickly to take part in the offering. Bel shall have no part in the offering, for he was not wise; but he has caused the deluge, and he has devoted my people to destruction." Bel himself had not recovered his temper: "When he arrived in his turn and saw the ship, he remained immovable before it, and his heart was filled with rage against the gods of heaven. 'Who is he who has come out of it living? No man must survive the



THE JUDI MOUNTAINS SOMETIMES IDENTIFIED WITH THE NISIR MOUNTAINS.[1]

destruction!'" The gods had everything to fear from his anger: Ninib was eager to exculpate himself, and to put the blame upon the right person. Ea did not disavow his acts: "he opened his mouth and spake; he said to Bel the warrior: 'Thou, the wisest among the gods, O warrior, why wert thou not wise, and didst cause the deluge? The sinner, make him responsible for his sin; the criminal, make him responsible for his crime: but be calm, and do not cut off all; be patient, and do not drown all. What was the good of causing the deluge? A lion had only to come to decimate the people. What was the good of causing the deluge? A leopard had only to come to decimate the people. What was the good of causing the deluge? Famine had only to present itself to desolate the country. What was the good of causing the deluge? Nera the Plague had only to come to destroy the people. As for me, I did not reveal the judgment of the gods: I caused Khasisadra to dream a dream, and he became aware of the judgment of the gods, and then he made

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by G. SMITH, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 108.

his resolve.'" Bel was pacified at the words of Ea: "he went up into the interior of the ship; he took hold of my hand and made me go up, even me; he made my wife go up, and he pushed her to my side; he turned our faces towards him, he placed himself between us, and blessed us: 'Up to this time Shamashnapishtim was a man: henceforward let Shamashnapishtim and his wife be reverenced like us, the gods, and let Shamashnapishtim dwell afar off, at the mouth of the seas, and he carried us away and placed us afar off, at the mouth of the seas.'"[1] Another form of the legend relates that by an order of the god, Xisuthros, before embarking, had buried in the town of Sippara all the books in which his ancestors had set forth the sacred sciences—books of oracles and omens, "in which were recorded the beginning, the middle, and the end. When he had disappeared, those of his companions who remained on board, seeing that he did not return, went out and set off in search of him, calling him by name. He did not show himself to them, but a voice from heaven enjoined upon them to be devout towards the gods, to return to Babylon and dig up the books in order that they might be handed down to future generations; the voice also informed them that the country in which they were was Armenia. They offered sacrifice in turn, they regained their country on foot, they dug up the books of Sippara and wrote many more; afterwards they refounded Babylon."[2] It was even maintained in the time of the Seleucidæ, that a portion of the ark existed on one of the summits of the Gordyæan mountains.[3] Pilgrimages were made to it, and the faithful scraped off the bitumen which covered it, to make out of it amulets of sovereign virtue against evil spells.[4]

The chronicle of these fabulous times placed, soon after the abating of the waters, the foundation of a new dynasty, as extraordinary or almost as extraordinary in character as that before the flood. According to Berossus

[1] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 141, 143, ll. 165–205.

[2] BEROSSUS, fragm. xv., xvi. (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire*, pp. 257–259, 337, 338). Guyard has pointed out survivals of the personality of Xisuthros in the Khidr of the Arabian legend of Alexander, and in the life of Moses in the Koran (*Bulletin de la Religion Assyro-Babylonienne*, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. i. pp. 344, 345); cf. A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 81, note 1; M. LIDBARSKI, *Wer ist Chadir?* in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 104–116.

[3] BEROSSUS, fragm. xv. (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire*, pp. 259, 335, 336). The legend about the remains of the ark has passed into Jewish tradition concerning the Deluge (FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 3–6). Nicholas of Damascus relates, like Berossus, that they were still to be seen on the top of Mount Baris (*Fragm. Hist. Græcorum*, edit. MÜLLER-DIDOT, vol. iii. p. 415, fragm. 76). From that time they have been continuously seen, sometimes on one peak and sometimes on another. In the last century they were pointed out to Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, vol. vi. pp. 2, 3; 4, 1: 6, 1), and the memory of them has not died out in our own century (MACDONALD-KINNEIR, *Travels in Asia Minor, Armenia, and Kurdistan*, p. 453). Discoveries of charcoal and bitumen, such as those made at Gebel Judî, upon one of the mountains identified with Nisir, probably explain many of these local traditions (G. SMITH, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 108).

[4] Fr. Lenormant recognized and mentioned one of these amulets in his *Catalogue de la Collection de M. le baron de Behr*, Ant. N° 80.

it was of Chaldæan origin, and comprised eighty-six kings, who bore rule during 34,080 years; the first two, Evechoüs and Khomasbelos, reigned 2400 and 2700 years, while the later reigns did not exceed the ordinary limits of human life. An attempt was afterwards made to harmonize them with probability: the number of kings was reduced to six, and their combined reigns to 225 years.[1] This attempt arose from a misapprehension of their true character; names and deeds, everything connected with them belongs to myth and fiction only, and is irreducible to history proper. They supplied to priests and poets material for scores of different stories, of which several have come down to us in fragments. Some are short, and serve as preambles to prayers or magical formulas; others are of some length, and may pass for real epics. The gods intervene in them, and along with kings play an important part. It is Nera, for instance, the lord of the plague, who declares war against mankind in order to punish them for having despised the authority of Anu. He makes Babylon to feel his wrath first: "The children of Babel, they were as birds, and the bird-catcher, thou wert he! thou takest them in the net, thou enclosest them, thou decimatest them—hero Nera!" One after the other he attacks the mother cities of the Euphrates and obliges them to render homage to him —even Uruk, "the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar—the town of the priestesses, of the *almehs*, and the sacred courtesans;" then he turns upon the foreign nations and carries his ravages as far as Phœnicia.[2] In other fragments, the hero Etana makes an attempt to raise himself to heaven, and the eagle, his companion, flies away with him, without, however, being able to bring the enterprise to a successful issue.[3] Nimrod and his exploits are known to us from the Bible.[4] "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." Almost all the characteristics which are attributed by Hebrew tradition to

[1] BEROSSUS, fragm. xi., *Fragm. Historicorum Græcorum*, edit. MÜLLER-DIDOT, vol. ii. p. 503.

[2] Numerous fragments of this kind of mythological epic were discovered and partly translated by G. Smith (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 123-136; cf. W. B[OSCAWEN], *The Plague Legends of Chaldæa*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. i. pp. 11-14). They were published and the whole translated by E. J. HARPER, *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana*, etc., in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 425-437.

[3] For the legend of Etana, see below, pp. 698-700 of this History.

[4] *Genesis* x. 9, 10. Among the Jews and Mussulmans a complete cycle of legends have developed around Nimrod. He built the Tower of Babel (JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.*, lib. i. 4, § 2); he threw Abraham into a fiery furnace, and he tried to mount to heaven on the back of an eagle (KORAN, *Sura*, xxix. 23; YAKOUT, *Lex. Geogr.*, *sub voce* Niffer). Sayce (*Nimrod and the Assyrian Inscriptions*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 248, 249) and Grivel (*Revue de la Suisse catholique*, August, 1871, and *Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 136-144) saw in Nimrod an heroic form of Merodach, the god of Babylonia: the majority of living Assyriologists prefer to follow Smith's example (*The Chaldæan Account of the Deluge*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 205, and *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 165-167), and identify him with the hero Gilgames.

Nimrod we find in Gilgames, King of Uruk and descendant of the Shamash-napishtim who had witnessed the deluge.[1] Several copies of a poem, in which an unknown scribe had celebrated his exploits, existed about the middle of the VIIth century before our era in the Royal Library at Nineveh; they had been transcribed by order of Assurbanipal from a more ancient copy, and the fragments of them which have come down to us, in spite of their lacunæ, enable us to restore the original text, if not in its entirety, at least in regard to the succession of events.[2] They were divided into twelve episodes corresponding with the twelve divisions of the year, and the ancient Babylonian author was guided in his choice of these divisions by something more than mere chance. Gilgames, at first an ordinary mortal under the patronage of the gods, had himself become a god and son of the goddess Aruru:[3] "he had seen the abyss, he had learned everything that is kept secret and hidden, he had even made known to men what had taken place before the deluge."[4] The sun, who had protected him in his human condition, had placed him beside himself on the judgment-seat, and delegated to him authority to pronounce decisions from which there was no appeal: he was, as it were, a sun on a small scale, before whom the kings, princes, and great ones of the earth humbly

[1] The name of this hero is composed of three signs, which Smith provisionally rendered Isdubar—a reading which, modified into Gishdhubar, Gistubar, is still retained by many Assyriologists. There have been proposed one after another the renderings Dhubar, Namrûdu (SMITH, *The Eleventh Tablet of the Izdubar Legends*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 558), Anamarutu, Numarad, Namrasit, all of which exhibit in the name of the hero that of Nimrod. Pinches discovered, in 1890, what appears to be the true signification of the three signs, Gilgamesh, Gilgames (*Exit Gistubar*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iv. p. 264); Sayce (*The Hero of the Chaldæan Epic*, in the *Academy*, 1890, No. 966, p. 421) and Oppert (*Le Persée Chaldéen*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 121–123) have compared this name with that of Gilgamos, a Babylonian hero, of whom Ælian (*Hist. Anim.*, xii. 21) has preserved the memory. A. Jeremias (*Izdubar-Nimrod*, p. 2, note 1) continued to reject both the reading and the identification.

[2] The fragments known up to the present have been put together, arranged, and published by HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, Leipzig, 1884–1892, and in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 48–79, 94–152. A list of the principal works dealing with them will be found in BEZOLD, *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick*, pp. 171, 173. A *resumé* has been given of them, accompanied with partial translations, by A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 1891; and a complete French translation by SAUVEPLANE, *Une Épopée Babylonienne, Istubar-Gilgamès*, 1894: I have confined myself almost entirely to the arrangement suggested by Haupt and Jeremias. A fragment of the catalogue of the mythological works in the Library of Nineveh, discovered by Pinches and published by Sayce (in SMITH'S *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, 2nd edit., p. 10, et seq.), puts alongside the title of our poem the name of a certain Sinliqîunnîni, who is considered to have been its author (FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10, note); it is perhaps merely the name of one of the rhapsodists who recited it in public (A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, p. 13; cf. HAUPT, *Collation der Izdubar-Legenden*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 102, note 2).

[3] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 8, l. 30. The position occupied by the goddess Aruru is otherwise unknown: we ought perhaps to regard her as a form of Beltis, *Bilit-ilâni*, the lady of the gods (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 294, note 1). It is possible that Gilgames had for his father Shamash, the sun-god, who protected him in all the difficulties of his career (G. SMITH, *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 174).

[4] 1st Tablet, ll. 1–6; cf. HAUPT, *Das Babyl. Nimrodepos*, pp. 1, 6, 79, and the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 102, 103, 318. The fragment quoted certainly belonged to the beginning of the poem, and contained a summary of all the exploits attributed to our hero.

bowed their heads.[1] The scribes had, therefore, some authority for treating the events of his life after the model of the year, and for expressing them in twelve chants, which answered to the annual course of the sun through the twelve months.[2]

GILGAMES STRANGLES A LION.[4]

The whole story is essentially an account of his struggles with Ishtar, and the first pages reveal him as already at issue with the goddess. His portrait, such as the monuments have preserved it for us, is singularly unlike the ordinary type: one would be inclined to regard it as representing an individual of a different race, a survival of some very ancient nation which had held rule on the plains of the Euphrates before the arrival of the Sumerian or Semitic[3] tribes. His figure is tall, broad, muscular to an astonishing degree, and expresses at once vigour and activity; his head is massive, bony, almost square, with a somewhat flattened face, a large nose, and prominent cheek-bones, the whole framed by an abundance of hair, and a thick beard symmetrically curled. All the young men of Uruk, the well-protected, were captivated by the prodigious strength and beauty of the hero; the elders of the city betook themselves to Ishtar to complain of the state of neglect to which the young generation had

[1] The identity of Gilgames with the Accadian fire-god, or rather with the sun, was recognized from the first by H. Rawlinson (in the *Athenæum*, 1872, December 7; cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. p. 64, et seq.; Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 27, et seq.), and has been accepted since by almost all Assyriologists (cf. A. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pp. 3–5, for the latest notice of it). A tablet brought back by G. Smith (Sm. 13711, 1877), called attention to by Fr. Delitzsch (in the *Tiglatpileser* of Lhotzky, p. 105), and published by Haupt (*Das Babyl. Nimrodepos*, pp. 93, 94), contains the remains of a hymn addressed to Gilgames, "the powerful king, the king of the Spirits of the Earth" (translated by Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pp. 3, 4; by Sauveplane, *Une Épopée Babylonienne*, pp. 206–211; and lastly by Boscawen, *Hymns to Gilgames*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vii. p. 121, et seq.).

[2] The identity of the twelve chants with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, first noticed by H. Rawlinson (*Athenæum*, 1872, December 7), has been gradually accepted by all Assyriologists (Lenormant, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 67–81, and *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, p. 238, et seq., note 4; Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 27, et seq.; Haupt, *Der Keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht*, pp. 10, 11, 24, notes 10, 11); by some, however, with some reserve (A. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pp. 66–68; Sauveplane, *Une Épopée Babylonienne*, pp. lxii.–lxix.).

[3] Smith (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 194) remarked the difference between the representations of Gilgames and the typical Babylonian: he concluded from this that the hero was of Ethiopian origin. Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 292) declares that his features have neither a Sumerian nor Semitic aspect, and that they raise an insoluble question in ethnology.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian bas-relief from Khorsabad, in the Museum of the Louvre (A. de Longpérier, *Notice des Antiquités assyriennes*, 3rd edit., pp. 28–30, Nos. 4, 5).

relegated them. "He has no longer a rival in their hearts, but thy subjects are led to battle, and Gilgames does not send one child back to his father. Night and day they cry after him: 'It is he the shepherd of Uruk, the well-protected,[1] he is its shepherd and master, he the powerful, the perfect and the wise.'"[2] Even the women did not escape the general enthusiasm: "he leaves not a single virgin to her mother, a single daughter to a warrior, a single wife to her master. Ishtar heard their complaint, the gods heard it, and cried with a loud voice to Aruru: 'It is thou, Aruru, who hast given him birth; create for him now his fellow, that he may be able to meet him on a day when it pleaseth him, in order that they may fight with each other and Uruk may be delivered.' When Aruru heard them, she created in her heart a man of Anu. Aruru washed her hands, took a bit of clay, cast it upon the earth, kneaded it and created Eabani, the warrior, the exalted scion, the man of Ninib,[3] whose whole body is covered with hair, whose tresses are as long as those of a woman; the locks of his hair bristle on his head like those on the corn-god; he is clad in a vestment like that of the god of the fields; he browses with the gazelles, he quenches his thirst with the beasts of the field, he sports with the beasts of the waters."[4] Frequent representations of Eabani are found upon the monuments; he has the horns of a goat, the legs and tail of a bull.[5] He possessed not only the strength of a brute, but his intelligence also embraced all things, the past and the future: he would probably have triumphed over Gilgames if Shamash had not succeeded in attaching them to one another by an indissoluble tie of friendship. The difficulty was to draw these two future friends together, and to bring them face to face without their coming to blows;

[1] *Uruk supuri* is hardly met with anywhere else than in the poem of Gilgames. The expression seems to signify "Uruk, the well-protected" (A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, p. 9); it is similar to the phrase used by Arab writers to designate Cairo, *Kahirah-el-Mahrussah*.

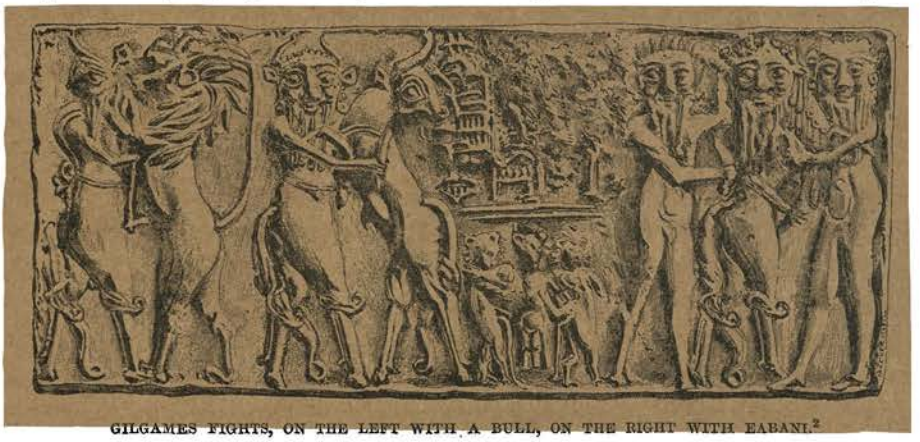
[2] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 8, ll. 21–26; cf. p. 79, ll. 10–16. The text is mutilated, and can be approximately rendered only. SMITH (*Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 168, 169) thought at first that the poem began by an account of a siege of Uruk, by the deliverance of the town by Gilgames, and by the sudden elevation of Gilgames to the royal dignity; he recognized afterwards his mistake (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 183–185), and adopted, as far as the fragments of the first tablets are concerned, the arrangement now commonly accepted by Assyriologists (A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, p. 14, et seq.; SAUVEPLANE, *Une Épopée Babylonienne*, p. 4, et seq.).

[3] Ninib possesses, among other titles, that of the god of labourers: the "man of Ninib" is, therefore, properly speaking, a peasant, a man of the fields (A. JEREMIAS, *op. cit.*, p. 46, note 16).

[4] HAUPT, *Das Babyl. Nimrodepos*, pp. 8, 9, ll. 27–41.

[5] Smith was the first, I believe, to compare his form to that of a satyr or faun (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 196); this comparison is rendered more probable by the fact that the modern inhabitants of Chaldæa believe in the existence of similar monsters (RICH, *Voyage aux ruines de Babylone*, trans. by RAYMOND, pp. 75, 76, 79, 210). A. JEREMIAS (*Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 83, note 4) places Eabani alongside Priapus, who is generally a god of the fields, and a clever soothsayer. Following out these ideas, we might compare our Eabani with the Græco-Roman Proteus, who pastures the flocks of the sea, and whom it was necessary to pursue and seize by force or cunning words to compel him to give oracular predictions.

the god sent his courier Saîdu, the hunter, to study the habits of the monster, and to find out the necessary means to persuade him to come down peaceably to Uruk. "Saîdu, the hunter, proceeded to meet Eabani near the entrance of the watering-place. One day, two days, three days, Eabani met him at the entrance of the watering-place. He perceived Saîdu, and his countenance darkened: he entered the enclosure, he became sad, he groaned, he cried with a loud voice, his heart was heavy, his features were distorted, sobs burst from his breast. The hunter saw from a distance that his face was inflamed with anger,"[1] and judging it more prudent not to persevere further in his enterprise,



GILGAMES FIGHTS, ON THE LEFT WITH A BULL, ON THE RIGHT WITH EABANI.[2]

returned to impart to the god what he had observed. "I was afraid," said he, in finishing his narrative, "and I did not approach him. He had filled up the pit which I had dug to trap him, he broke the nets which I had spread, he delivered from my hands the cattle and the beasts of the field, he did not allow me to search the country through."[3] Shamash thought that where the strongest man might fail by the employment of force, a woman might possibly succeed by the attractions of pleasure; he commanded Saîdu to go quickly to Uruk and there to choose from among the priestesses of Ishtar one of the most beautiful.[4] The hunter presented himself before Gilgames, recounted to him his adventures, and sought his permission to take away with him one of the

[1] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 9, ll. 42–50. The beginning of each line is destroyed, and the translation of the whole is only approximate.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio in the Museum at the Hague (MENANT, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux du Cabinet royal des Médailles*, pl. i., No. 1, and *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i., pl. ii., No. 3; cf. LAJARD, *Introduction à l'étude du culte public de Mithra*, pl. xxvii. 9). The original measures about $1\frac{7}{10}$ inch in height.

[3] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 9, ll. 8–12.

[4] The priestesses of Ishtar were young and beautiful women, devoted to the service of the goddess and her worshippers. Besides the title *qadishtu*, priestess, they bore various names, *kizireti*, *ukhati*, *kharimâti* (A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, p. 59, et seq.); the priestess who accompanied Saîdu was an *ukhat*.

sacred courtesans. "'Go, my hunter, take the priestess; when the beasts come to the watering-place, let her display her beauty; he will see her, he will approach her, and his beasts that troop around him will be scattered.'"[1] The hunter went, he took with him the priestess, he took the straight road; the third day they arrived at the fatal plain. The hunter and the priestess sat down to rest; one day, two days, they sat at the entrance of the watering-place from whose waters Eabani drank along with the animals, where he sported with the beasts of the water.[2]

"When Eabani arrived, he who dwells in the mountains, and who browses upon the grass like the gazelles, who drinks with the animals, who sports with the beasts of the water, the priestess saw the satyr." She was afraid and blushed, but the hunter recalled her to her duty. "It is he, priestess. Undo thy garment, show him thy form, that he may be taken with thy beauty; be not ashamed, but deprive him of his soul. He perceives thee, he is rushing towards thee, arrange thy garment; he is coming upon thee, receive him with every art of woman; his beasts which troop around him will be scattered, and he will press thee to his breast." The priestess did as she was commanded; she received him with every art of woman, and he pressed her to his breast. Six days and seven nights, Eabani remained near the priestess, his well-beloved. When he got tired of pleasure he turned his face towards his cattle, and he saw that the gazelles had turned aside and that the beasts of the field had fled far from him. Eabani was alarmed, he fell into a swoon, his knees became stiff because his cattle had fled from him. While he lay as if dead, he heard the voice of the priestess: he recovered his senses, he came to himself full of love; he seated himself at the feet of the priestess, he looked into her face, and while the priestess spoke his ears listened. For it was to him the priestess spoke—to him, Eabani. "Thou who art superb, Eabani, as a god, why dost thou live among the beasts of the field? Come, I will conduct thee to Uruk the well-protected, to the glorious house, the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar—to the place where is Gilgames, whose strength is supreme, and who, like a Urus, excels the heroes in strength." While she thus spoke to him, he hung upon her words, he the wise of heart, he realized by anticipation a friend. Eabani said to the priestess: "Let us go, priestess; lead me to the glorious and holy abode of Anu and Ishtar—to the place where is Gilgames, whose strength is

[1] As far as can be guessed from the narrative, interrupted as it is by so many lacunæ, the power of Eabani over the beasts of the field seems to have depended on his continence. From the moment in which he yields to his passions the beasts fly from him as they would do from an ordinary mortal; there is then no other resource for him but to leave the solitudes to live among men in towns. This explains the means devised by Shamash against him: cf. in the *Arabian Nights* the story of Shehabeddin.

[2] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 10, l. 40; p. 11, l. 1.

supreme, and who, like a Urus, prevails over the heroes by his strength. I will fight with him and manifest to him my power; I will send forth a panther against Uruk, and he must struggle with it."[1] The priestess conducted her prisoner to Uruk, but the city at that moment was celebrating the festival of Tammuz, and Gilgames did not care to interrupt the solemnities in order to face the tasks to which Eabani had invited him: what was the use of such trials since the gods themselves had deigned to point out to him in a dream the line of conduct he was to pursue, and had taken up the cause of their children. Shamash, in fact, began the instruction of the monster, and sketched an alluring picture of the life which awaited him if he would agree not to return to his mountain home. Not only would the priestess belong to him for ever, having none other than him for husband, but Gilgames would shower upon him riches and honours. "He will give thee wherein to sleep a great bed cunningly wrought; he will seat thee on his divan, he will give thee a place on his left hand, and the princes of the earth shall kiss thy feet, the people of Uruk shall grovel on the ground before thee."[2] It was by such flatteries and promises for the future that Gilgames gained the affection of his servant Eabani, whom he loved for ever.

Shamash had reasons for being urgent. Khumbaba, King of Elam, had invaded the country of the Euphrates, destroyed the temples, and substituted for the national worship the cult of foreign deities;[3] the two heroes in concert could alone check his advance, and kill him. They collected their troops, set out on the march, having learned from a female magician that the enemy had concealed himself in a sacred grove. They entered it in disguise, "and stopped in rapture for a moment before the cedar trees; they contemplated the height of them, they contemplated the thickness of them; the place where Khumbaba was accustomed to walk up and down with rapid strides, alleys were made in it, paths kept up with great care. They saw at length the hill of cedars, the abode of the gods, the sanctuary of Irnini, and before the hill, a magnificent

[1] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 11, l. 2; p. 13, l. 2. I have softened down a good deal the account of the seduction, which is described with a sincerity and precision truly primitive.

[2] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, p. 15, ll. 36–39.

[3] Khumbaba contains the name of the Elamite god, Khumba, which enters into the composition of names of towns, like Til-Khumbi; or into those of princes, as Khumbanigash, Khumbasundasa, Khumbasidir (G. SMITH, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 185). The comparison between Khumbaba and Combabos (FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. p. 240), the hero of a singular legend, current in the second century of our era (*De Deâ Syriâ*, §§ 17–27), does not seem to be admissible, at least for the present. The names agree well in sound, but, as Oppert has rightly said, no event in the history of Combabos finds a counterpart in anything we know of that of Khumbaba up to the present (*Fragments cosmogoniques*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire de l'Israël*, vol. i. p. 423).

cedar, and pleasant grateful shade." [1] They surprised Khumbaba at the moment when he was about to take his outdoor exercise, cut off his head, and came back in triumph to Uruk.[2] "Gilgames brightened his weapons, he polished his weapons. He put aside his war-harness, he put on his white garments, he adorned himself with the royal insignia, and bound on the diadem: Gilgames put his tiara on his head, and bound on his diadem." [3] Ishtar saw him thus adorned, and the same passion consumed her which inflames mortals.[4] "To the love of Gilgames she raised her eyes, the mighty Ishtar, and she said, 'Come, Gilgames, be my husband, thou! Thy love, give it to me, as a gift to me, and thou shalt be my spouse, and I shall be thy wife. I will place thee in a chariot of lapis and gold, with golden wheels and mountings of onyx: thou shalt be drawn in it by great lions, and thou shalt enter our house with the odorous incense of cedar-wood. When thou shalt have entered our house, all the country by the sea shall embrace thy feet, kings shall bow down before thee, the nobles and the great ones, the gifts of the mountains and of the plain they will bring to thee as tribute. Thy oxen shall prosper, thy sheep shall be doubly fruitful, thy mules shall spontaneously come under the yoke, thy chariot-horse shall be strong and shall galop, thy bull under the yoke shall have no rival.'" [5] Gilgames repels this unexpected declaration with a mixed feeling of contempt and apprehension: he abuses the goddess, and insolently questions her as to what has become of her mortal husbands during her long divine life. "Tammuz, the spouse of thy youth, thou hast condemned him to weep from year to year.[6] Allala, the spotted sparrow-hawk, thou lovedst him, afterward thou didst strike him and break his wing: he continues in the wood and cries: 'O, my wings!' [7] Thou didst afterwards love a lion of mature strength, and then didst cause him to be rent by blows, seven at a time.[8] Thou

[1] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 24, ll. 1–8.

[2] G. SMITH (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 184, 185) places at this juncture Gilgames's accession to the throne; this is not confirmed by the fragments of the text known up to the present, and it is not even certain that the poem relates anywhere the exaltation and coronation of the hero. It would appear even that Gilgames is recognized from the beginning as King of Uruk, the well-protected.

[3] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, p. 42, ll. 1–6.

[4] Ishtar's declaration to Gilgames and the hero's reply have been frequently translated and summarised since the discovery of the poem. Smith thought to connect this episode with the "Descent of Ishtar to Hades" (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 228), which we shall meet with further on in this History, but his opinion is no longer accepted. The "Descent of Ishtar" in its present condition is the beginning of a magical formula: it has nothing to do with the acts of Gilgames.

[5] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43, ll. 7–21.

[6] Tammuz-Adonis is the only one known to us among this long list of the lovers of the goddess. The others must have been fairly celebrated among the Chaldæans, since the few words devoted to each is sufficient to recall them to the memory of the reader, but we have not as yet found anything bearing upon their adventures (cf. SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 245, et seq.); in the table of the ancient Chaldæo-Assyrian classics, which had been copied out by a Ninevite scribe for the use of Assurbanipal, the title of the poems is wanting (SAYCE-SMITH, *The Chaldæan Account of the Deluge*, p. x., et seq.).

[7] The text gives *kappi* (HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 44, l. 50), and the legend evidently refers to a bird whose cry resembles the word meaning "my wings." The spotted sparrow-hawk utters a cry which may be strictly understood and interpreted in this way.

[8] This is evidently the origin of our fable of the "Amorous Lion" (*Fontaine's Fables*, bk. iv. fable 1).

lovedst also a stallion magnificent in the battle; thou didst devote him to death by the goad and whip; thou didst compel him to galop for ten leagues, thou didst devote him to exhaustion and thirst, thou didst devote to tears his mother Silili. Thou didst also love the shepherd Tabulu, who lavished incessantly upon thee the smoke of sacrifices, and daily slaughtered goats to thee; thou didst strike him and turn him into a leopard; his own servants went in pursuit of him, and his dogs followed his trail.[1] Thou didst love Ishullanu, thy father's gardener, who ceaselessly brought thee presents of fruit, and decorated every day thy table. Thou raisedst thine eyes to him, thou seizedst him: 'My Ishullanu, we shall eat melons, then shalt thou stretch forth thy hand and remove that which separates us.' Ishullanu said to thee: 'I, what dost thou require from me? O my mother, prepare no food for me, I myself will not eat: anything I should eat would be for me a misfortune and a curse, and my body would be stricken by a mortal coldness.' Then thou didst hear him and didst become angry, thou didst strike him, thou didst transform him into a dwarf, thou didst set him up on the middle of a couch; he could not rise up, he could not get down from where he was. Thou lovest me now, afterwards thou wilt strike me as thou didst these."[2]

"When Ishtar heard him, she fell into a fury, she ascended to heaven. The mighty Ishtar presented herself before her father Anu, before her mother Anatu she presented herself, and said: 'My father, Gilgames has despised me. Gilgames has enumerated my unfaithfulnesses, my unfaithfulnesses and my ignominies.' Anu opened his mouth and spake to the mighty Ishtar: 'Canst thou not remain quiet now that Gilgames has enumerated to thee thy unfaithfulnesses, thy unfaithfulnesses and ignominies?'"[3] But she refused to allow the outrage to go unpunished. She desired her father to make a celestial urus who would execute her vengeance on the hero; and, as he hesitated, she threatened to destroy every living thing in the entire universe by suspending the impulses of desire, and the effect of love. Anu finally gives way to her rage: he creates a frightful urus, whose ravages soon rendered uninhabitable the neighbourhood of Uruk the well-protected. The two heroes, Gilgames and Eabani, touched by the miseries and terror of the people, set out on the chase, and hastened to rouse the beast from its lair on the banks of the Euphrates in

[1] The changing of a lover, by the goddess or sorceress who loves him, into a beast, occurs pretty frequently in Oriental tales (cf. in the *Arabian Nights* the adventure of King Bedr with Queen Labeh); as to the man changed by Ishtar into a brute, which she caused to be torn by his own hounds, we may compare the classic story of Artemis surprised at her bath by Actæon.

[2] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 44, 45, ll. 46–79; cf. SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 246–248. As to the misfortune of Ishullanu, we may compare the story in the *Arabian Nights* of the Fisherman and the Genie shut up in the leaden bottle. The king of the Black Islands was transformed into a statue from the waist to the feet by the sorceress, whom he had married and afterwards offended; he remained lying on a bed, from which he could not get down, and the unfaithful one came daily to whip him.

[3] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, p. 45, ll. 80–91.

the marshes, to which it resorted after each murderous onslaught. A troop of three hundred valiant warriors penetrated into the thickets in three lines to drive the animal towards the heroes. The beast with head lowered charged them; but Eabani seized it with one hand by the right horn, and with the other by the tail, and forced it to rear. Gilgames at the same instant, seizing it by the leg, plunged his dagger into its heart. The beast being despatched, they celebrated their victory by a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and poured out a libation to Shamash, whose protection had not failed them in this last danger. Ishtar, her projects of vengeance having been defeated, "ascended the ramparts of Uruk the well-protected. She sent forth a loud cry, she hurled forth a malediction: 'Cursed be Gilgames, who has insulted me, and who has killed the celestial urus.' Eabani heard these words of Ishtar, he tore a limb from the celestial urus and threw it in the face of the goddess: 'Thou also I will conquer, and I will treat thee like him: I will fasten the curse upon thy sides.' Ishtar assembled her priestesses, her female votaries, her frenzied women, and together they intoned a dirge over the limb of the celestial urus. Gilgames assembled all the turners in ivory, and the workmen were astonished at the enormous size of the horns: they were worth thirty *minæ* of lapis, their diameter was a half-cubit, and both of them could contain six measures of oil."[2] He dedicated them to Shamash, and suspended them on the corners of the altar; then he washed his hands in the Euphrates, re-entered Uruk, and passed through the streets in triumph. A riotous banquet ended the day, but on that very night Eabani felt himself haunted by an inexplicable and baleful dream, and fortune abandoned the two heroes. Gilgames had cried in the intoxication of success to the women of Uruk: "Who shines forth among the valiant? Who is glorious above all men? Gilgames shines forth among the valiant, Gilgames is glorious above all men."[3] Ishtar made him feel her vengeance in the destruction of that beauty of which he was so proud; she

GILGAMES AND EABANI FIGHTING WITH MONSTERS.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio in the New York Museum (MENANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pl. i., No. 1). The original is about an inch and a half in height.

[2] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 48–94, ll. 174–191.

[3] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, p. 49, ll. 200–203.

covered him with leprosy from head to foot, and made him an object of horror to his friends of the previous day. A life of pain and a frightful death—he alone could escape them who dared to go to the confines of the world in quest of the Fountain of Youth and the Tree of Life which were said to be there hidden;[1] but the road was rough, unknown, beset by dangers, and no one of those who had ventured upon it had ever returned. Gilgames resolved to brave every peril rather than submit to his fate, and proposed this fresh adventure to his friend Eabani, who, notwithstanding his sad forebodings, consented to accompany him. They killed a tiger on the way, but Eabani was mortally wounded in a struggle in which they engaged in the neighbourhood of Nipur, and breathed his last after an agony of twelve days' duration.

THE SCORPION-MEN OF THE MOUNTAINS OF MÂSHU.[2]

"Gilgames wept bitterly over his friend Eabani, grovelling on the bare earth." The selfish fear of death struggled in his spirit with regret at having lost so dear a companion, a tried friend in so many encounters. "I do not wish to die like Eabani: sorrow has entered my heart, the fear of death has taken possession of me, and I am overcome. But I will go with rapid steps to the strong Shamashnapishtim, son of Ubaratutu,[3] to learn from him how to become immortal." He leaves the plain of the Euphrates, he plunges boldly into the desert, he loses himself for a whole day amid frightful solitudes. "I reached at nightfall a ravine in the mountain, I beheld lions and trembled, but I raised my face towards the moon-god, and I prayed: my supplication ascended even to the father of the gods, and he extended over me his protection."[4] A vision from on high revealed to him the road he was to take. With axe and dagger in hand, he reached the entrance of a dark

[1] On the ideas among the Babylonians as to the Fountain of Youth and the Tree of Life, see A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 89–93; Chaldæa is certainly one of the centres from which they have been spread over the world.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian intaglio (LAJARD, *Introduction à l'étude du Culte public et des Mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, pl. xxviii. 11). There are several other representations of the same subject in MENANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pp. 97–98.

[3] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 59, ll. 1–7.

[4] HAUPT, *op cit.*, p. 59, ll. 8–12; cf. p. 85, ll. 8–11.

passage leading into the mountain of Mâshu,[1] "whose gate is guarded day and night by supernatural beings. The scorpion-men, of whom the stature extends upwards as far as the supports of heaven, and of whom the breasts descend as low as Hades, guard the door. The terror which they inspire strikes down like a thunderbolt; their look kills, their splendour confounds and overturns the mountains; they watch over the sun at his rising and setting. Gilgames perceived them, and his features were distorted with fear and horror; their savage appearance disturbed his mind. The scorpion-man said to his wife: 'He who comes towards us, his body is marked by the gods.'[2] The scorpion-woman replied to him: 'In his mind he is a god, in his mortal covering he is a man.' The scorpion-man spoke and said: 'It is as the father of the gods has commanded, he has travelled over distant regions before joining us, thee and me.'"[3] Gilgames learns that the guardians are not evilly disposed towards him, and becomes reassured, tells them his misfortunes and implores permission to pass beyond them so as to reach "Shamashnapishtim, his father, who was translated to the gods, and who has at his disposal both life and death."[4] The scorpion-man in vain shows to him the perils before him, of which the horrible darkness enveloping the Mâshu mountains is not the least: Gilgames proceeds through the depths of the darkness for long hours, and afterwards comes out in the neighbourhood of a marvellous forest upon the shore of the ocean which encircles the world. One tree especially excites his wonder: "As soon as he sees it he runs towards it. Its fruits are so many precious stones, its boughs are splendid to look upon, for the branches are weighed down with lapis, and their fruits are superb." When his astonishment had calmed down, Gilgames begins to grieve, and to curse the ocean which stays his steps. "Sabitu, the virgin who is seated on the throne of the seas," perceiving him from a distance, retires at first to her castle, and barricades herself within it. He calls out to her from the strand, implores and threatens her in turn, adjures her to help him in his voyage. "If it can be done, I will cross the sea; if it cannot be done, I will lay me down on the land to die." The goddess is at length touched by his tears. "Gilgames, there has never been a passage hither, and no one from time immemorial has been able to cross the sea. Shamash the valiant crossed the sea; after Shamash, who can cross it?

[1] The land of Mâshu is the land to the west of the Euphrates, coterminous on one part with the northern regions of the Red Sea, on the other with the Persian Gulf (G. SMITH, *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, p. 262); the name appears to be preserved in that of the classic Mesene, and possibly in the land of Massâ of the Hebrews (DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 242, 243).

[2] We must not forget that Gilgames is covered with leprosy; this is the disease with which the Chaldæan gods mark their enemies when they wish to punish them in a severe fashion.

[3] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 60, ll. 1–21.

[4] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, p. 61, ll. 3–5.

The crossing is troublesome, the way difficult, perilous the Water of Death, which, like a bolt, is drawn between thee and thy aim. Even if, Gilgames, thou didst cross the sea, what wouldest thou do on arriving at the Water of Death?" Arad-Ea,[1] Shamashnapishtim's mariner, can alone bring the enterprise to a happy ending: "if it is possible, thou shalt cross the sea with him; if it is not possible, thou shalt retrace thy steps." Arad-Ea and the hero took ship: forty days' tempestuous cruising brought them to the Waters of Death, which with a supreme effort they passed. Beyond these they rested on their oars and loosed their girdles: the happy island rose up before them, and Shamash-napishtim stood upon the shore, ready to answer the questions of his grandson.[2]

GILGAMES AND ARAD-EA NAVIGATING THEIR VESSEL.[3]

None but a god dare enter his mysterious paradise: the bark bearing an ordinary mortal must stop at some distance from the shore, and the conversation is carried on from on board. Gilgames narrates once more the story of his life, and makes known the object of his visit; Shamashnapishtim answers him stoically that death follows from an inexorable law, to which it is better to submit with a good grace. "However long the time we shall build houses, however long the time we shall put our seals to contracts, however long the time brothers shall quarrel with each other, however long the time there shall be hostility between kings, however long the time rivers shall overflow their banks, we shall not be able to portray any image of death. When the spirits salute a man at his birth, then the genii of the earth, the great gods, Mamitu the moulder of destinies, all of them together assign a fate to him, they determine for him his life and death; but the day of his death remains unknown to him."[4] Gilgames thinks, doubtless, that his forefather is amusing

[1] The name has been successively read Urkhamsi (G. SMITH, *Chaldæan Account*, in the *Transactions Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 218), Urbel (FR. LENORMANT, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 30, 31), Uriel (OPPERT, *Fragments de Cosmogonie chaldéenne*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire d'Israel*, vol. i. p. 433); the last reading adopted, which is still uncertain, is Arad-Ea, the servant of Ea, or Amil-Ea, the man of Ea.

[2] This narrative covers tablets ix. and x., which are both too much mutilated to allow of a continuous translation. Translations of several passages are to be found in G. Smith (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 241–262), in H. Jeremias (*Izdubar-Nimrod*, pp. 28–31), and in Sauveplane (*Une Épopée Babylonienne, Istubar-Gilgamès*, pp. 86–115).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio in the British Museum (MENANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, pl. ii., No. 4, and pp. 99, 100; cf. LAJARD, *Introduction à l'étude du culte de Mithra*, pl. iv., No. 8). The original measures a little over an inch.

[4] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 66, ll. 26–39.

himself at his expense in preaching resignation, seeing that he himself had been able to escape this destiny. "I look upon thee, Shamashnapishtim, and thy appearance has not changed: thou art like me and not different, thou art like me and I am like thee. Thou wouldest be strong enough of heart to enter upon a combat, to judge by thy appearance; tell me, then, how thou hast obtained this existence among the gods to which thou hast aspired?"[1] Shamashnapishtim yields to his wish, if only to show him how abnormal his own case was, and indicate the merits which had marked him out for a destiny superior to that of the common herd of humanity. He describes the deluge to him, and relates how he was able to escape from it by the favour of Ea, and how by that of Bel he was made while living a member of the army of the gods.[2] "'And now,' he adds, 'as far as thou art concerned, which one of the Gods will bestow upon thee the strength to obtain the life which thou seekest? Come, go to sleep!' Six days and seven nights he is as a man whose strength appears suspended, for sleep has fallen upon him like a blast of wind. Shamashnapishtim spoke to his wife: 'Behold this man who asks for life, and upon whom sleep has fallen like a blast of wind.' The wife answers Shamashnapishtim, the man of distant lands: 'Cast a spell upon him, this man, and he will eat of the magic broth; and the road by which he has come, he will retrace it in health of body; and the great gate through which he has come forth, he will return by it to his country.' Shamashnapishtim spoke to his wife: 'The misfortunes of this man distress thee: very well, cook the broth, and place it by his head.' And while Gilgames still slept on board his vessel, the material for the broth was gathered; on the second day it was picked, on the third it was steeped, on the fourth Shamashnapishtim prepared his pot, on the fifth he put into it 'Senility,' on the sixth the broth was cooked, on the seventh he cast his spell suddenly on his man, and the latter consumed the broth. Then Gilgames spoke to Shamashnapishtim, the inhabitant of distant lands: 'I hesitated, slumber laid hold of me; thou hast cast a spell upon me, thou hast given me the broth.'"[3] The effect would not have been lasting, if other ceremonies had not followed in addition to this spell from the sorcerer's kitchen: Gilgames after this preparation could now land upon the shore of the happy island and purify himself there. Shamashnapishtim confided this business to his mariner Arad-Ea: "'The man whom thou hast brought, his body is covered with ulcers, the leprous scabs have spoiled the beauty of his body. Take him,

[1] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, p. 134, ll. 1–7.

[2] The whole account of the Deluge, which covers the eleventh tablet of the copy preserved in the library of Assurbanipal, has been translated above, pp. 566–572 of this History.

[3] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 144, ll. 206–232.

Arad-Ea, lead him to the place of purification, let him wash his ulcers white as snow in the water, let him get rid of his scabs, and let the sea bear them away so that at length his body may appear healthy. He will then change the fillet which binds his brows, and the loin-cloth which hides his nakedness: until he returns to his country, until he reaches the end of his journey, let him by no means put off the loin-cloth, however ragged; then only shall he have always a clean one.' Then Arad-Ea took him and conducted him to the place of purification: he washed his ulcers white as snow in the water, he got rid of his scabs, and the sea carried them away, so that at length his body appeared healthy. He changed the fillet which bound his brows, the loin-cloth which hid his nakedness: until he should reach the end of his journey, he was not to put off the loin-cloth, however ragged; then alone was he to have a clean one."[1] The cure effected, Gilgames goes again on board his bark, and returns to the place where Shamashnapishtim was awaiting him.

Shamashnapishtim would not send his descendant back to the land of the living without making him a princely present. "His wife spoke to him, to him Shamashnapishtim, the inhabitant of distant lands: 'Gilgames has come, he is comforted, he is cured; what wilt thou give to him, now that he is about to return to his country?' He took the oars, Gilgames, he brought the bark near the shore, and Shamashnapishtim spoke to him, to Gilgames: 'Gilgames, thou art going from here comforted; what shall I give thee, now that thou art about to return to thy country? I am about to reveal to thee, Gilgames, a secret, and the judgment of the gods I am about to tell it thee. There is a plant similar to the hawthorn in its flower, and whose thorns prick like the viper. If thy hand can lay hold of that plant without being torn, break from it a branch, and bear it with thee; it will secure for thee an eternal youth.'[2] Gilgames gathers the branch, and in his joy plans with Arad-Ea future enterprises: 'Arad-Ea, this plant is the plant of renovation, by which a man obtains life; I will bear it with me to Uruk the well-protected, I will cultivate a bush from it, I will cut some of it, and its name shall be, "the old man becomes young by it;" I will eat of it, and I shall repossess the vigour of my youth.'"[3] He reckoned without the gods, whose jealous minds will not allow men to participate in their privileges. The first place on which they set foot on shore, "he perceived a well of fresh water, went down to it, and whilst he was drawing water, a serpent came out of it, and snatched from him the plant, yea—the serpent rushed

[1] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 145, 146, ll. 249–271. Cf. in *Leviticus* (xiii. 6, xiv. 8, 10) the injunction given to the cured person to change his old clothes for clean linen; the legislation bearing on leprosy was probably common to all the Oriental world.

[2] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, pp. 146, 147, ll. 274–286. The end of the discourse is too mutilated to bear translation: I have limited myself to giving a short *resumé* of the probable meaning.

[3] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, p. 147, ll. 295–299.

out and bore away the plant, and while escaping uttered a malediction. That day Gilgames sat down, he wept, and his tears streamed down his cheeks; he said to the mariner Arad-Ea: 'What is the use, Arad-Ea, of my renewed strength; what is the use of my heart's rejoicing in my return to life? It is not myself I have served; it is this earthly lion I have served. Hardly twenty leagues on the road, and he for himself alone has already taken possession of the plant. As I opened the well, the plant was lost to me, and the genius of the fountain took possession of it: who am I that I should tear it from him?'"[1] He re-embarks in sadness, he re-enters Uruk the well-protected, and at length begins to think of celebrating the funeral solemnities of Eabani, to whom he was not able to show respect at the time of his death.[2] He supervises them, fulfils the rites, intones the final chant: "The temples, thou shalt enter them no more; the white vestments, thou shalt no longer put them on; the sweet-smelling ointments, thou shalt no longer anoint thyself with them to envelop thee with their perfume. Thou shalt no longer press thy bow to the ground to bend it, but those that the bow has wounded shall surround thee; thou no longer holdest thy sceptre in thy hand, but spectres fascinate thee; thou no longer adornest thy feet with rings, thou no longer givest forth a sound upon the earth. Thy wife whom thou lovedst thou embracest her no more; thy wife whom thou hatedst thou beatest her no more. Thy daughter whom thou lovedst thou embracest her no more; thy daughter whom thou hatedst, thou beatest her no more. The resounding earth lies heavy upon thee, she who is dark, she who is dark, Ninazu the mother, she who is dark, whose side is not veiled with splendid vestments, whose bosom, like a new-born animal, is not covered.[3] Eabani has descended from the earth to Hades; it is not the messenger of Nergal the implacable who has snatched him away, it is not the plague which has carried him off, it is not consumption that has carried him off, it is the earth which has carried him off; it is not the field of battle which has carried him off, it is the earth which has carried him off!"[4] Gilgames dragged himself along from temple to temple, repeating his complaint before Bel and before Sin, and at length threw himself at the feet of the god of the Dead, Nergal: "'Burst open the sepulchral cavern, open the

[1] HAUPT, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, pp. 147, 148, ll. 302, 316.

[2] The text of the twelfth tablet has been published by Boscawen (*Notes on the Religion and Mythology of the Assyrians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. pp. 270–286), and more completely by Haupt (*Die zwölfte Tafel des Babylonischen Nimrodepos*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 48–79).

[3] HAUPT, *Die zwölfte Tafel des Babylonischen Nimrodepos*, p. 57, ll. 11–30; cf. p. 49, ll. 32–45, and p. 59, ll. 16–22. The text is mutilated, and cannot be entirely restored, in spite of the repetition of the same phrases in different places. The lacunæ do not, however, prevent its being intelligible, and the translation reproduces the sense and drift, if not the literal expression.

[4] HAUPT, *Die zwölfte Tafel*, p. 59, ll. 23–26; cf. p. 55, ll. 1–4, and p. 61, ll. 17–19.

ground, that the spirit of Eabani may issue from the soil like a blast of wind.' As soon as Nergal the valiant heard him, he burst open the sepulchral vault, he opened the earth, he caused the spirit of Eabani to issue from the earth like a blast of wind."[1] Gilgames interrogates him, and asks him with anxiety what the state of the dead may be: "'Tell, my friend, tell, my friend, open the earth and what thou seest tell it.'—'I cannot tell it thee, my friend, I cannot tell it thee; if I should open the earth before thee, if I were to tell to thee that which I have seen, terror would overthrow thee, thou wouldest faint away, thou wouldest weep.'—'Terror will overthrow me, I shall faint away, I shall weep, but tell it to me.'"[2] And the ghost depicts for him the sorrows of the abode and the miseries of the shades. Those only enjoy some happiness who have fallen with arms in their hands, and who have been solemnly buried after the fight; the manes neglected by their relatives succumb to hunger and thirst. "On a sleeping couch he lies, drinking pure water, he who has been killed in battle. 'Thou hast seen him?'—'I have seen him; his father and his mother support his head, and his wife bends over him wailing.' 'But he whose body remains forgotten in the fields,—thou hast seen him?'—'I have seen him; his soul has no rest at all in the earth.' 'He whose soul no one cares for,—thou hast seen him?'—'I have seen him; the dregs of the cup, the remains of a repast, that which is thrown among the refuse of the street, that is what he has to nourish him.'"[3]

This poem did not proceed in its entirety, or at one time, from the imagination of a single individual. Each episode of it answers to some separate legend concerning Gilgames, or the origin of Uruk the well-protected; the greater part preserves under a later form an air of extreme antiquity, and, if the events dealt with have not a precise bearing on the life of a king, they paint in a lively way the vicissitudes of the life of the people.[4] These lions, leopards, or gigantic uruses with which Gilgames and his faithful Eabani carry on so fierce a warfare, are not, as is sometimes said, mythological animals.[5] Similar monsters, it was believed, appeared from time to time in the marshes of Chaldæa, and gave proof of their existence to the inhabitants of neighbouring

[1] HAUPT, *Die zwölfte Tafel*, p. 61, ll. 23–28; BOSCAWEN, *Notes on the Religion and Mythology of the Assyrians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. p. 282. Cf. the invocation by the Witch of Endor (1 *Sam.* xxviii. 7–25).

[2] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, p. 63, ll. 1–6.

[3] HAUPT, *op. cit.*, p. 51, ll. 1–10, and p. 65, ll. 2–12. Cf. pp. 114, 115 of this History for analogous ideas among the Egyptians as to the condition of the dead who were neglected by their relatives: the Egyptian double had to live on the same refuse as the Chaldæan soul.

[4] G. Smith (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 173–190), identifying Gilgames with Nimrod, believes, on the other hand, that Nimrod was a real king, who reigned in Mesopotamia about 2250 B.C.; the poem contains, according to him, episodes, more or less embellished, in the life of the sovereign.

[5] As to existing lions in Chaldæa, and the terrors with which they inspire the natives, see LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 242–244, 259, 262; cf. p. 558 of this History.

villages by such ravages as real lions and tigers commit in India or the Sahara. It was the duty of chiefs on the border lands of the Euphrates, as on the banks of the Nile, as among all peoples still sunk in semi-barbarism, to go forth to the attack of these beasts single-handed, and to sacrifice themselves one after the other, until one of them more fortunate or stronger than the rest should triumph over these mischievous brutes. The kings of Babylon and Nineveh in later times converted into a pleasure that which had been an official duty of their early predecessors: Gilgames had not yet arrived at that stage, and the seriousness, not to speak of the fear, with which he entered on the fight with such beasts, is an evidence of the early date of the portions of his history which are concerned with his hunting exploits. The scenes are represented on the seals of princes who reigned prior to the year 3000 B.C.,[1] and the work of the ancient engraver harmonizes so perfectly with the description of the comparatively modern scribe that it seems like an anticipated illustration of the latter; the engravings represent so persistently and with so little variation the images of the monsters, and those of Gilgames and his faithful Eabani, that the corresponding episodes in the poem must have already existed as we know them, if not in form, at least in their main drift. Other portions of the poem are more recent, and it would seem that the expedition against Khumbaba contains allusions to the Elamite[2] invasions from which Chaldæa had suffered so much towards the XXth century before our era. The traditions which we possess of the times following the Deluge, embody, like the adventures of Gilgames, very ancient elements, which the scribes or narrators wove together in a more or less skilful manner around the name of some king or divinity. The fabulous chronicle of the cities of the Euphrates existed, therefore, in a piecemeal condition—in the memory of the people or in the books of the priests—before even their primitive history began; the learned who collected it later on had only to select some of the materials with which it furnished them, in order to form out of them a connected narrative, in which the earliest ages were distinguished from the most recent only in the assumption of more frequent and more direct interpositions of the powers of heaven in the affairs of men. Every city had naturally its own version,

[1] For instance, the seal of King Shargani-shar-ali (MENANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. p. 73; *Catalogue de la Collection de Clercq*, vol. i. pl. v. 46), that of a scribe attached to King Bingani-shar-ali (MENANT, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 75, 76), and several others described by Menant or carefully reproduced in his *Recherches*, vol. i. p. 77, et seq.

[2] Smith thought he could restore from the poem a part of Chaldæan history: he supposed Izdubar-Nimrod to have been, about 2250, the liberator of Babylon, oppressed by Elam, and the date of the foundation of a great Babylonian empire to have coincided with his victory over the Elamites (*The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 188–190, 207). The annals of Assurbanipal (G. SMITH, *The History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 234–236, 250, 251) show us, in fact, that an Elamite king, Kudurnankhundi, had pillaged Uruk about 2280 B.C., and had transported to Susa a statue of the goddess Ishtar.

in which its own protecting deities, its heroes and princes, played the most important parts. That of Babylon threw all the rest into the shade; not that it was superior to them, but because this city had speedily become strong enough to assert its political supremacy over the whole region of the Euphrates. Its scribes were accustomed to see their master treat the lords of other towns as subjects or vassals. They fancied that this must have always been the case, and that from its origin Babylon had been recognized as the queen-city to which its contemporaries rendered homage. They made its individual annals the framework for the history of the entire country, and from the succession of its princely families on the throne, diverse as they were in origin, they constructed a complete canon of the kings of Chaldæa.

GILGAMES STRUGGLES WITH A LION.[1]

But the manner of grouping the names and of dividing the dynasties varied according to the period in which the lists were drawn up, and at the present time we are in possession of at least two systems which the Babylonian historians attempted to construct. Berossus, who communicated one of them to the Greeks about the beginning of the IInd century B.C., would not admit more than eight dynasties in the period of thirty-six thousand years between the Deluge and the Persian invasion. The lists, which he had copied from originals in the cuneiform character, have suffered severely at the hands of his abbreviators, who omitted the majority of the names which seemed to them very barbarous in form, while those who copied these abbreviated lists have made such further havoc with them that they are now for the most part unintelligible. Modern criticism has frequently attempted to restore[2]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio in the British Museum (SMITH, *Chaldæan Account of the Deluge*, frontispiece; cf. LAJARD, *Introd. à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en Orient et Occident*, pl. xix. 6). The original measures about 1⅝ inch in height.

[2] This is the restoration which was first put forward by A. de Gutschmid (*Zu den Fragmenten des Berosos und Ktesias*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. viii., 1853, p. 256; cf. *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 101, 102, reproduced with some corrections in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Orients*, pp. 18–21, and in the *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 82, et seq., 115, 116).

them, with varying results; the reconstruction here given, which passes for the most probable, is not equally certain in all its parts:—

I[st] Dynasty:	86 Chaldæans,	34,091	years	
IInd „	8 Medes,	224	„	2450–2226 B.C.
IIIrd „	11 Chaldæans,	248	„	2225–1977 „
IVth „	49 Chaldæans,	458	„	1977–1519 „
V[th] „	9 Arabians,	245	„	1518–1273 „
VIth „	45 Chaldæans,[1]	526	„	1273–747 „
VIIth „	8 Assyrians,	121	„	746–625 „
VIIIth „	6 Chaldæans,	87	„	625–538 „

It was not without reason that Berossus and his authorities had put the sum total of reigns at thirty-six thousand years; this number falls in with a certain astrological period, during which the gods had granted to the Chaldæans glory, prosperity, and independence, and whose termination coincided with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.[2] Others before them had employed the same artifice, but they reckoned ten dynasties in the place of the eight accepted by Berossus:—

I[st] Dynasty:	? Kings of Babylon after the Deluge,	?	
IInd „	11 Kings of Babylon,	294 years	
IIIrd „	11 Kings of Uru-azagga,[3]	368 „	
IVth „	36 Kings,	576 „	9 months
V[th] „	11 Kings of Pashe,	72 „	6 „
VIth „	3 Kings of the Sea,	21 „	5 „
VIIth „	3 Kings of Bâzi,	20 „	3 „
VIIIth „	1 Elamite King,	6 „	
IXth „	21 Kings of Babylon,	?	
X[th] „	21 Kings of Babylon,	194 „	4 „ [4]

[1] After the example of G. B. Niebuhr (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. pp. 194–196), Gutschmid admitted here, as Oppert did (*Rapport adressé au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique*, pp. 27, 28), 45 Assyrians; he based his view on Herodotus (i. 115), in which it is said that the Assyrians held sway in Asia for 520 years, until its conquest by the Medes. Upon the improbability of this opinion, see Schrader's demonstration (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 460, et seq.).

[2] The existence of this astronomical or astrological scheme on which Berossus founded his chronology, was pointed out by Brandis (*Rerum Assyriarum tempora emendata*, p. 17), afterwards by Gutschmid (*Zu den Fragmenten des Berosos und Ktesias*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. viii., 1853, p. 255; cf. *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 101); it is now generally accepted.

[3] The Assyrian word was at first read Sisku (*The Struggle of the Nations*; cf. pp. 111–112).

[4] The first document having claim to the title of Royal Canon was found among the tablets of the British Museum, and was published by G. Smith (*On Fragments of an Inscription giving part of the Chronology from which the Canon of Berossus was copied*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 361–379). The others were successively discovered by Pinches (*Note on a new List of Early Babylonian Kings*, in the *Proceedings* of the same Society, 1880–81, pp. 20–22, 37–49; *The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. vi. pp. 193–204, and vol. vii. pp. 65–71); some erroneous readings in them have been corrected by Fr. Delitzsch (*Assyrische Miscellen.*, in the *Berichte* of the Academy of Sciences in Saxony, 1893, vol. ii. pp. 183–193), and an exact edition has been published by Knudtzon (*Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengett*, vol. i. p. 60). Smith's list is the fragment of a chronicle in which the VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth dynasties only are almost complete. One of Pinches's lists consists merely of a number of royal names not arranged in any consistent order, and containing their non-Semitic as well as their Semitic forms. The other two lists are actual canons, giving the names of the kings and the years of their reigns; unfortunately they are much mutilated, and the lacunæ in them cannot yet be filled up. All of them

Attempts have been made to bring the two lists into harmony, with varying results;[1] in my opinion, a waste of time and labour.[2] For even comparatively recent periods of their history, the Chaldæans, like the Egyptians, had to depend upon a collection of certain abbreviated, incoherent, and often contradictory documents, from which they found it difficult to make a choice: they could not, therefore, always come to an agreement when they wished to determine how many dynasties had succeeded each other during these doubtful epochs, how many kings were included in each dynasty, and what length of reign was to be assigned to each king. We do not know the motives which influenced Berossus in his preference of one tradition over others; perhaps he had no choice in the matter, and that of which he constituted himself the interpreter was the only one which was then known. In any case, the tradition he followed forms a system which we cannot modify without misinterpreting the intention of those who drew it up or who have handed it down to us. We must accept or reject it just as it is, in its entirety and without alteration: to attempt to adapt it to the testimony of the monuments would be equivalent to the creation of a new system, and not to the correction simply of the old one. The right course is to put it aside for the moment, and confine ourselves to the original lists whose fragments have come down to us: they do not furnish us, it is true, with a history of Chaldæa such as it unfolded itself from age to age, but they teach us what the later Chaldæans knew, or thought they knew, of that history. Still it is wise to treat them with some reserve, and not to forget that if they agree with each other in the main, they differ frequently in details. Thus the small dynasties, which are called the VIth and VIIth, include the same number of kings on both the tablets which establish their existence,[3]

have been translated by SAYCE, *The Dynastic Tablets and Chronicles of the Babylonians*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 1–21, 32–36.

[1] The first attempts in this direction were naturally made by Smith and Pinches (*Transactions Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 361, et seq.; *Proceedings*, vol. iii. p. 20, et seq.; cf. 37, et seq.; vol. vii. p. 65, et seq., and p. 193, et seq.); others have since tried to combine all or a portion of the lists with all or a portion of the canon of Berossus, *e.g.* Hommel (*Die Semitischen Völker*, vol. i. pp. 326–341, 483, 484, *Zur Altbabylonischen Chronologie*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. i. pp. 32–44; *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 168–176), Delitzsch (*Die Sprache der Kossæer*, pp. 19–21, 64, et seq.), Schrader (*Die Keilinschriftliche Babylonische Königsliste*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1887, vol. xxxi. pp. 579–608, and vol. xlvi. pp. 947–951).

[2] See, for these differences, Oppert (*La Non-Identité de Phul et de Teglathphalazar*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 169, 170, note), Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 109–112), Winckler (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 3–6).

[3] The text and translation were given by Pinches (*The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi. pp. 196, 197, and col. iii. of the tablet) and by G. Smith (*On Fragments of an Inscription*, in the *Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 374–376); Sayce gives the translation only (*The Dynastic Tablets*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 17–21). Upon the differences between the two lists, see, for the latest treatment of the subject, WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 14.

but the number of years assigned to the names of the kings and the total years of each dynasty vary a little from one another:—

VIth DYNASTY

OF THE SEA COUNTRY.

17 years	—	SIMASHSHIGU	18 years	—	SIMASHSHIAU
—	3 months	EAMUKINZIR	—	5 months	EAMUKIN
6 years	—	KASHSHUNADINAKHE	3 years	—	KASHSHUNADINAKHE
23 years	3 months	3 kings	21 years	5 months	3 kings

VIIth DYNASTY

OF BAZI.

15[?] years	—	EULBARSHAKINSHUMU	17 years	—	EULBARSHAKINSHUMU
2 years	—	[NINIP]KUDURUSUR	3 years	—	NINIPKUDUR[USUR]
—	3 months	[SHILANIM]SHUKAMUNA	—	3 months	SHILANIMSHUKAMUNA
17 years	3 months	3 kings	20 years	3 months	3 kings

Is the difference in the calculations the fault of the scribes, who, in mechanically copying and recopying, ended by fatally altering the figures? Or is it to be explained by some circumstance of which we are ignorant—an association on the throne, of which the duration is at one time neglected with regard to one of the co-regents, and at another time with regard to the other; or was it owing to a question of legitimacy, by which, according to the decision arrived at, a reign was prolonged or abbreviated? Cotemporaneous monuments will some day, perhaps, enable us to solve the problem which the later Chaldæans did not succeed in clearing up. While awaiting the means to restore a rigorously exact chronology, we must be content with the approximate information furnished by the tablets as to the succession of the Babylonian kings.

Actual history occupied but a small space in the lists—barely twenty centuries out of a whole of three hundred and sixty: beyond the historic period the imagination was given a free rein, and the few facts which were known disappeared almost completely under the accumulation of mythical narratives and popular stories. It was not that the documents were entirely wanting, for the Chaldæans took a great interest in their past history, and made a diligent search for any memorials of it. Each time they succeeded in disinterring an inscription from the ruins of a town, they were accustomed to make several copies of it, and to deposit them among the archives, where they would be open to the examination of their archæologists.[1] When a

[1] We have a considerable number of examples of copies of ancient texts made in this manner. For instance, the dedication of a temple at Uruk by King Singashid, copied by the scribe Nabubalatsuikbi, son of Miziraï ("the Egyptian"), for the temple of Ezida (PINCHES, *Singashid's Gift to the Temple E-ana*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. i. pp. 8–11); the legendary history of

prince undertook the rebuilding of a temple, he always made excavations under the first courses of the ancient structure in order to recover the documents which preserved the memory of its foundation: if he discovered them, he recorded on the new cylinders, in which he boasted of his own work, the name of the first builder, and sometimes the number of years which had elapsed since its erection.[1] We act in a similar way to-day, and our excavations, like those of the Chaldæans, end in singularly disconnected results: the materials which the earth yields for the reconstruction of the first centuries consist almost entirely of mutilated records of local dynasties, isolated names of sovereigns, dedications of temples to gods, on sites no longer identifiable, of whose nature we know nothing, and too brief allusions to conquests or victories over vaguely designated nations.[2] The population was dense and life active in the plains of the Lower Euphrates. The cities in this region formed at their origin so many individual and, for the most part, petty states, whose kings and patron gods claimed to be independent of all the neighbouring kings and gods: one city, one god, one lord—this was the rule here as in the ancient feudal districts from which the nomes of Egypt arose.[3] The strongest of these principalities imposed its laws upon the weakest: formed into unions of two or three under a single ruler, they came to constitute a dozen kingdoms of almost equal strength on the banks of the Euphrates.[4] On the north we are acquainted with those of Agade, Babylon, Kuta, Kharsag-Kalama, and that of Kishu, which comprised a part of Mesopotamia and possibly the distant fortress of

King Sargon of Agade, copied from the inscription on the base of his statue, of which there will be further mention (pp. 597–599 of this History); a dedication of the King Khammurabi (JENSEN, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabis*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, pp. 120–123); the inscription of Agumkakrimi (BOSCAWEN, *On an Early Chaldæan Inscription*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. p. 132), which came from the library of Assurbanipal.

[1] Nabonidos, for instance, the last king of Babylon before the Persian conquest, has left us a memorial of his excavations. He found in this manner the cylinders of Shagashaltiburiash at Sippara (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. v. pl. 64, col. iii. ll. 27–30), those of Khammurabi (*id.*, vol. i. pl. 69, col. ii. ll. 4–8; BEZOLD, *Two Inscriptions of Nabonidus*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi. pp. 84–103), and those of Naramsin (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. v. pl. 64, col. ii. pp. 57–60).

[2] An idea as to what these documents are may be obtained from the first part of vol. iii. of the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek* of Schrader, in which Messrs. Jensen, Winckler, and Peiser have published a transcription of them in Roman characters, together with a German translation of the majority.

[3] See what has been said at p. 70 of this History as to the Egyptian principalities.

[4] The earliest Assyriologists, H. Rawlinson (*Notes on the Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Journ. of the As. Soc.*, vol. xv., and the essay on the *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Herodotus* of G. Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 351, et seq.), Oppert (*Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. pp. 275–277, and *Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie d'après les monuments*, pp. 13–38), considered the local kings as having been, for the most part, kings of all Chaldæa, and placed them in succession one after the other in the framework of the most ancient dynasties of Berossus. The merit of having established the existence of series of local dynasties, and of having given to Chaldæan history its modern form, belongs to G. Smith (*Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 28, et seq., developed in his *History of Babylonia*, pp. 63–82, published after his death by Sayce). Smith's idea was adopted by Ménant (*Babylone et la Chaldée*, pp. 57–117), by Delitzsch-Mürdter (*Ges. Bab. und Assyr.*, 2nd edit., pp. 73–84), by Tiele (*Bab.-Assyr. Ges.*, pp. 100–127), by Winckler (*Ges. Bab. und Assyr.*, p. 18, et seq.), and by all Assyriologists, with modifications suggested by the progress of decipherment.

Harran:[1] petty as these States were, their rulers attempted to conceal their weakness by assuming such titles as "Kings of the Four Houses of the World," "Kings of the Universe," "Kings of Shumir and Akkad."[2] Northern Babylonia seems to have possessed a supremacy amongst them. We are probably wise in not giving too much credit to the fragmentary tablet which assigns to it a dynasty of kings, of which we have no confirmatory information from other sources—Amilgula, Shamashnazir, Amilsin, and several others:[3] this list, however, places among these phantom rulers one individual at least, Shargina-Sharrukin,[4] who has left us material evidences of his existence. This Sargon the Elder, whose complete name is Shargani-shar-ali,[5]

[1] The existence in ancient times of the kingdom of Kish, Kishu, suggested by Jensen (*Inschriften Schamaschschumukins*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii[1]. p. 202, note), has been demonstrated by Hilprecht (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 23, 24).

[2] The official names of these kingdoms are recorded in the preamble of the kings of Chaldæa, and afterwards in that of the kings of Assyria. The latter were regularly entitled *Shar Kibrat arbai*, King of the Four Houses of the World (cf. pp. 543, 544 of this History), *Shar Kishshati*, King of the Universe. Winckler has put forth the view that these epithets had each of them an application to a small state already independent (*Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Mitt. des Ak. Orientalischen Vereins zu Berlin*, vol. i. pp. 9–11, 14). For example, having supposed that the *Kingdom of the Four Houses* had Babylon as its centre (*Sumer und Akkad*, pp. 9–11), he transferred the seat of it to Kuta (*Unters. zur Alt. Ges.*, pp. 76, 78, 83; *Ges. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 31); he identifies, somewhat hesitatingly, that of *Kisshati* with El-Ashshur (*Sumer und Akkad*, p. 11); afterwards with Harran (*Ges. Bab. und Assyr.*, p. 31, n. 2). This opinion has been vigorously contested by LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin, König von Bab.*, p. 74, et seq.

[3] See PINCHES, *Notes on a New List of Early Babylonian Kings*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 37, 38, where it is said that these are the kings which came after the Deluge, but that their enumeration is not in the order of succession. The names are given both in their Semitic and non-Semitic forms. I have adopted the former.

[4] Shargina was rendered Sharrukîn in the Assyrian period. Sharrukîn, Sharukîn, appears to have signified "[God] has instituted him king" (SCHRADER, *Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften*, p. 159, et seq.; cf. WINCKLER, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, p. xiv.), and to have been interpreted sometimes "the lawful king" by the Assyrians themselves. The identity of Shargani-shar-ali of Agade with Shargina-Sharrukîn, proposed by Pinches (*On Babylonian Art*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi. pp. 11–14, 107, 108), *The Early Babylonian King-List*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. vii. pp. 66–71), disputed by Ménant (*The Inscription of Sargon*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. vi. pp. 88–92), by Oppert (*Quelques Remarques justificatives*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 134, and *La plus ancienne inscription sémitique jusqu'ici connue*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 21, et seq.), and since by others, appears to have led to false conclusions from the form in which it is presented in the inscriptions. Shargani was considered to have been only a faulty reading of the more complete name, Shargani-shar-luh according to Ménant (*op. cit.*, pp. 90–92), Shar[Bin]gani-shar-imsi (OPPERT in MENANT, *La Collection de Clercq*, p. 50, No. 46), Shargani-shar-ali (OPPERT, *Quelques Remarques*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 124), Shargani-shar-makhazi (WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen*, p. 79, note 4), Bingani-shar-iris (OPPERT, *La plus ancienne Inscrip.*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iv. p. 22). Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 302) translated Shargani-shar-ali by Shargani, king of the city, and a recently discovered variant inclined Father Scheil (*Inscription de Naramsin*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xv. pp. 62–64) to believe that Hommel was right, and consequently that the king was really called Shargani, and not Shargani-shar-ali. Hommel's hypothesis (*Geschichte*, p. 307, et seq.), according to which there would have been in the ancient Chaldæan empire two Sargons—Sargon the father of Naramsin, towards 3800 B.C., and Sargon-Shargani of Agade, about 2000 B.C.—has been rejected by other Assyriologists.

[5] His first title is "Shargani-shar-ali, King of Agade," but his name has been found in the ruins of Sippara (PINCHES, *On Babylonian Art*, in the *Proceedings*, vol. vi. p. 11); Nabonidos called him "King of Babylon" (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 69, col. ii. l. 30), and the chronological lists mention his palace in that city (SMITH, *On Fragments of an Inscription*, in the *Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 367, 368, 374–376). The American expedition of Dr. Peters discovered at Nipur inscriptions which prove that he ruled over that town (HILPRECHT, *Babyl. Exped. of Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 15, 16, pls. 1–3; cf. SCHEIL, *Nouvelle Inscription de Naramsin*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xv. pp. 62–64).

was the son of a certain Ittibel, who does not appear to have been king.[1] At first his possessions were confined to the city of Agade and some undetermined portions of the environs of Babylon, but he soon succeeded in annexing Babylon itself, Sippara, Kîshu, Uruk, Kuta, and Nipur: the contemporary records attests his conquest of Elam, Gûti, and even of the far-off land of Syria, which was already known to him under the name of Amuru.[2] His activity as a builder was in no way behind his warlike zeal. He built Ekur, the sanctuary of Bel in Nipur, and the great temple Eulbar in Agade, in honour of Anunit, the goddess presiding over the morning star.[3] He erected in Babylon a palace which afterwards became a royal burying-place.[4] He founded a new capital, a city which he peopled with families brought from Kishu and Babylon: for a long time after his day it bore the name which he bestowed upon it, Dur-Sharrukîn.[5] This sums up all the positive knowledge we have about him, and the later Chaldæans seem not to have been much better informed than ourselves.

They filled up the lacunæ of his history with legends. As he seemed to them to have appeared suddenly on the scene, without any apparent connection with the king who preceded him, they assumed that he was a usurper of unknown origin, irregularly introduced by the favour of the gods into the lawful series of kings. An inscription engraved, it was said, on one of his statues, and afterwards, about the VIIIth century B.C., copied and deposited in the library of Nineveh, related at length the circumstances of his mysterious birth.[6] "Sharrukîn, the mighty king, the king of Agade, am I. My mother was a princess; my father, I did not know him; the brother

The conquest of Kishu is mentioned in the astrological texts (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 34, col. i. ll. 8-10; cf. HILPRECHT, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 25, 26), as well as that of the "Four Houses of the World" (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 34, col. i. ll. 6, 14; cf. SMITH, *Early History*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49), which title attributes to him, at least in the view of the scribes of Assurbanipal, universal dominion (LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukîn*, p. 94). As Naramsin, son and successor of Shargani, assumed the same titles on his original monuments, we may believe that he inherited them from his father, and provisionally accept the evidence of the astrological text (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 3, No. 7, ll. 2-4).

[1] HILPRECHT, *Babyl. Exped. Univ. Penns.*, vol. i. pl. 2, pp. 15, 16.

[2] Tablets from Telloh, in THUREAU-DANGIN, *Les Tablettes de Sargon l'Ancien et de Naramsin*, in *Comptes-rendus*, 1896, pp. 357-359.

[3] The fact was mentioned in an inscription of Nabonidos (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 69, col. ii. l. 29), translated by Peiser in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 2nd part, p. 85; it has now been proved by contemporary records (HILPRECHT, *The Babylonian Expedition*, vol. i. part ii., pp. 19-23; THUREAU-DANGIN, *Les Tablettes de Sargon l'Ancien et de Naramsin*, p. 359).

[4] SMITH, *On Fragments of an Inscription*, in the *Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 367, 368, 374-376.

[5] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 34, col. i. l. 10. I believe that this is the Dur-Sharrukîn mentioned on the Michaux Stone (col. i. l. 14; cf. RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 70), whose site is still unknown. Cf. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 208.

[6] We have two copies, both mutilated, of the text: it is published in the *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 4, No. 7, translated by Smith (*Early History*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 46, 47; cf. *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 299, 300), and examined and translated again by many Assyriologists—Talbot (*A Fragments of Ancient Assyrian Mythology*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 271, 280: cf. *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. v. p. 1, et seq.), Lenormant (*Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 104-110), Ménant (*Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 99, et seq.), Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 209, 210), Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 302, 303), Winckler (*Legende Sargons von Agane*, in the *Keilsch. Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, pp. 100-103, and *Gesch. Babyl. und Assyriens*, p. 30).

of my father lived in the mountains. My town was Azupirâni, which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates. My mother, the princess, conceived me, and secretly gave birth to me: she placed me in a basket of reeds, she shut up the mouth of it with bitumen, she abandoned me to the river, which did not overwhelm me. The river bore me; it brought me to Akki, the drawer of water. Akki, the drawer of water, received me in the goodness of his heart; Akki, the drawer of water, made me a gardener. As gardener, the goddess Ishtar loved me, and during forty-four years I held royal sway; I commanded the Black Heads,[1] and ruled them." This is no unusual origin for the founders of empires and dynasties; witness the cases of Cyrus and Romulus.[2] Sargon, like Moses, and many other heroes of history or fable, is exposed to the waters: he owes his safety to a poor fellah who works his shadouf on the banks of the Euphrates to water the fields, and he passes his infancy in obscurity, if not in misery. Having reached the age of manhood, Ishtar falls in love with him as she did with his fellow-craftsman, the gardener Ishullanu,[3] and he becomes king, we know not by what means. The same inscription which reveals the romance of his youth, recounts the successes of his manhood, and boasts of the uniformly victorious issue of his warlike exploits. Owing to lacunæ, the end of the account is in the main wanting, and we are thus prevented from following the development of his career, but other documents come to the rescue and claim to furnish its most important vicissitudes. He had reduced the cities of the Lower Euphrates, the island of Dilmun, Durîlu,[4] Elam, the country of Kazalla;[5] he had invaded Syria, conquered Phœnicia, crossed the arm of the sea which separates Cyprus from the coast, and only returned to his palace after an absence of three years, and after having erected his statues on the Syrian coast. He had hardly settled down to rest

[1] The phrase "Black Heads," *nishi salmat kakkadi*,' has been taken in an ethnological sense as designating one of the races of Chaldæa, the Semitic (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Babyl. und Assyriens*, p. 241, note 2); other Assyriologists consider it as denoting mankind in general (POGNON, *L'Inscription de Bavian*, pp. 27, 28; SCHRADER, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 320). The latter meaning seems the more probable.

[2] Smith (*Early Hist. of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. p. 47) had already compared the infancy of Sargon with that of Moses; the comparison with Cyrus, Bacchus, and Romulus was made by Talbot (*A Fragment of Assyrian Mythology*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 272–277). Traditions of the same kind are frequent in history or folk-tales.

[3] See above, p. 581 of this History, for the treatment inflicted by Ishtar on Ishullanu.

[4] Durîlu was on the frontier of Elam (DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 230), seat of a petty principality, one of whose princes, Mutabîl, is known to us (FR. LENORMANT, *Choix de Textes cunéiformes*, p. 7, No. 5) in the time anterior to Khammurabi (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Babyl. und Assyriens*, p. 225, note 1). The more or less comprehensible parts of the tablet relating the life of Sargon stop at this point.

[5] Kazalla was ruled over by a king with a Semitic name, Kashtubîla; the site is unknown. If we must really read Kazalla (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, pp. 306, 326) and not Susalla (AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 80; cf. HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. x.), or Subgalla, Mugalla, Musalla (JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, p. 34), the name cited on the *Statue B de Gudéa* (col. vi. ll. 5, 6), Kazalla would be a district in Syria.

when a rebellion broke out suddenly; the chiefs of Chaldæa formed a league against him, and blockaded him in Agadê: Ishtar, exceptionally faithful to the end, obtains for him the victory, and he comes out of a crisis, in which he might have been utterly ruined, with a more secure position than ever. All these events are regarded as having occurred sometime about 3800 B.C., at a period when the VIth dynasty was flourishing in Egypt.[1] Some of them have been proved to be true by recent discoveries, and the rest are not at all improbable in themselves, though the work in which they are recorded is a later astrological treatise.[2] The writer was anxious to prove, by examples drawn from the chronicles, the use of portents of victory or defeat, of civic peace or rebellion—portents which he deduced from the configuration of the heavens on the various days of the month: by going back as far as Sargon of Agadê for his instances, he must have at once increased the respect for himself on account of his knowledge of antiquity, and the difficulty which the common herd must have felt in verifying his assertions. His zeal in collecting examples was probably stimulated by the fact that some of the exploits which he attributes to the ancient Sargon had been recently accomplished by a king of the same name: the brilliant career of Sargon of Agadê would seem to have been in his estimation something like an anticipation of the still more glorious life of the Sargon of Nineveh.[3] What better proof of the high veneration in which the learned men of Assyria held the memory of the ancient Chaldæan conqueror?

Naramsin, who succeeded Sargon about 3750 B.C.,[4] inherited his authority, and to some extent his renown. The astrological tablets assert that he attacked

[1] The date 3800 B.C. for the reign of Sargon has been deduced approximately from the date which the inscription of Nabonidos (see note 4 below) furnishes for the reign of Naramsin.

[2] The passages in this treatise bearing on Sargon and Naramsin, collected and published for the first time by G. Smith (*On the Early Hist.*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 47–51), have been since reproduced by Ménant (*Babylone et la Chaldée*, pp. 100–103), by Hommel (*Gesch. Babyl. und Assyriens*, pp. 304, 306, 310), and by Winckler (in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii^{1}. pp. 102–107).

[3] Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 307) believes that the life of our Sargon was modelled, not on the Assyrian Sargon, but on a second Sargon, whom he places about 2000 B.C. (cf. p. 596, note 4, of this History). Tiele (*Babyl.-Assyr. Gesch.*, p. 115) refuses to accept the hypothesis, but his objections are not weighty, in my opinion; Hilprecht (*Babyl. Exp. Univ. of Penns.*, vol. i. p. 21, et seq.) and Sayce (*Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 53–61) accepted the authenticity of the facts in their details, and the recent discoveries have shown that they were right in so doing. There is a distant resemblance between the life of the legendary Sargon and the account of the victories of Ramses II. ending (HERODOTUS, ii. 100) in a conspiracy on his return.

[4] The date of Naramsin is given us by the cylinder of Nabonidos, who is cited lower down. It was discovered by Pinches (*Some Recent Discoveries*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 8, 9, 12). Its authenticity is maintained by Oppert (*Journal Asiatique*, 1883, vol. i. p. 89), by Latrille (*Der Nabonidcylinder V. R. 64*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 357–359), by Tiele (*Geschichte*, p. 114), by Hommel (*Geschichte*, pp. 166, 167, 309, 310), who felt at first some hesitation (in *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 347, et seq., 487–489), by Delitzsch-Mürdter (*Geschichte*, 2nd edit., pp. 72, 73); it has been called in question, with hesitation, by Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 161, 162), and more boldly by Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 44, 45, and *Geschichte*, pp. 37, 38). There is at present no serious reason to question its accuracy, at least relatively, except the instinctive repugnance of modern critics to consider as legitimate, dates which carry them back further into the past than they are accustomed to go.

the city of Apirak, on the borders of Elam, killed the king, Rishramman, and led the people away into slavery. He conquered at least part, if not the whole of Elam, and one of the few monuments which have come down to us was raised at Sippara in commemoration of his prowess against the mountaineers of the Zagros. He is represented on it overpowering their chief: his warriors follow after him and charge up the hill, carrying everything before their steady onslaught.[1] Another of his warlike expeditions is said to have had as its field of operations a district of Mâgan, which, in the view of the writer, undoubtedly represented the Sinaitic Peninsula and perhaps Egypt.[2] This expedition against Mâgan no doubt took place, and one of the few monuments of Naramsin which have reached us refers to it.[3] Other inscriptions tell us incidentally that Naramsin reigned over the "four Houses of the world," Babylon, Sippara, Nipur, and Lagash.[4] Like his father, he had worked at the building of the Ekur of Nipur and the Eulbar of Agadê;[5] he erected, moreover, at his own cost, the temple of the Sun at Sippara.[6] The latter passed through many and varied vicissitudes. Restored, enlarged, ruined on several occasions, the date of its construction and the name of its founder were lost in the course of ages. The last independent King of Babylon, Nabonaîd [Nabonidos], at length discovered the cylinders in which Naramsin, son of Sargon, had signified to posterity all that he had done towards the erection of a temple worthy of the deity to the god of Sippara: "for three thousand two hundred years not one of the kings had been able to find them." We have no means of judging what these edifices were like for which the Chaldæans themselves showed such veneration; they have entirely disappeared, or, if anything remains of them, the excavations hitherto

[1] J. DE MORGAN, *Compte rendu sommaire des Travaux archéol. exécutés du 3 nov.* 1897 *au 1 juin* 1898, and *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, vol. i. pp. 144–158; and vol. ii. pp. 5, 53–55.

[2] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 34, col. ii. ll. 10–18.

[3] This is an alabaster vase with the name of Naramsin, lost in the Tigris; the inscription was first translated by Oppert (*Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 273, vol. ii. p. 327; cf. RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 3, No. 7). There is some doubt as to whether the translation should run, "Vase, booty from Mâgan" (OPPERT, *Die Französischen Ausgrabungen*, in *Verhandlungen* of the IVth Oriental Congress, vol. ii. p. 245), or "Conqueror of the land of Mâgan" (OPPERT, *La plus ancienne inscription sémitique*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 20), or "Vase of polished work from Mâgan" (HOMMEL, *Geschichte*, pp. 278, 279, 308, 309, and note 1). The first reading was "Conqueror of Apirak and Mâgan" (SMITH, *Early Hist.*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. p. 52; MÉNANT, *Babylone et Chaldée*, p. 103; TIELE, *Geschichte*, p. 115).

[4] On the lost alabaster vase he is "king of the four Houses," and on a cylinder of Nabonidos, "King of Babylon;" Sippara belonged to him, for he constructed a temple there, and Dr. Peters has brought to light in his excavations inscriptions which show that he owned the city of Nipur (HILPRECHT, *Babyl. Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pp. 18, 19, pl. 3, No. 4).

[5] HILPRECHT, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pl. 4, and 2nd part, pp. 19–23; RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 69, col. ii. ll. 29–31; cf. PEISER, *Inschriften Nabonids*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 2nd part, p. 85, and THUREAU-DANGIN, *Les Tablettes de Sargon l'Ancien*, in the *Comptes-rendus*, 1896, p. 360.

[6] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. v. pl. 64, col. ii. ll. 57–60; cf. PINCHES, *Some Recent Discoveries*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 8, 9, 12. The text giving us this information is that in which Nabonidos affirms that Naramsin, son of Sargon of Agadê, had founded the temple of the Sun at Sippara, 3200 years before himself, which would give us 3750 B.C. for the reign of Naramsin.

carried out have not revealed it. Many small objects, however, which have accidentally escaped destruction give us a fair idea of the artists who lived in Babylon at this time, and of their skill in handling the graving-tool and chisel. An alabaster vase with the name of Naramsin,[1] and a mace-head of exquisitely veined marble, dedicated by Shargani-shar-ali to the sun-god of Sippara,[2] are valued only on account of the beauty of the material and the rarity of the inscription; but a porphyry cylinder, which belonged to Ibnishar, scribe of the above-named Shargani, must be ranked among the masterpieces of Oriental engraving.[3] It represents the hero Gilgames, kneeling and holding with both hands a spherically shaped vase, from which flow two copious jets forming a stream running through the country; an ox, armed with a pair of gigantic

THE SEAL OF SHARGANI-SHAR-ALI: GILGAMES WATERS THE CELESTIAL OX.[4]

crescent-shaped horns, throws back its head to catch one of the jets as it falls. Everything in this little specimen is equally worthy of admiration—the purity of outline, the skilful and delicate cutting of the intaglio, the fidelity of the action, and the accuracy of form. A fragment of a bas-relief of the reign of Naramsin shows that the sculptors were not a bit behind the engravers of gems. This consists now only of a single figure, a god, who is standing on the right, wearing a conical head-dress and clothed in a hairy garment which leaves his right arm free. The legs are wanting, the left arm and the hair are for the most part broken away, while the features have also suffered; its distinguishing characteristic is a subtlety of workmanship which is lacking in the artistic products of a later age. The outline stands out from the background with a rare delicacy, the details of the muscles being in no sense exaggerated: were it not for the costume and pointed beard, one would fancy it a specimen of

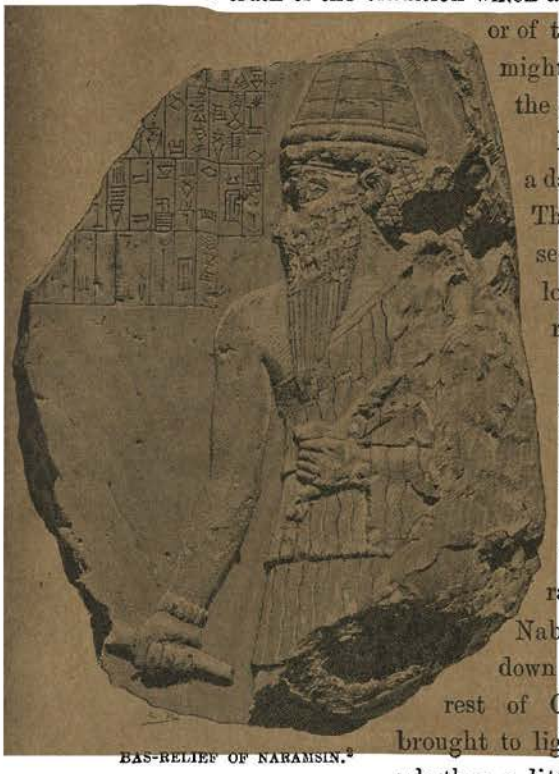
[1] This is the vase which was lost in the Tigris (OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 273).

[2] PINCHES, *On Babylonian Art*, in the *Transactions*, vol. vi. pp. 11, 12; cf. p. 620 of the present work.

[3] Discovered and published by Ménant (*Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. p. 73, et seq.), now in the possession of M. de Clercq (MÉNANT, *Catalogue de la Collection de Clercq*, vol. i. pl. v., No. 461).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from MÉNANT, *Cat. de la Collection de Clercq*, vol. i. pl. v., No. 461).

Egyptian work of the best Memphite period. One is almost tempted to believe in the truth of the tradition which ascribes to Naramsin the conquest of Egypt, or of the neighbouring countries: the conquered might in this case have furnished patterns for the conqueror.[1]



BAS-RELIEF OF NARAMSIN.[2]

Did Sargon and Naramsin live at so early a date as that assigned to them by Nabonidos? The scribes who assisted the kings of the second Babylonian empire in their archæological researches had perhaps insufficient reasons for placing the date of these kings so far back in the misty past: should evidence of a serious character constrain us to attribute to them a later origin, we ought not to be surprised. In the mean time our best course is to accept the opinion of the Chaldæans, and to leave Sargon and Naramsin in the century assigned to them by Nabonidos, although from this point they look down as from a high eminence upon all the rest of Chaldæan antiquity. Excavations have brought to light several personages of a similar date, whether a little earlier, or a little later: Bingani-shar-ali,[3] Man-ish-turba, and especially Alusharshid, who lived at Kishu and Nipur,[4] and gained victories over Elam.[5] After this glimpse of light on these shadowy kings darkness once more closes in upon us, and conceals from us the majority of the sovereigns who ruled afterwards in Babylon. The facts and names which can be referred with certainty to the following centuries belong not to Babylon, but to the southern States, Lagash, Uruk, Uru, Nishin, and Larsam.[6] The national writers had neglected these principalities;

[1] SCHEIL, *Une Nouvelle Inscription de Naramsin*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xv. pp. 62–64 (cf. MASPERO, *Sur le bas-relief*, *ibid.*, pp. 65, 66). Oppert (*Die Französischen Ausgrabungen*, IVth Oriental Congress, vol. ii. p. 337) had noticed the resemblance of the statues of Telloh to those of Egyptian work.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph published by Father SCHEIL, *Un Nouveau Bas-relief de Naramsin*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv. pp. 62–64.

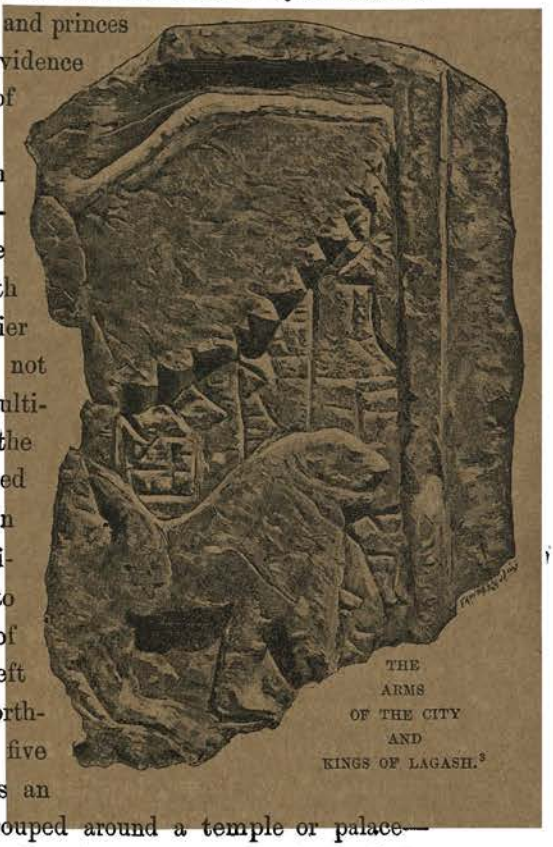
[3] MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. 1, and pp. 75–77.

[4] WINCKLER, *Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Mitteilungen des Orientalischen-Vereins*, vol. i. p. 18.

[5] HILPRECHT, *Babyl. Exped. of Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. 1st part, pls. 5–10, and pp. 19–21, and 2nd part, pp. 28–58, where the names and fragmentary history of some pre-Sargonic kings are given.

[6] The facts concerning these petty kingdoms have been pointed out by Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 65–90), whose conclusions, disputed by Lehmann (*Schamaschschumukin*, pp. 68–400), have been accepted by Delitzsch-Mürdter (*Geschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 76, et seq.). For the monument of Man-ish-turba found at Susa, see J. DE MORGAN, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, vol. i. pp. 141, 142; and vol. ii. pp. 6–52.

we possess neither a *résumé* of their chronicles nor a list of their dynasties, and the inscriptions which speak of their gods and princes are still very rare. Lagash, as far as our evidence goes, was, perhaps, the most illustrious of all these cities.[1] It occupied the heart of the country, and its site covered both sides of the Shatt-el-Haî: the Tigris separated it on the east from Anshan, the westernmost of the Elamite districts, with which it carried on a perpetual frontier war.[2] All parts of the country were not equally fertile; the fruitful and well-cultivated district in the neighbourhood of the Shatt-el-Haî gave place to impoverished lands ending to the eastward, finally in swampy marshes, which with great difficulty furnished means of sustenance to a poor and thinly scattered population of fisher-folk. The capital, built on the left bank of the river, stretched out to the north-east and south-west a distance of some five miles.[4] It was not so much a city as an agglomeration of large villages, each grouped around a temple or palace—Uruazagga, Gishgalla, Girsu, Ninâ, and Lagash,[5] which latter imposed its name upon the whole. A branch of the river Shatt-el-Haî protected it on the



THE ARMS OF THE CITY AND KINGS OF LAGASH.[3]

[1] We are indebted almost exclusively to the researches of M. de Sarzec, and his discoveries at Telloh, for what we know of it. The results of his excavations, acquired by the French government, are now in the Louvre. The description of the ruins, the text of the inscriptions, and an account of the statues and other objects found in the course of the work, have been published by HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*. The name of the ancient town has been read Sirpurla, Zirgulla (SMITH, *Early History*, in the *Transactions*, vol. i. p. 30; BOSCAWEN, *On some Early Babylonian Inscriptions*, in the *Transactions*, vol. vii. pp. 276, 277), Sirtella (OPPERT, *Die Französischen Ausgrabungen*, in the *Verhandlungen* of the IVth Oriental Congress, vol. ii. p. 224, and *Journal Asiatique*, 1882, vol. xix. p. 79), Sirbulla (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 458, note 103). PINCHES (*Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 7, note 2, and *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii. p. 23) met in a syllabary the reading Lagash for the signs which enter into the name; Lagash may be the more recent name for the primitive Shirpurla (JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, p. 5).

[2] For example, in the time of Gudea (*Inscription B*, ll. 64–69; cf. AMIAUD, *Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 82, and in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xi.; JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, p. 39). See the mention of the taking of Anshan by this prince in p. 610 of the present work.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief from Lagash, now in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pl. 1, No. 2).

[4] The description of the site will be found in HEUZEY-SARZEC (*op. cit.*, p. 8, et seq.).

[5] AMIAUD, *Sirpurla*, pp. 1–8. Amiaud thinks that the four *tells* marked N–P on Sarzec's plan

south, and supplied the village of Ninâ with water; no trace of an inclosing wall has been found, and the temples and palaces seem to have served as refuges in case of attack. It had as its arms, or totem, a double-headed eagle standing on a lion passant, or on two demi-lions placed back to back.[1] Its chief god was called Ningirsu, that is, the lord of Girsu, where his temple stood: his companion Bau, and his associates Ninagal, Innanna and Ninsia, were the

FRAGMENT OF A BAS-RELIEF BY URNINÂ, KING OF LAGASH.[2]

deities of the other divisions of the city.[3] The princes were first called kings, but afterwards vicegerents—*patesi*—when they came under the suzerainty of a more powerful king, the King of Uruk or of Babylon.[4]

The earlier history of this remarkable town is made up of the scanty memoirs of its rulers, together with those of the princes of Gishban—"the land of the Bow," of which Ishin seems to have been the principal town.[5] A very ancient document states, that, at the instigation of Inlil, the god of Nipur, the local deities, Ningirsu and Kirsig, set up a boundary between the two cities. In the course of time, Meshilim, a king of Kishu, which, before the rise of Agadê, was the chief town in those parts, extended his dominion over Lagash and erected his stele at its border; Ush, vicegerent of Gishban, however, removed it, and had to suffer defeat before he would recognize the new order of things.[6] After the lapse of some years, of which we possess no records, we find the mention of a certain Urukagina, who assumes the title of king: he restored or enlarged several temples, and

indicate the site of Ninâ; the other *tells* represent the site of Girsu. Gishgalla and Uruazagga are regarded as being outside the region excavated. Hommel thought (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 315, 327, 328, 337) that Ninâ was Nineveh, and Girsu possibly Uruk.

[1] For these arms of Lagash, cf. HEUZEY, *Les Orig. orien. de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 40–42; HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Déc.*, pp. 87–91; and HEUZEY, *Les Armoiries Chald.*, in the *Mon. et Mém. de la Fondation Piot*, vol. i. pp. 7–20.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a stone in the Louvre (SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pl. 1 *bis*, No. 2).

[3] For details as to the deities worshipped at Lagash, see AMIAUD, *Sirpurla*, pp. 15–19.

[4] I understand "patesi" to mean the same as "ropait" in Egyptian (cf. pp. 70, 71). The kings used it as the Pharaohs used the title "ropait:" it was with them an affectation of antiquity.

[5] SCHEIL, *Notes d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Assyriennes*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xviii. p. 63.

[6] HEUZEY and THUREAU-DANGIN, *Le Cône historique d'Entéména*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1896, pp. 594, 596, and in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iv. No. 2.

dug the canal which supplied the town of Ninâ with water.[1] A few generations later we find the ruling authority in the hands of a certain Urninâ, whose father Ninigaldun and grandfather Gurshar received no titles—a fact which proves that

IDINGIRANAGIN HOLDING THE TOTEM OF LAGASH.[2]

they could not have been reigning sovereigns.[3] Urninâ appears to have been of a peaceful and devout disposition,[4] as the inscriptions contain frequent references to the edifices he had erected in honour of the gods, the sacred objects he had dedicated to them, and the timber for building purposes which

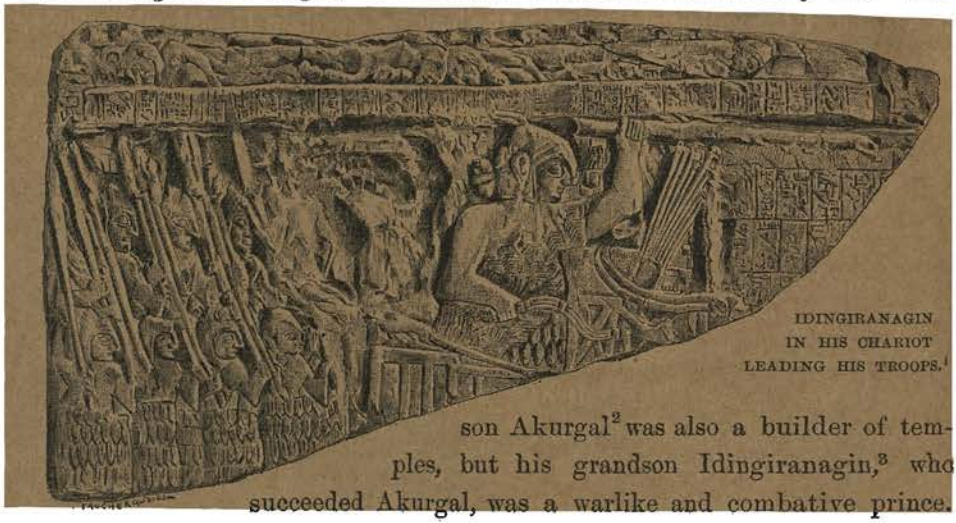
[1] This is the canal which Urukagina and Gudea had cleaned: it was called Ninâ-[ki]-tuma, favourite river of the goddess Ninâ, or rather of the town of Ninâ (AMIAUD, *Sirpula*, p. 5).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the bas-relief F² in the Louvre (HEUZEY, *Reconstruction partielle de la Stèle du roi Éannadu*, pl. ii.).

[3] The series of the first kings and vicegerents of Lagash have been made out in the last instance by Heuzey (*Généalogies de Sirpourla d'après les Découvertes de M. de Sarzec*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 78–84), and Urukagina heads the list (*id.*, p. 84), a view which has been accepted by Jensen (*Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 7, 8, 10); while Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 291) gives him a third place in the series of kings. The views as to the period of these princes vary much. Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 291) assigns Urukagina to 4200 B.C., about three hundred years after his Urghanna, whom he puts at the head of the list; and Heuzey, without committing himself to even an approximate number, is inclined to place the kings of Lagash before Shargani and Naramsin. Hilprecht (*Babyl. Exped. of Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. p. 19, and 2nd part, pp. 43–46) believes them to be anterior to Shargani-shar-ali; he asserts that this king reduced the kingdom to subjection, and brought its kings into the condition of *vicegerents*, and his opinion is apparently confirmed by the new monuments which have been published by HEUZEY, in *Comptes rendus*, 1896, pp. 146, 147, 352, 361. Some of the contract-tablets discovered at Telloh date from the time of Sargon and Naramsin, and bear the name of one of the patesi who were vassals to those kings (THUREAU-DANGIN, *Les Tablettes de Sargon l'Ancien*, in the *Comptes rendus*, 1896, pp. 355–361).

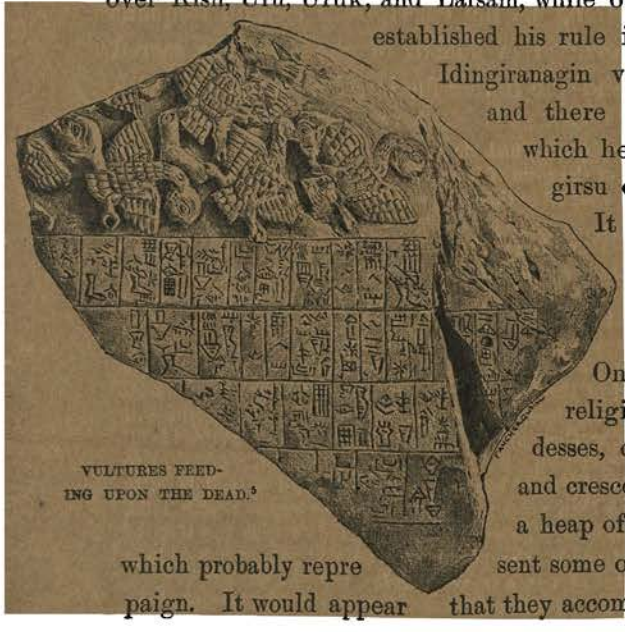
[4] The inscriptions of Urninâ were published in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 1, No. 2, pl. 2, Nos. 1, 2, pl. 31; cf. HEUZEY, *Les Origines Orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 36–39. Oppert (in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1883, pp. 76, et seq.), Amiaud (in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 64, et seq.; cf. HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xxix.), Jensen (*Keilsch. Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 10–15) have given us translations of the monuments of Urninâ. Hommel pronounces the name Urghanna (*Die Könige und Patisi von Zirgulla*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 179, et seq.), but the pronunciation Urninâ, without claiming absolute certainty, seems likely to prevail.

he had brought from Mâgan, but there is no mention in them of any war. His



IDINGIRANAGIN IN HIS CHARIOT LEADING HIS TROOPS.[1]

son Akurgal[2] was also a builder of temples, but his grandson Idingiranagin,[3] who succeeded Akurgal, was a warlike and combative prince. It seems probable that, about that time, the kingdom of Gishban had become a really powerful state. It had triumphed not only over Babylonia proper, but over Kish, Uru, Uruk, and Larsam, while one of its sovereigns had actually established his rule in some parts of Northern Syria.[4] Idingiranagin vanquished the troops of Gishban, and there is now in the Louvre a trophy which he dedicated in the temple of Ningirsu on his return from the campaign. It is a large stele of close-grained white limestone, rounded at the top, and covered with scenes and inscriptions on both its faces. One of these faces treats only of religious subjects. Two warlike goddesses, crowned with plumed head-dresses and crescent-shaped horns, are placed before a heap of weapons and various other objects, which probably represent some of the booty collected in the campaign. It would appear that they accompany a tall figure of a god or king,



VULTURES FEEDING UPON THE DEAD.[5]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief in the Louvre (HEUZEY, *Reconstruction partielle de la Stèle du roi Éannadu*, pl. 1 F[1]). The attendant standing behind the king has been obliterated, but we see clearly the contour of his shoulder, and his hands holding the reins.

[2] Akurgal was first noticed by Heuzey (*Les Origines Orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 44); we know of him up to the present only from the monuments of his father and his son.

[3] The name of this prince is read Eannadu by Heuzey, following Oppert and Amiaud.

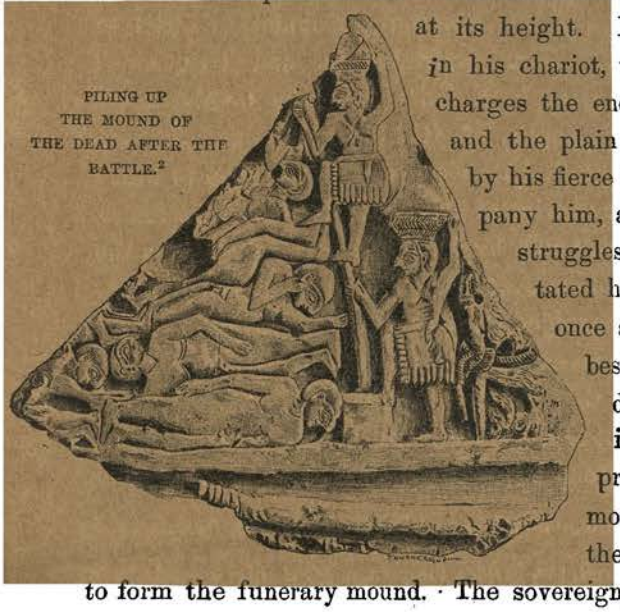
[4] HILPRECHT, *Bab. Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 47 sqq.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the fragment of a bas-relief in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 3 A).

possibly that of the deity Ningirsu, patron of Lagash and its kings. Ningirsu raises in one hand an ensign, of which the staff bears at the top the royal totem, the eagle with outspread wings laying hold by his talons of two half-lions back to back; with the other hand he brings a club down heavily upon a group of prisoners, who struggle at his feet in the meshes of a large net. This is the human sacrifice after the victory, such as we find it in Egypt—the offering to the national god of a tenth of the captives, who struggle in vain to escape from their fate.

THE FIELD OF BATTLE COVERED WITH CORPSES.[1]

On the other face of the stele the battle is at its height. Idingiranagin, standing upright in his chariot, which is guided by an attendant, charges the enemy at the head of his troops, and the plain is covered with corpses cut down by his fierce blows: a flock of vultures accompany him, and peck at each other in their struggles over the arms, legs, and decapitated heads of the vanquished. Victory once secured, he retraces his steps to bestow funeral honours upon the dead. The bodies raised regularly in layers form an enormous heap: priests or soldiers wearing loin-cloths mount to its top, where they pile the offerings and the earth which are to form the funerary mound. The sovereign, moreover, has, in honour of the dead, consigned to execution some of the prisoners, and deigns to kill with his own hand one of the principal chiefs of the enemy.[3] The design and execution



PILING UP THE MOUND OF THE DEAD AFTER THE BATTLE.[2]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the fragment of a bas-relief in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 3 B).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the fragment of a bas-relief in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *ibid.*, pl. 3 C).

[3] This is the monument called the "Stele of the Vultures." M. Heuzey has devoted to its consideration several very interesting articles, which he has collected for the most part in his *Études d'Archéologie orientale*, vol. i. pp. 49–82; the last which has appeared (*Reconstruction de la Stèle du roi Éannadu*, extracted from the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1892, vol. xx. pp. 262–274) announces the discovery of fresh fragments which enable us to understand better the arrangement

of these scenes are singularly rude; men and beasts—indeed, all the figures—have exaggerated proportions, uncouth forms, awkward positions, and an uncertain and heavy gait.[1] The war ended in a treaty concluded with Enakalli, vicegerent of Gishban, by which Lagash obtained considerable advantages. Idingiranagin replaced the stele of Meshilim, overthrown by one of Enakalli's predecessors, and dug a ditch from the Euphrates to the provinces of Guedîn to serve henceforth as a boundary. He further levied a tribute of corn for the benefit of the goddess Nina and her consort Ningirsu, and applied the spoils of the campaign to the building of new sanctuaries for the patron-gods of his city.[2] His reign was, on the whole, a glorious and successful one. He conquered the mountain district of Elam, rescued Uruk and Uru, which had both fallen into the hands of the people of Gishban, organized an expedition against the town of Az and killed its vicegerent, in addition to which he burnt Arsua, and devastated the district of Mishime. He next directed an attack against Zuran, king of Udban,[4] and, by vanquishing this Prince on the field of battle, he extended his dominion over nearly the whole of Babylonia.[5]

KING URNINÂ AND HIS FAMILY.[3]

The prosperity of his dynasty was subjected to numerous and strange vicissitudes. Whether it was that its resources were too feeble to stand the exigencies and strain of war for any length of time, or that intestine strife had been the chief cause of its decline, we cannot say. Its kings married many wives and became surrounded with a numerous progeny: Urninâ had at least four

of the monument. The fragments have been reproduced in part by HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pls. 3, 4.

[1] For the different views of this monument, see, besides the notes of M. Heuzey quoted above, F. REBER, *Ueber altchaldäische Kunst*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 22–24. A small head of the same period serves as a tail-piece to the present chapter, p. 536 of this work (cf. HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 24, No. 1).

[2] HEUZEY and THUREAU-DANGIN, *Le Cône historique d'Entéména*, in *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, pp. 594–597.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2 *bis*, No. 2). Cf. another bas-relief of the same king, p. 707; and for the probable explanation of these pierced plaques, see p. 717 of the present work.

[4] Whether Udban[ki] is the same as Gishban[ki] is a question which we are not in a position to answer at present. Heuzey seems to admit the identity of both names (*Les Galets sacrès des roi Éannadou*, dans la *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 110).

[5] HEUZEY, *Les Galets sacrès du roi Éannadou*, dans la *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 105–112; THUREAU-DANGIN, *le Galet A d'Éannadou*, dans la *Revue Semitique*, vol. v. pp. 66–72.

sons.[1] They often entrusted to their children or their sons-in-law the government of the small towns which together made up the city: these represented so many temporary fiefs, of which the holders were distinguished by the title of "vicegerents."[2] This dismemberment of the supreme authority in the interest of princes, who believed for the most part that they had stronger claims to the throne than its occupant, was attended with dangers to peace and to the permanence of the dynasty. The texts furnish us with evidence of the existence of at least half a dozen descendants of Akurgal—Inannatuma I., Intemena, his grandson Inannatuma II., all of whom seem to have been vigorous rulers who energetically maintained the supremacy of their city over the neighbouring estates. Inannatuma I., however, proved no match in the end against Urlamma, the vicegerent of Gishban, and lost part, at least, of the territory acquired by Idingiranagin, but his son Intemena defeated Urlamma on the banks of the Lumasirta Canal, and, having killed or deposed him, gave the vicegerency of Gishban to a certain Ili, priest of Ninab, who remained his loyal vassal to the end of his days. With his aid Intemena restored the stelæ and walls which had been destroyed during the war; he also cleared out the old canals and dug new ones, the most important of which was apparently an arm of the Shatt-el-Hai, and ran from the Euphrates to the Tigris, through the very centre of the domains of Ghirsu.[3]

Other kings and vicegerents of doubtful sequence were followed lastly by Urbau and his son Gudea.[4] These were all piously devoted to Ningirsu in general, and in particular to the patron of their choice from among the divinities of the country—Papsukal, Dunziranna, and Ninâgal. They restored and enriched the temples of these gods: they dedicated to them statues or oblation vases for the welfare of themselves and their families. It would seem, if we are to trust the accounts which they give of themselves, that their lives were passed in profound peace, without other care than that of fulfilling their duties to heaven and its ministers. Their actual condition, if we could examine it, would doubtless appear less agreeable and especially less equable; revolutions in the palace would not be wanting, nor struggles with the other peoples of Chaldæa, with Susiana and even more distant nations. When Agadê rose into power in Northern Babylonia, they fell under its rule, and one of them, Lugal-

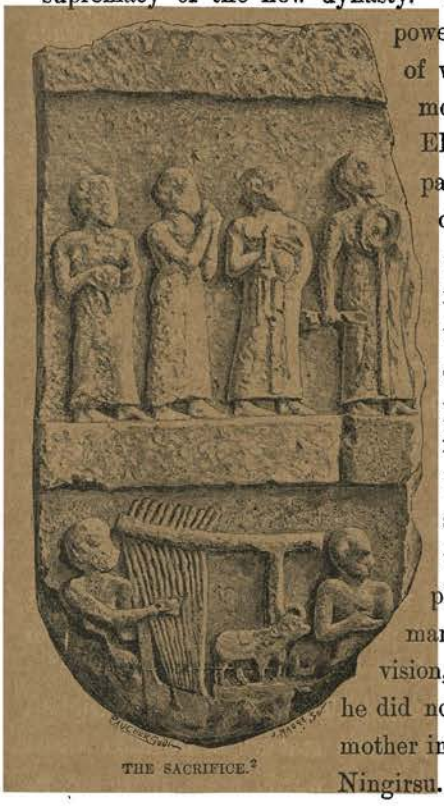
[1] Heuzey-Sarzec, *Découvertes*, pl. 2 *bis*, and *Généalogies*, in the *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 82-84.

[2] Akurgal, as well as his son Idingiranagin, seems to have been "vicegerent" before becoming "king" of Lagash (Heuzey, *Généalogies de Sirpurla*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83).

[3] Heuzey, *Le Cône d'Entéména* dans les *Comptes-rendus*, 1896, pp. 595-597; Thureau-Dangin, *le Cône d'Entéména*, in the *Rev. d'Assyr.*, vol. iv. No. 2, col. ii. ll. 28-42, and col. iii., iv. Fragments of vases offered by Intemena were found at Nipur (Hilprecht, *Babyl. Exped. of Univ. of Penn.*, vol. i. p. 19).

[4] Their inscriptions have been translated by Amiaud (*The Insc. of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. pp. 42-77, and vol. ii. pp. 72-108; and in Sarzec, *Découvertes*, p. 1, et seq.) and by Jensen (in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 16, 17), following Amiaud.

ushum-gal, acknowledged himself a dependant of Sargon.[1] On the decline of Agadê, and when that city was superseded by Uru in the hegemony of Babylonia proper, the vicegerents of Lagash were transferred with the other great towns to the jurisdiction of Uru, and flourished under the supremacy of the new dynasty. Gudea, son of Urbau, who, if not the most powerful of its princes, is at least the sovereign of whom we possess the greatest number of monuments, captured the town of Anshan in Elam, and this is probably not the only campaign in which he took part,[2] for he speaks of his success in an incidental manner, and as if he were in a hurry to pass to more interesting subjects. That which seemed to him important in his reign, and which especially called forth the recognition of posterity, was the number of his pious foundations, distinguished as they were by beauty and magnificence. The gods themselves had inspired him in his devout undertakings, and had even revealed to him the plans which he was to carry out. An old man of venerable aspect appeared to him in a vision, and commanded him to build a temple: as he did not know with whom he had to do, Ninâ his mother informed him that it was his brother, the god Ningirsu. This having been made clear, a young woman furnished with style and writing tablet was presented to him—Nisaba, the sister of Ninâ; she made a drawing in his presence, and put before him the complete model of a building.[4] He set to work on it *con amore*, and sent for materials to the most distant countries—to Mâgan, Amanus, the Lebanon, and into the mountains which separate the valley of the Upper Tigris from that of the Euphrates. The sanctuaries which he decorated, and of which he felt so proud, are to-day mere heaps of bricks, now returned to their original clay; but many of the objects which he placed in them, and especially the statues, have



THE SACRIFICE.[3]

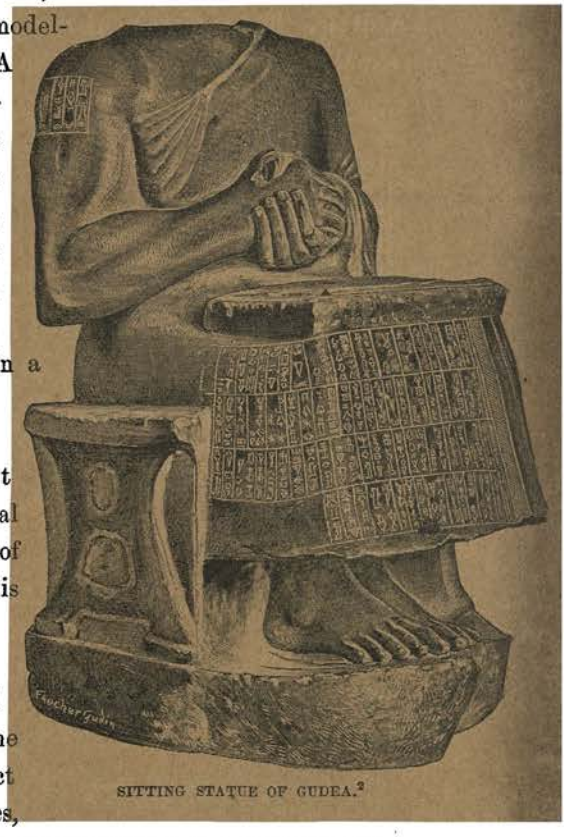
[1] HEUZEY, *La Chronologie Chaldéenne*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1896, pp. 146, 147; THUREAU-DANGIN, *Tablettes de Sargon l'Ancien*, in the *Comptes rendus*, 1896, pp. 355–361.

[2] Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 41–44, and *Geschichte*, pp. 41–44), Jensen (*Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 7, 8). Upon the relations of the "vicegerents" of Lagash to King Uzninâ, cf. HEUZEY, *Les Généalogies de Sirpurla*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 82, et seq.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a stone in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pl. 23).

[4] ZIMMERN, *Das Traumgesicht Gudea's*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 232–235.

traversed the centuries without serious damage before finding a resting-place in the Louvre. The sculptors of Lagash, after the time of Idingiranagin, had been instructed in a good school, and had learned their business. Their bas-reliefs are not so good as those of Naramsin; the execution of them is not so refined, the drawing less delicate, and the modelling of the parts not so well thought out. A good illustration of their work is the fragment of a square stele which represents a scene of offering or sacrifice.[1] We see in the lower part of the picture a female singer, who is accompanied by a musician, playing on a lyre ornamented with the head of an ox, and a bull in the act of walking. In the upper part an individual advances, clad in a fringed mantle, and bearing in his right hand a kind of round paten, and in his left a short staff. An acolyte follows him, his arms brought up to his breast, while another individual marks, by clapping his hands, the rhythm of the ode which a singer like the one below is reciting. This fragment is much abraded, and its details, not being clearly exhibited, have rather to be guessed at; but the defaced aspect which time has produced is of some service to it, since it conceals in some respect the rudeness of its workmanship. The statues, on the other hand, bear evidence of a precision of chiselling and a skill beyond question. Not that there are no faults to be found in the work.[3] They are squat, thick, and heavy in form, and seem oppressed by the weight of the woollen covering with which the Chaldeans enveloped themselves; when viewed closely, they excite at once the wonder and repulsion of an eye accustomed to the delicate grace, and at times somewhat slender form, which usually characterized the good statues of the ancient and middle empire of Egypt. But when we have got over the effect of first impressions, we can but admire



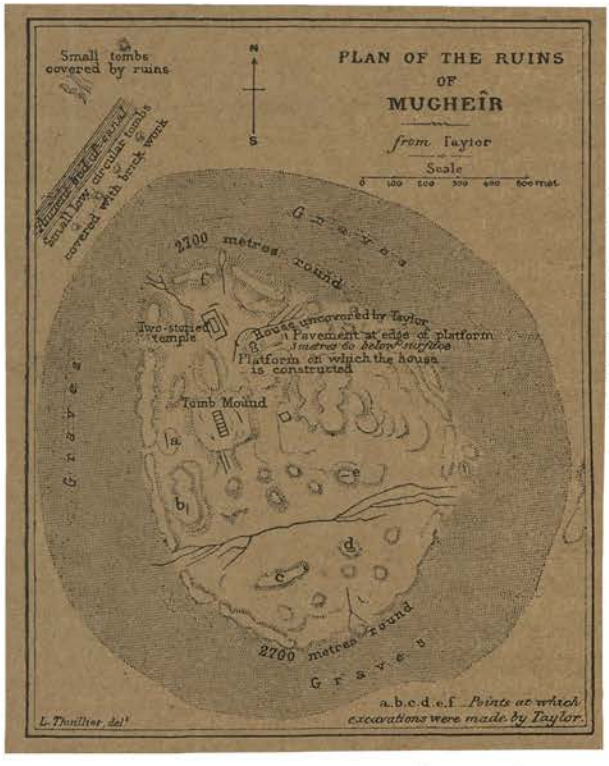
SITTING STATUE OF GUDEA.[2]

[1] *Inscription B*, ll. 64–69; cf. AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 82; and HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xi.; and JENSEN, *Inschriften*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, p. 39.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin (HEUZEY-SARZEC. *Fouilles en Chaldée*, pl. 20).

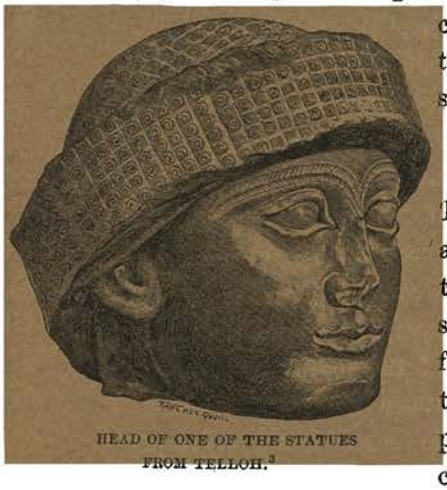
[3] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*. pls. 9–20. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii. pp. 592–599, have pointed out both their merits and defects; cf. OPPERT, *Die Französischen Ausgrabungen in Chaldæa*, in the *Verhandlungen* of the IVth Oriental Congress, vol. ii. pp. 236–238; and F. REBER, *Ueber altchaldäische Kunst*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 25–35.

the audacity with which the artists attacked their material. This is of hard dolerite, offering great resistance to the tool—harder, perhaps, than the diorite out of which the Memphite sculptor had to cut his Khephren: they succeeded in mastering it, and in handling it as freely as if it were a block of limestone or marble. The surface of the breast and back, the muscular development of the shoulders and arms, the details of the hands and feet, all the nude portions, are treated at once with a boldness and attention to minutiæ rarely met with in similar works. The pose is lacking in variety; the individual, whether male or female, is sometimes represented standing and sometimes sitting on a low seat, the legs brought together, the bust rising squarely from the hips, the hands crossed upon the breast, in a posture of submission or respectful adoration. The mantle passes over the left shoulder, leaving the right free, and is fastened on the right breast, the drapery displaying awkward and inartistic folds: the latter widens in the form of a funnel from top to bottom, being bell-shaped around the lower part of the body, and barely leaves the ankles exposed. All the large statues to be seen at the Louvre have lost their heads; fortunately we possess a few separate heads.[1] Some are completely shaven, others wear a kind of turban affording shade to the forehead and eyes; among them all we see the same qualities and defects which we find in the bodies: a hardness of expression, heaviness, absence of vivacity, and yet withal a vigour of reproduction and an accurate knowledge of human anatomy. These are instances of what could be accomplished in a city of secondary rank; better things were doubtless produced in the great cities, such as Uru and Babylon. Chaldæan art, as we

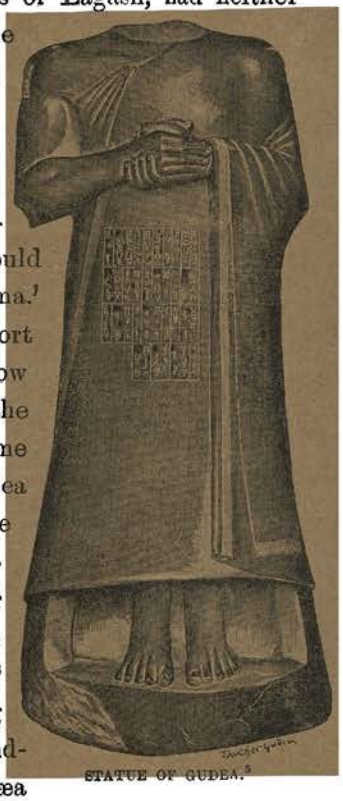


[1] Besides the reproduction on p. 613 of the present work, another of almost the same form but without the turban head-dress, may be seen in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, l. 12, No. 2.

are able to catch a glimpse of it in the monuments of Lagash, had neither the litheness, nor animation, nor elegance of the Egyptian, but it was nevertheless not lacking in force, breadth, and originality. Urningirsu succeeded his father Gudea, to be followed rapidly by several successive vicegerents, ending, it would appear, in Galalama.[1] Their inscriptions are short and insignificant, and show that they did not enjoy the same resources or the same favour which enabled Gudea to reign gloriously. The prosperity of Lagash decreased steadily under their administration, and they were all the humble vassals of the King of Uru, Dungi, son of Urbau;[2] a fact which tends to make us regard Urbau as having been the suzerain upon whom Gudea himself was dependent.[4] Uru, the only city among those of Lower Chaldæa which stands on the right bank of the Euphrates, was a small but strong place, and favourably situated for becoming one of the commercial and industrial centres in these distant ages.[6] The Wady Rummein, not far distant, brought to



HEAD OF ONE OF THE STATUES FROM TELLOH.[3]



STATUE OF GUDEA.[5]

[1] The order in which these princes succeeded each other is uncertain. Their inscriptions have been translated by AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 106–108, and by JENSEN, *Die Inschriften*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 66–71, 72–77.

[2] An individual named Urningirsu dedicated to the goddess Ninlil, for the life of King Dungi, a small votive wig in stone, now in the Berlin Museum. Winckler recognizes in him the Urningirsu, son of Gudea, who succeeded him (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 42, 157, No. 7, and *Geschichte*, p. 43; cf. DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 79). Galalama also dedicated a statue, now broken (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pl. 21, No. 4), to Bau, the mother of Lagash, for the life of King Dungi (AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 108; JENSEN, *Die Inschriften der Könige*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 70, 71).

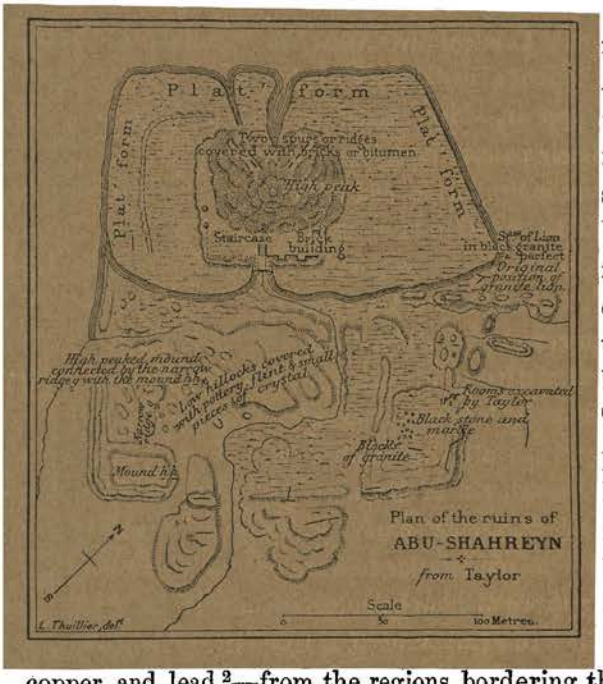
[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pl. 12, No. 1); cf. the small head forming the tail-piece of the table of contents of this chapter, p. 536 of the present work (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pl. 6, No. 3).

[4] WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen*, p. 42, and *Geschichte*, pp. 40, 42, 43; DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 79, tacitly admit the fact in making Urningirsu the vassal of Dungi.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pl. 13.

[6] The ruins of Uru, at Mugheir, have been explored and described by Taylor (*Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of Royal Asiat. Soc.*, 1855, vol. xv. p. 260, et seq.) and by Loftus (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 127–135). Hommel has carefully collected the majority of the Chaldæan documents bearing on the ancient town and its buildings, and the time and character

it the riches of Central and Southern Arabia, gold, precious stones, gums, and odoriferous resins for the exigencies of worship. Another route, marked out by wells, traversed the desert to the land of the semi-fabulous Mâshu, and from thence perhaps penetrated as far as Southern Syria and the Sinaitic Peninsula—Mâgan and Milukhkha on the shores of the Red Sea:[1] this was not the easiest but it was the most direct route for those bound for Africa, and products of Egypt were no doubt carried along it in order to reach in the shortest time the markets of Uru. The Euphrates now runs nearly five miles to the north of the town, but in ancient times it was not so distant, but passed almost by its gates. The cedars, cypresses, and pines of Amanus and the Lebanon, the limestones, marbles, and hard stones of Upper Syria, were brought down to it by boat; and probably also metals—iron, copper, and lead[2]—from the regions bordering the Black Sea. The Shatt-el-Haî, moreover, poured its waters into the Euphrates almost opposite the city, and opened up to it commercial relations with the Upper and Middle Tigris.[3] And this was not all; whilst some of its boatmen used its canals and rivers as highways, another section made their way to the waters of the Persian Gulf and



of their construction (*Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 204–211; *Geschichte*, pp. 212–218). The information here given as to the commerce of Uru is taken from the inscriptions of Gudea; the sphere of activity of the vassal state must correspond with sufficient exactitude with that of the suzerain kingdom. The passages may be found collected together by Amiaud (*Sirpurla*, pp. 13–15), Hommel (*Geschichte*, pp. 325–329), Terrien de Lacouperie (*An Unknown King of Lagash*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iv. pp. 193–208).

[1] On these two routes, cf. DELATTRE, *L'Asie Occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes*, pp. 133, 134.

[2] It follows from the inscriptions of Gudea that the cedars and other building timber required for the temples came from the Amanus (*Statue B*, col. v. l. 28, et seq.; AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 79), and the length of the beams proves that they must have come by water, in the form of rafts. The mountains of Phœnicia, the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, furnished the various kinds of stone employed for the facing of the walls, or for the framework of the doors (*id.*, col. vi. ll. 5-20; cf. HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pp. ix.–xi.).

[3] If the mountains of Tilla (AMIAUD, *Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 80, note 1) may be placed near the town of Tela, or the mountains which separate the Upper Tigris from the Middle Euphrates, it was by means of the Shatt-el-Haî that the timber of this region mentioned on *Statue B* of Gudea, col. v. l. 53, et seq., must have been brought down.

traded with the ports on its coast. Eridu, the only city which could have barred their access to the sea, was a town given up to religion, and existed only for its temples and its gods.[1] It was not long before it fell under the influence of its powerful neighbour, becoming the first port of call for vessels proceeding up the Euphrates. In the time of the Greeks and Romans

AN ARAB CROSSING THE TIGRIS IN A "KUFA."[2]

the Chaldæans were accustomed to navigate the Tigris either in round flat-bottomed boats, of little draught—"kufas," in fact—or on rafts placed upon inflated skins, exactly similar in appearance and construction to the "keleks" of our own day.[3] These keleks were as much at home on the sea as upon the river, and they may still be found in the Persian Gulf engaged in the coasting trade. Doubtless many of these were included among the vessels of Uru mentioned in the texts,[4] but there were also among the latter those long large

[1] See the plan of Eridu on p. 614 of the present work. Sayce (*Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 134, 135) thinks that Eridu must have been a frequented port in early Chaldæan times. If this were the case, it must have ceased to be so in the period under discussion, as it occupies an insignificant place in the inscriptions of Gudea (TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, *An Unknown King of Lagash*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii. p. 205).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by CHESNEY, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 640.

[3] The description of boats used on the Tigris has been very faithfully given by Herodotus (i. 194). "Kufa," or basket, is the term used to designate them (CHESNEY, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. ii. p. 640); cf. p. 542 of the present work. The "keleks" were employed in piratical expeditions (PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 34) or for trading purposes (*Periplus maris Erythræi*, § 27, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Geog. Græci Minores*, vol. i. pp. 278, 279) by the Arabs of the coast; they still serve the same purposes among the people dwelling on the shores of the Persian Gulf (SPRENGER, *Die Alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 123).

[4] For instance, the list published in the *W. A. Inscr.*, vol. ii. pl. 46, No. 1, col. i. l. 3, which has been translated by LENORMANT (*Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 190–194).

rowing-boats with curved stem and stern, Egyptian in their appearance, which are to be found roughly incised on some ancient cylinders.[1] These primitive fleets were not disposed to risk the navigation of the open sea. They preferred to proceed slowly along the shore, hugging it in all cases, except when it was necessary to reach some group of neighbouring islands; many days of navigation were thus required to make a passage which one of our smallest sail-boats would effect in a few hours, and at the end of their longest voyages they were not very distant from their point of departure. It would be a great mistake to suppose them capable of sailing round Arabia and of fetching blocks of stone by sea from the Sinaitic Peninsula; such an expedition, which would have been dangerous even for Greek or Roman galleys, would have been simply impossible for them.[2] If they ever crossed the Strait of Ormuzd, it was an exceptional thing, their ordinary voyages being confined within the limits of the gulf. The merchants of Uru were accustomed to visit regularly the island of Dilmun, the land of Mâgan, the countries of Milukhkha and Gubîn; from these places they brought cargoes of diorite for their sculptors, building-timber for their architects, perfumes and metals transported from Yemen by land, and possibly pearls from the Bahreîn Islands. They encountered serious rivalry from the sailors of Dilmun and Mâgan, whose maritime tribes were then as now accustomed to scour the seas.[3] The risk was great for those who set out on such expeditions, perhaps never to return, but the profit was considerable. Uru, enriched by its commerce, was soon in a position to subjugate the petty neighbouring states—Uruk, Larsam, Lagash, and Nipur. Its territory formed a fairly extended sovereignty, whose lords entitled themselves kings of Shumir and Akkad, and ruled over all Southern Chaldæa for many centuries.[4]

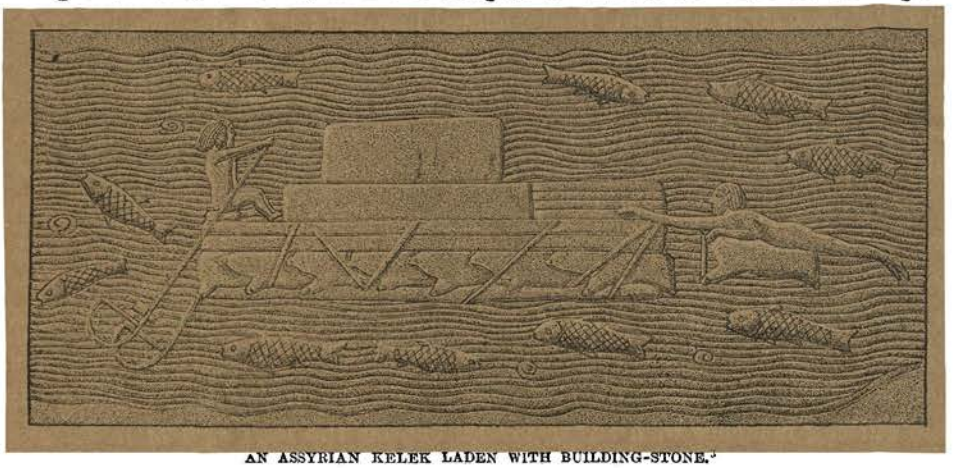
[1] MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pp. 99, 100, pl. ii. 4.

[2] This is, however, the opinion of many Assyriologists—Oppert (*Die Französischen Ausgrabungen in Chaldæa*, in the *Abhandlungen des V^ten Orientalisten-Congresses, Semit. Sect.*, p. 238), Winckler (*Geschichte*, pp. 43, 44, 327, 328), supported by Brindley and Boscawen (*Journ. of Trans. Victoria Inst.*, vol. xxvi. pp. 283, et seq.). Others, following Perrot (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1882, and *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii. p. 588, note 2), have disputed this opinion—for instance, Hommel (*Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 217, 218, 459, 460, and *Geschichte*, pp. 234, 235).

[3] The vessels of Dilmun, Mâgan, and Milukhkha are mentioned alongside those of Uru (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. ii. pl. 46, col. i. ll. 5–7; LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. p. 190).

[4] The signification of the expression "Shumir and Akkad" has not yet been clearly established. These two words, which enter into the titles of so many Chaldæan and Assyrian princes, have been the subject of hypotheses too numerous to summarise. Pognon was the first to show that they denoted two districts of the territory subject to the kings of Babylon—Akkad, on the confines of Assyria, and Shumir, whose site is unknown (*L'Inscription de Bavian*, pp. 125–134), and since then Assyriologists are agreed that Akkad signifies especially Upper and Shumir Lower Chaldæa. Winckler tried recently to prove that before they were extended to cover all Chaldæa, Shumir and Akkad, or, in non-Semitic speech, Kiengi-Urdu, had had a more restricted application to a kingdom of Southern Chaldæa, of which Uru was the capital (*Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Mitteilungen des Akademisch-Orientalischen Vereins*, vol. i. pp. 6–14; *Untersuchungen*, p. 65, et seq.; *Geschichte*, pp. 19, 20, 23–25, etc.). Lehmann has called this opinion in question (*Schamaschschumukîn, König von Babylonien*, p. 68, et seq.), and the matter remains doubtful.

Several of these kings, the Lugalkigubnidudu and the Lugalkisalsi, of whom some monuments have been preserved to us, seem to have extended their influence beyond these limits prior to the time of Sargon the Elder;[1] and we can date the earliest of them with tolerable probability. Urbau reigned some time about 2900 B.C.[2] He was an energetic builder, and material traces of his activity are to be found everywhere throughout the country. The temple of the Sun at Larsam, the temple of Ninâ in Uruk, and the temples of Inlilla and Ninlilla in Nipur



AN ASSYRIAN KELEK LADEN WITH BUILDING-STONE.[3]

were indebted to him for their origin or restoration; he decorated or repaired all structures which were not of his own erection: in Uru itself the sanctuary of the moon-god owes its foundation to him, and the fortifications of the city were his work.[4] Dungi, his son, was an indefatigable bricklayer, like his

[1] HILPRECHT, *The Babylonian Expedition*, vol. i., 2nd part, pp. 51–58.

[2] The history of the name of this prince would furnish in itself matter for an interesting memoir. H. Rawlinson read it "Urukh" (*On the Early Hist. of Babylonia*, in G. RAWLINSON'S *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 353, 354), and Hincks "Huriyak" (*Journ. of Sac. Lit. and Biblical Record*, 1862), influenced by the King Arioch of *Genesis* xiv. 1; Oppert (*Exped. en Mésopot.*, vol. i. p. 260, note 2, and *Hist. des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, p. 16, et seq.) prefers to cite the "Pater Orchamus" of Ovid (*Metamorph.*, bk. iv. 212), and proposed confidently the reading Urkham, Orkham, which prevailed for some time. Then followed Urbagas, Urbagus, Likbagas, Rabagas, Urbabi, Likbabi, Tasbabi (LENORMANT, *Tre monumenti Caldei ed Assiri delle collezioni romane*, pp. 11–13), Amilapsi (SCHRADER-HAUPT, *Die Keilinschr. und das Alte Testament*, 2nd edit., p. 94, note 129), Urea or Aradea (ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 164, note 1, following DELITZSCH), Urbau, Urbavi (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, vol. i. p. 380; *Geschichte*, p. 331, et seq.), Urgur (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte*, 2nd edit., pp. 77, 78).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief from Kouyunjik (LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 13; cf. PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, pl. 43, No. 1).

[4] Larsam, inscription on a brick found in a tomb (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 5, No. i. 7); Uruk, inscription on a brick from Warka (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. i. 6); for Nipur we have inscriptions on a black stone and on a brick found at Niffer (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. i. 8, 9); Uru, inscriptions on bricks and cones from Mugheir (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. i. 1–5), and in a passage on the cylinder of Nabonidos (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 68, No. 1, col. i. ll. 5–27). These documents have been collected and translated by Oppert (*Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, pp. 16–20), by Smith (*Early Hist. of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 34, 35), by Ménant (*Babylone et la Chaldée*, pp. 73–75), by Winckler (*Inschriften von Königen*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 76–81).

father: he completed the sanctuary of the moon-god, and constructed buildings in Uruk, Lagash, and Kutha.[1] There is no indication in the inscriptions of his having been engaged in any civil struggle or in war with a foreign nation; we should make a serious mistake, however, if we concluded from this silence that peace was not disturbed in his time. The tie which bound together the petty states of which Uru was composed was of the slightest. The sovereign could barely claim as his own more than the capital and the district surrounding it; the other cities recognized his authority, paid him tribute, did homage to him in religious matters, and doubtless rendered him military service also, but each one of them nevertheless maintained its particular constitution and obeyed its hereditary lords. These lords, it is true, lost their title of king, which now belonged exclusively to their suzerain, and each one had to be content in his district with the simple designation of "vicegerent;" but having once fulfilled their feudal obligations, they had absolute power over their ancient domains, and were able to transmit to their progeny the inheritance they had received from their fathers. Gudea probably, and most certainly his successors, ruled in this way over Lagash, as a fief depending on the crown of Uru.[2] After the manner of the Egyptian barons, the vassals of the kings of Chaldæa submitted to the control of their suzerain without resenting his authority as long as they felt the curbing influence of a strong hand: but on the least sign of feebleness in their master they reasserted themselves, and endeavoured to recover their independence. A reign of any length was sure to be disturbed by rebellions sometimes difficult to repress: if we are ignorant of any such, it is owing to the fact that inscriptions hitherto discovered are found upon objects upon which an account of a battle would hardly find a fitting place, such as bricks from a

[1] The completion of the temple of Uru, indicated by the passage already cited from the cylinder of Nabonidos (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 68, No. i. col. i. ll. 5-27), is confirmed by the discovery at Mugheir of ruins containing the name of Dungi (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 2, No. ii. 1, 2); constructions in the temple of Uruk (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 2, No. 3); construction of the temple of Ninmar at Girsu, on a black stone found at Tell-id (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 2, Nos. 2, 4); constructions in the temple of Nergal at Kutha, from a copy made from the original document in the time of the second Babylonian Empire (PINCHES, *Guide to the Nimrud Central Salon*, p. 69; WINCKLER, *Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Mitt. des Ak. Orientalischen Vereins*, vol. i. pp. 11, 16, No. 1; AMIAUD, *L'Inscription assyrienne de Doungi*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 94, 95). These documents have been collected and translated by Smith (*Early Hist. of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 36, 37), and by Winckler (*Inschriften*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pl. 1, pp. 80-83). Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 337) believes that the authority of Dungi extended to Nineveh; Amiaud has shown (*L'Inscript. de Dounghi*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyr.*, vol. iii. pp. 94, 95) that the document upon which Hommel relies applies to a quarter of Lagash called Ninâ, and not to Nineveh or Assyria.

[2] Cf. p. 613 of the present work. Alongside the princes of Lagash we can cite Khashkhamir, prince of the town of Ishkunsin under Urbau (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. 10), Killula-Guzalal, son of Urbabi, prince of Kutha (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 35, No. 2; cf. AMIAUD, *L'Insc. H. de Gudea*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 291-293), and Urananbad, son of Lugalsharkhi, prince of Nipur (MÉNANT, *Cat. Coll. de Clercq*, vol. i. pl. x. No. 86; cf. AMIAUD, *L'Insc. H. de Gudea*, pp. 295, 296), under Dungi; cf. the cylinder of the latter, p. 623 of the present work.

temple, votive cones or cylinders of terra-cotta, amulets or private seals. We are still in ignorance as to Dungi's successors, and the number of years during which this first dynasty was able to prolong its existence. We can but guess that its empire broke up by disintegration after a period of no long duration. Its cities for the most part became emancipated, and their rulers proclaimed themselves kings once more.[1] We see that the kingdom of Amnanu, for instance, was established on the left bank of the Euphrates, with Uruk as its capital, and that three successive sovereigns at least—of whom Singashid[2] seems to have been the most active—were able to hold their own there. Uru had still, however, sufficient prestige and wealth to make it the actual metropolis of the entire country. No one could become the legitimate lord of Shumir and Accad[3] before he had been solemnly enthroned in the temple at Uru. For many centuries every ambitious kinglet in turn contended for its possession and made it his residence. The first of these, about 2500 B.C., were the lords of Nishin, Libitanunit, Gamiladar, Inedîn, Bursîn I., and Ismidâgan:[4] afterwards, about 2400 B.C., Gungunum of Nipur made himself master of it.[5] The descendants of Gungunum, amongst others Bursîn II., Gimilsîn, Inêsin, reigned gloriously for a few years. Their records show that they conquered not only a part of Elam, but part of Syria.[6] They were dispossessed in their turn by a family belonging to Lârsam, whose two chief representatives, as far as we know, were Nurramman and his son Sinidinnam (about 2300 B.C.). Naturally enough, Sinidinnam was a builder or repairer of temples, but he added to such work the clearing of the Shatt-el-Haî and the excavation of a new canal giving a more direct communication between the Shatt and the Tigris, and in thus controlling the water-system of the country became worthy of being considered one of the benefactors of Chaldæa.[7]

[1] Cf. another arrangement of these local dynasties in Tiele (*Assyr. Babyl. Geschichte*, p. 116, et seq.), Delitzsch-Mürdter (*Geschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 79, et seq.), Winckler (*Geschichte Babyl. und Assyr.*, p. 44, et seq.), Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 338, et seq.).

[2] The inscriptions of Singashid, Singâmil, and Bilbauakhi have been collected by Winckler (*Inschriften*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pl. 1, pp. 82–85).

[3] This fact, which was first brought to light by Winckler (*Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 45, et seq.), stands out in the whole history of Southern Chaldæa at this period.

[4] See in Winckler (*Inschriften*, in the *Keilschrifiliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 84–87) the chief inscriptions of these kings of Nishin or Ishin. Hilprecht added Bursîn I. to the lists of the kings of Ishin (*the Babylonian Expedition*, vol. i. pp. 27, 28); cf. Scheil, *Notes d'épigraphie et d'Archéolcgie Assyriennes*, dans le *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 37, 38.

[5] Gungunum and his successors form the IInd dynasty of Uru. Their inscriptions have been collected by Winckler (*Inschriften*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iv. pl. 1, pp. 86–93).

[6] The succession of these kings is not, as yet, firmly established; prevalent views have been put forward by Scheil, *Notes d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Assyriennes*, in *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 37, 38; by Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition*, vol. ii. 2nd part, pp. 30–32; and by Thureau-Dangin, *La Comptabilité agricole en Chaldée*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 141–149, and *Note pour servir à la chronologie de la IIe dynastie d'Our*, in *Revue Sémitique*, vol. v. pp. 72–74. Thureau-Dangin admits the existence of a Dungi II., who would have been the immediate predecessor of Bursîn II.

[7] F. Delitzsch, *Ein Thonkegel Sinidinnams*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 301–311.

We have here the mere dust of history, rather than history itself: here an isolated individual makes his appearance in the record of his name, to vanish when we attempt to lay hold of him; there, the stem of a dynasty which breaks abruptly off, pompous preambles, devout formulas, dedications of objects or buildings, here and there the account of some battle, or the indication of some foreign country with which relations of friendship or commerce were maintained —these are the scanty materials out of which to construct a connected narrative. Egypt has not much more to offer us in regard to many of her Pharaohs, but we have in her case at least the ascertained framework of her dynasties, in which each fact and each new name falls eventually, and after some uncertainty, into its proper place. The main outlines of the picture are drawn with sufficient exactitude to require no readjustment, the groups are for the most part in their fitting positions, the blank spaces or positions not properly occupied are gradually restricted, and filled in from day to day; the expected moment is in sight when, the arrangement of the whole being accomplished, it will be necessary only to fill in the details. In the case of Chaldæa the framework itself is wanting, and expedients must be resorted to in order to classify the elements entering into its composition. Naramsîn is in his proper place, or nearly so; but as for Gudea, what interval separates him from Naramsîn, and at what distance from Gudea are we to place the kings of Uru? The beginnings of Chaldæa have merely a provisional history: the facts in it are certain, but the connection of the facts with one another is too often a matter of speculation. The arrangement which is put forward at present can be regarded only as probable, but it would be difficult to propose a better until the excavations have furnished us with fresh material; it must be accepted merely as an attempt, without pledging to it our confidence on the one hand, or regarding it with scepticism on the other.

THE TEMPLES AND THE GODS OF CHALDÆA.

THE CONSTRUCTION AND REVENUES OF THE TEMPLES—THE POPULAR GODS AND THE THEOLOGICAL TRIADS—THE DEAD AND HADES.

Chaldæan cities: the resemblance of their ruins to natural mounds caused by their exclusive use of brick as a building material—Their city walls: the temples and local gods; reconstruction of their history by means of the stamped bricks of which they were built—The two types of ziggurât: the arrangement of the temple of Nannar at Uru.

The tribes of the Chaldæan gods—Genii hostile to men, their monstrous shapes; the south-west wind; friendly genii—The Seven, and their attacks on the moon-god; Gibil, the fire-god, overcomes them and their snares—The Sumerian gods; Ningirsu: the difficulty of defining them and of understanding the nature of them; they become merged in the Semitic deities.

Characteristics and dispositions of the Chaldæan gods: the goddesses, like women of the harem, are practically nonentities; Mylitta and her meretricious rites—The divine aristocracy and its principal representatives: their relations to the earth, oracles, speaking statues, household gods—The gods of each city do not exclude those of neighbouring cities: their alliances and their borrowings from one another—The sky-gods and the earth-gods, the sidereal gods: the moon and the sun.

The feudal gods: several among them unite to govern the world; the two triads of Eridu—The supreme triad: Anu the heaven; Bel the earth and his fusion with the Babylonian Merodach: Ea, the god of the waters—The second triad: Sin the moon and Shamash the sun; substitution of Ramman for Ishtar in this triad; the winds and the legend of Adapa, the attributes

of Ramman—The addition of goddesses to these two triads; the insignificant position which they occupy.

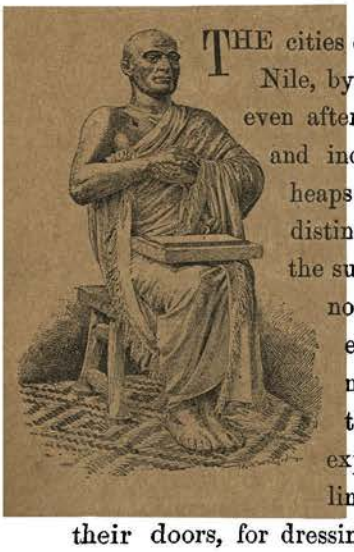
The assembly of the gods governs the world: the bird Zu steals the tablets of destiny—Destinies are written in the heavens and determined by the movements of the stars; comets and their presiding deities, Nebo and Ishtar—The numerical value of the gods—The arrangement of the temples, the local priesthood, festivals, revenues of the gods and gifts made to them—Sacrifices, the expiation of crimes—Death and the future of the soul—Tombs and the cremation of the dead; the royal sepulchres and funerary rites—Hades and its sovereigns: Nergal, Allat, the descent of Ishtar into the infernal regions, and the possibility of a resurrection—The invocation of the dead—The ascension of Etana.

LIBATION UPON THE ALTAR AND SACRIFICE IN THE PRESENCE OF THE GOD.[1]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TEMPLES AND THE GODS OF CHALDÆA.

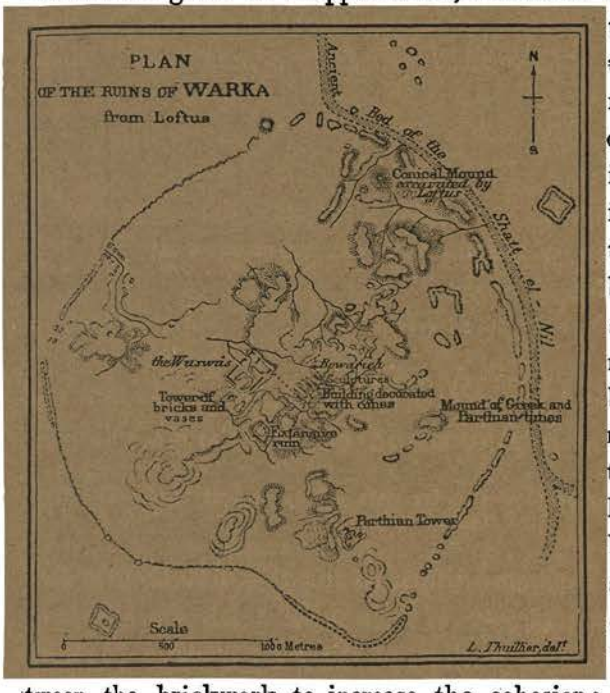
The construction and revenues of the temples—Popular gods and theological triads—The dead and Hades.



THE cities of the Euphrates attract no attention, like those of the Nile, by the magnificence of their ruins, which are witnesses, even after centuries of neglect, to the activity of a powerful and industrious people: on the contrary, they are merely heaps of rubbish in which no architectural outline can be distinguished—mounds of stiff and greyish clay, cracked by the sun, washed into deep crevasses by the rain, and bearing no apparent traces of the handiwork of man. In the estimation of the Chaldæan architects, stone was a material of secondary consideration: as it was necessary to bring it from a great distance and at considerable expense, they used it very sparingly, and then merely for lintels, uprights, thresholds, for hinges on which to hang their doors, for dressings in some of their state apartments, in cornices or sculptured friezes on the external walls of their buildings; and even then its employment suggested rather that of a band of embroidery carefully disposed on some garment to relieve the plainness of the material. Crude brick,

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the seal of two "vicegerents" of Nipur (cf. MÉNANT, *Catalogue de la Collection de M. de Clercq*, vol. i. pl. x., No. 86; cf. p. 618, note 2, of the present volume). The intaglio, which is of sapphirine chalcedony, measures 1⅞ inch in height. The initial vignette, which is also by Faucher-Gudin, represents the figure of a priest or scribe as restored by M. Heuzey for the Paris Exhibition of 1889 (cf. HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'art*, vol. i. frontispiece and pl. xi.).

burnt brick, enamelled brick, but always and everywhere brick was the principal element in their construction.[1] The soil of the marshes or of the plains, separated from the pebbles and foreign substances which it contained, mixed with grass or chopped straw, moistened with water, and assiduously trodden underfoot, furnished the ancient builders with materials of incredible tenacity. This was moulded into thin square bricks, eight inches to a foot across, and three to four inches thick, but rarely larger: they were stamped on the flat side, by means of an incised wooden block, with the name of the reigning sovereign, and were then dried in the sun.[2] A layer of fine mortar or of bitumen was sometimes spread between the courses, or handfuls of reeds would be strewn at intervals between the brickwork to increase the cohesion: more frequently the crude bricks were piled one upon another, and their natural softness and moisture brought about their rapid agglutination.[3] As the building proceeded, the weight of the courses served to increase still further the adherence of the layers:



[1] For the different sorts of building materials in use among the Chaldæans from earliest antiquity, see PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 113–125.

[2] The making of bricks for the Assyrian monuments of the time of the Sargonids has been minutely described by PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. i. pp. 211–214. The methods of procedure were exactly the same as those used under the earliest king known, as has been proved by the examination of the bricks taken from the monuments of Uru and Lagash.

[3] This method of building was noticed by classical writers (HERODOTUS, i. 179). The word "Bowarieh," borne by several ancient mounds in Chaldæa, signifies, properly speaking, a mat of reeds (LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 168); it is applied only to such buildings as are apparently constructed with alternate layers of brick and dried reeds. The proportion of these layers differs in certain localities: in the ruins of the ancient temple of Belos at Babylon, now called the "Mujelibeh," the lines of straw and reeds run uninterruptedly between each course of bricks (KER PORTER, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 341); in the ruins of Akkerkuf, they only occur at wider intervals—according to Niebuhr and Ives, every seventh or eighth course; according to Raymond, every seventh course, or sometimes every fifth or sixth course, but in these cases the layer of reeds becomes $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide (RICH, *Voyage aux ruines de Babylone*, Raymond's translation, p. 96, et seq.; KER PORTER, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 278). H. Rawlinson thinks, on the other hand, that all the monuments in which we find layers of straw and reeds between the brick courses belong to the Parthian period (in G. RAWLINSON'S *Herodotus*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 253, note 4).

the walls soon became consolidated into a compact mass, in which the horizontal strata were distinguishable only by the varied tints of the clay used to make the different relays of bricks.[1] Monuments constructed of such a plastic material required constant attention and frequent repairs, to keep them in good condition: after a few years of neglect they became quite disfigured, the houses suffered a partial dissolution in every storm, the streets were covered with a coating of fine mud, and the general outline of the buildings and habitations grew blurred and defaced. Whilst in Egypt the main features of the towns are still traceable above ground, and are so well preserved in places that, while excavating them, we are carried away from the present into the world of the past, the Chaldæan cities, on the contrary, are so overthrown and seem to have returned so thoroughly to the dust from which their founders raised them, that the most patient research and the most enlightened imagination can only imperfectly reconstitute their arrangement.

A CHALDÆAN STAMPED BRICK.[2]

The towns were not enclosed within those square or rectangular enclosures with which the engineers of the Pharaohs fortified their strongholds. The ground-plan of Uru was an oval,[3] that of Larsam formed almost a circle upon the soil,[4] while Uruk and Eridu resembled in shape a sort of irregular trapezium.[5] The curtain of the citadel looked down on the plain from a great height, so that the defenders were almost out of reach of the arrows or slings of the besiegers: the remains of the ramparts at Uruk at the present day are still forty to fifty feet high, and twenty or more feet in

[1] PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. i. pp. 26, 27.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a brick preserved in the Louvre. The bricks bearing historical inscriptions, which are sometimes met with, appear to have been mostly ex-voto offerings placed somewhere prominently, and not building materials hidden in the masonry.

[3] See the plan of the ruins of Uru at Mugheîr, p. 612 of this History.

[4] This appears to have been the case from the description given by Loftus of these ruins (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 244, et seq.); as far as I am aware, no plan exists of this town.

[5] See the plan of the ruins of Eridu at Abu Shahreîn, p. 614 of this History.

thickness at the top. Narrow turrets projected at intervals of every fifty feet along the face of the wall: the excavations have not been sufficiently pursued to permit of our seeing what system of defence was applied to the entrances.[1] The area described by these cities was often very large, but the population in them was distributed very unequally; the temples in the different quarters formed centres around which were clustered the dwellings of the inhabitants, sometimes densely packed, and elsewhere thinly scattered. The largest and richest of these temples was usually reserved for the principal deity, whose edifices were being continually decorated by the ruling princes, and the extent of whose ruins still attracts the traveller. The walls, constructed and repaired with bricks stamped with the names of lords of the locality, contain in themselves alone an almost complete history. Did Urbau, we may ask, found the ziggurat of Nannar in Uru? We meet with his bricks at the base of the most ancient portions of the building,[2] and we moreover learn, from cylinders unearthed not far from it, that "for Nannar, the powerful bull of Anu, the son of Bel, his King, Urbau, the brave hero, King of Uru, had built E-Timila, his favourite temple."[3] The bricks of his son Dungi are found mixed with his own,[4] while here and there other bricks belonging to subsequent kings, with cylinders, cones, and minor objects, strewn between the courses, mark restorations at various later periods.[5] What is true of one Chaldæan city is equally true of all of them, and the dynasties of Uruk and of Lagash, like those of Uru, can be reconstructed from the revelations of their brickwork.[6] The lords of heaven promised to the lords of the earth, as a reward of their piety, both glory and wealth in this life, and an eternal fame after death: they have, indeed, kept their word. The majority of the earliest Chaldæan heroes would be unknown to us, were it not for the witness of the ruined sanctuaries which they built, and that which they did in the service of their heavenly patrons

[1] LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 166.

[2] Brick brought from Mugheîr, now in the British Museum; published in RAWLINSON, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. i.; cf. OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. pp. 260, 261.

[3] Terra-cotta cylinder from a mound situated south of the ruins of the great temple; published in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. i. 4. E-timila seems to signify "the house of the lofty foundations;" under Dungi, the temple took the name of E-Kharsag, "the house of the mountain (of the gods)" (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 2, No. ii. 2), and later, that of E-shir-gal, "house of the great radiance" (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 35, No. 6, l. 9).

[4] Brick from Mugheîr, now in the British Museum; published in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 2, No. ii. 1; cf. OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. pp. 260, 261.

[5] Bricks of Amarsin (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 5, No. xix.) and of Sinidinnam (*id.*, pl. 5, No. xx.), cylinder of Nurramman (*ib.*, pl. 2, No. iv.), all found at Mugheîr.

[6] See the documents in the originals in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 2, No. viii., and in FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 324, 325, published in the German translation in the first part of vol. iii. of the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek;* for the kings of Lagash by JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, p. 10, et seq.; for the kings of Uruk by WINCKLER, *Inschriften von Königen von Sumer und Akkad*, pp. 82–85.

has alone preserved their names from oblivion. Their most extravagant devotion, however, cost them less money and effort than that of the Pharaohs their contemporaries. While the latter had to bring from a distance, even from the remotest parts of the desert, the different kinds of stone which they considered worthy to form part of the decoration of the houses of their gods, the Chaldæan kings gathered up outside their very doors the principal material for their buildings: should they require any other accessories, they could obtain, at the worst, hard stone for their statues and thresholds in Mâgan and Milukhkha, and beams of cedar and cypress in the forests of the Amanus and the Upper Tigris.[1] Under these conditions a temple was soon erected, and its construction did not demand centuries of continuous labour, like the great limestone and granite sanctuaries of Egypt: the same ruler who laid the first brick, almost always placed the final one, and succeeding generations had only to keep the building in ordinary repair, without altering its original plan. The work of construction was in almost every case carried out all at one time, designed and finished from the drawings of one architect, and bears traces but rarely of those deviations from the earlier plans which sometimes make the comprehension of the Theban temples so difficult a matter: if the state of decay of certain parts, or more often inadequate excavation, frequently prevent us from appreciating their details, we can at least reinstate their general outline with tolerable accuracy.

While the Egyptian temple was spread superficially over a large area, the Chaldæan temple strove to attain as high an elevation as possible.[2] The "ziggurats," whose angular profile is a special characteristic of the landscapes of the Euphrates, were composed of several immense cubes, piled up on one another, and diminishing in size up to the small shrine by which they were crowned and wherein the god himself was supposed to dwell. There are two principal types of these ziggurats. In the first, for which the builders of Lower Chaldæa showed a marked preference, the vertical axis, common to all the superimposed stories, did not pass through the centre of the rectangle which served as the

[1] Cf. pp. 610, 614 of this History. Gudea had cedar (*irinna*) brought from the Amanus (*Inscription de la Statue B*, col. v. ll. 28–32, in HEUZEY-SARZEC *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 17; AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 79, also in the *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. ix.; and JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, pp. 32–35), and diorite from the country of Mâgan (*Inscription de la Statue D du Louvre*, col. v. l. 13, v. l. 1; cf. AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, vol. i. p. 91, also *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xix.; and JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, pp. 52–55).

[2] The comparison between the Egyptian and Chaldæan temples has been drawn by the masterhand of PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 412–414; the objections which have been raised against their views by HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 18, note, are connected with a peculiar conception held by the author with regard to Oriental history, and appear to me to be impossible of acceptation until we know more. Studies, recently undertaken with a view to discover if M. Hommel's ideas correspond with the facts, have fully convinced me that the Chaldæan "ziggurat" differed entirely from the pyramid, such as it existed in Egypt.

base of the whole building; it was carried back and placed near to one of the narrow ends of the base, so that the back elevation of the temple rose abruptly in steep narrow ledges above the plain, while the terraces of the front broadened out into wide platforms.[1] The stories are composed of solid blocks of crude brick; up to the present, at least, no traces of internal chambers have been found.[2] The chapel on the summit could not contain more than one apartment; an altar stood before the door, and access to it was obtained by a straight external staircase, interrupted at each terrace by a more or less spacious landing.[3] The second type of temple frequently found in Northern Chaldæa was represented by a building on a square base with seven stories, all of equal height, connected by one or two lateral staircases, having on the summit, the pavilion of the god;[4] this is the "terraced tower" which excited the admiration of the Greeks at Babylon, and of which the temple of Bel was the most remarkable example.[5] The ruins of it still exist, but it has been so frequently and so completely restored in the course of ages, that it is impossible to say how much now remains of the original construction. We know of several examples, however, of the other type of ziggurat—one at Uru,[6] another at Eridu,[7] a third at Uruk,[8] without mentioning those which have not as yet been methodically explored. None of them rises directly from the surface of the ground, but they are all built on

[1] It is the *Chaldæan temple on a rectangular plan* which has been described in detail and restored by PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 385-389 and pl. ii.

[2] Perrot-Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii. p. 388 and note 3) admit that between the first and second story there was a sort of plinth seven feet in height which corresponded to the foundation platform below the first story. It appears to me, as it did to Loftus (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 129), that the slope which now separates the two vertical masses of brickwork "is accidental, and owes its existence to the destruction of the upper portion of the second story." Taylor mentions only two stories, and evidently considers the slope in question to be a bank of rubbish (*Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 261, 262).

[3] Perrot-Chipiez place the staircase leading from the ground-level to the terrace inside the building—"an arrangement which would have the advantage of not interfering with the outline of this immense platform, and would not detract from the strength and solidity of its appearance" (*Histoire de l'Art*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 386, 387); Reber (*Ueber altchaldäische Kunst*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 175, 1[b]) proposes a different combination. At Uru, the whole staircase projects in front of the platform and "leads up to the edge of the basement of the second story" (TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 261), then continues as an inclined plane from the edge of the first story to the terrace of the second (*id.*, p. 262), forming one single staircase, perhaps of the same width as this second story, leading from the base to the summit of the building (LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 129).

[4] This is the *Chaldæan temple with a single staircase and on a square ground plan*, such as it has been defined and restored by PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 389-395, and pl. iii.

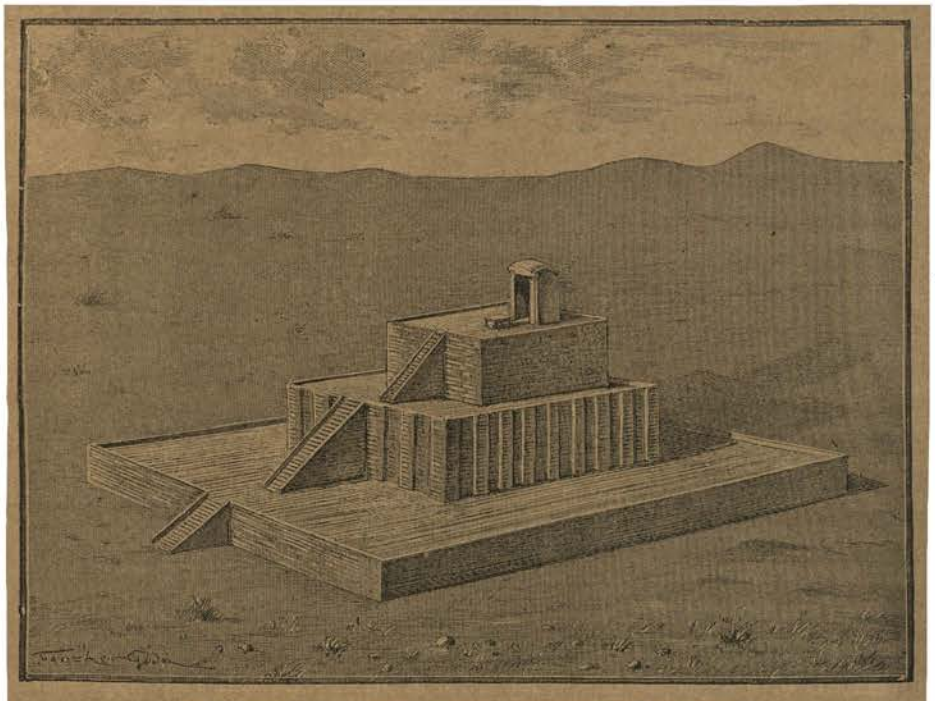
[5] HERODOTUS, i. 179-183; DIODORUS, ii. 9; STRABO, xvi. 1, 5, pp. 737-739; ARRIAN, *Anabasis*, vii. 17.

[6] The ruins of the "ziggurat" of Uru have been described by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches*, etc., pp. 127-134; and by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 260-270.

[7] We possess at present no other description of the ruins of Eridu than that by TAYLOR, *Notes on Abu-Shahrein and Tel-el-Lahm*, in the *Journ. of the Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 402-412.

[8] Loftus explored the ruins of Warka on two different occasions. The "ziggurat" of the temple of the goddess Nana belonging to that city is now represented by the ruins which the natives of the country call Bowarieh (*Travels and Researches*, etc., pp. 167-170); cf. p. 624 of this History.

a raised platform, which consequently places the foundations of the temple nearly on a level with the roofs of the surrounding houses. The raised platform of the temple of Nannar at Uru still measures 20 feet in height, and its four angles are orientated exactly to the four cardinal points. Its façade was approached by an inclined plane, or by a flight of low steps, and the summit, which was surrounded by a low balustrade, was paved with enormous burnt bricks. On this terrace, processions at solemn festivals would have ample space to perform their evolutions. The lower story of the temple occupies a



THE TEMPLE OF NANNAR AT URU, APPROXIMATELY RESTORED.[1]

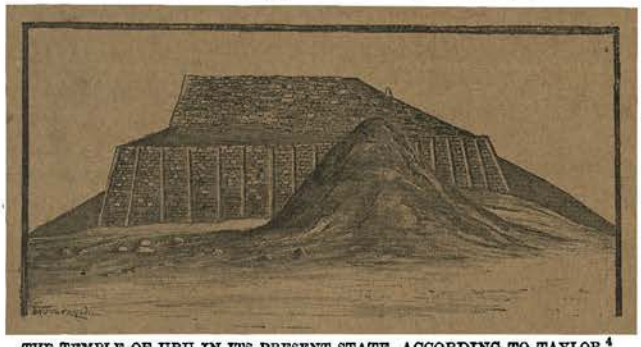
parallelogram of 198 feet in length by 173 feet in width, and rises about 27 feet in height.[2] The central mass of crude brick has preserved its casing of red tiles, cemented with bitumen, almost intact up to the top; it is strengthened by buttresses—nine on the longer and six on the shorter sides—projecting about a foot, which relieve its rather bare surface.[3] The second story rises to the height of only 20 feet above the first, and when intact could not

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin. The restoration differs from that proposed by PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pl. 386, and pl. ii.; and FR. REBER, *Ueber altchaldäische Kunst*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 175, 1[b]. I have made it by working out the description taken down on the spot by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 260–270; and by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 127–134.

[2] The dimensions are taken from Loftus (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 129)

[3] TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 261.

have been more than 26 to 30 feet high.[1] Many bricks bearing the stamp of Dungi are found among the materials used in the latest restoration, which took place about the VIth century before our era; they have a smooth surface, are broken here and there by air-holes, and their very simplicity seems to bear witness to the fact that Nabonidos confined himself to the task of merely restoring things to the state in which the earlier kings of Uru had left them.[2] Till within the last century, traces of a third story to this temple might have been distinguished; unlike the lower ones, it was not of solid brickwork, but contained at least one chamber: this was the Holy of Holies, the sanctuary of Nannar.[3] The external walls were covered with pale blue enamelled tiles, having a polished surface. The interior was panelled with cedar or cypress—rare woods procured as articles of commerce from the peoples of the North and West; this woodwork was inlaid in parts with thin leaves of gold, alternating with panels of mosaics composed of small pieces of white marble, alabaster, onyx, and agate, cut and polished.[5] Here stood the statue of Nannar, one of those stiff and conventionalized figures in the traditional pose handed down from generation to generation, and which lingered even in the Chaldæan statues of Greek times. The spirit of the god dwelt within it in the same way as the double resided in the Egyptian idols, and from thence he watched over the restless movements of the people below, the noise of whose turmoil scarcely reached him at that elevation.



THE TEMPLE OF URU IN ITS PRESENT STATE, ACCORDING TO TAYLOR.[4]

The gods of the Euphrates, like those of the Nile, constituted a countless multitude of visible and invisible beings, distributed into tribes and empires throughout all the regions of the universe.[6] A particular function or occupation

[1] At the present time 14 feet high, plus 5 feet of rubbish, 119 feet long, 75 feet wide (LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 129).

[2] The cylinders of Nabonidos describing the restoration of the temple were found at the four angles of the second story by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. As. Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 263, 264; these are the cylinders published in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 68, No. i. 69.

[3] TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. As. Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 264, 265.

[4] Facsimile by Faucher-Gudin of the drawing published in TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. As. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 262.

[5] Taylor found fragments of this kind of decoration at Eridu (*Notes on Abu-Shahrein and Tel-el-Lahm*, in the *Journ. As. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 407): it probably exists at Uru.

[6] The particular nature of the Chaldæan genii or demons was pointed out for the first time by FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens et les Origines Accadiennes*, the translations in which have been modified, particularly by JENSEN, *De Incantamentorum sumerico-assyriorum seriei quæ*

formed, so to speak, the principality of each one, in which he worked with an indefatigable zeal, under the orders of his respective prince or king;[1] but, whereas in Egypt they were on the whole friendly to man, or at the best indifferent in regard to him, in Chaldæa they for the most part pursued him with an implacable hatred, and only seemed to exist in order to destroy him. These monsters of alarming aspect, armed with knives and lances, whom the theologians of Heliopolis and Thebes confined within the caverns of Hades in the depths

FURTHER VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF URU IN ITS PRESENT STATE, ACCORDING TO LOFTUS.[2]

of eternal darkness, were believed by the Chaldæans to be let loose in broad daylight over the earth,—such were the "gallu" and the "maskim," the "âlu" and the "utukku," besides a score of other demoniacal tribes bearing curious and mysterious names.[3] Some floated in the air and presided over the unhealthy winds. The South-West wind, the most cruel of them all, stalked over the solitudes of Arabia, whence he suddenly issued during the most oppressive months of the year: he collected round him as he passed the malarial vapours given off by the marshes under the heat of the sun, and he spread them over the country, striking down in his violence not only man and beast, but destroying harvests, pasturage, and even trees.[4] The genii of fevers and madness crept in silently everywhere, insidious and traitorous as they were.[5]

dicitur schurbu *Tabula VI.*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. i. pp. 279–322, vol. ii. pp. 15–61, and by TALLQVIST, *die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, 1895, but its mythological conclusions have remained unaltered on many points.

[1] In RAWLINSON (K, 4870, recto, l. 28, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 5) mention is made of a king (*lugal*) of the Lamassi and of other kinds of genii, and particularly of Anu, king of the Seven sons of the Earth.

[2] Drawn by Boudier, from LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 128.

[3] The enumeration of these names is found in FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 23–36, where the author endeavours to define the character and function of each of these classes of demons; cf. the passages which refer to these creatures collected by FR. DELITSCH, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 417, 418, see *âlu*, and pp. 394–399, sub voce *ekimmu*.

[4] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens et les Origines Accadiennes*, p. 36.

[5] The most alarming of all of them is the demon "Headache," against whom a considerable number of charms and incantations is given in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pls. 3, 4, of which a fragment was translated for the first time by FOX TALBOT, *On the Religious Belief of the*

The plague alternately slumbered or made furious onslaughts among crowded populations.[1] Imps haunted the houses, goblins wandered about the water's edge, ghouls lay in wait for travellers in unfrequented places,[2] and the dead quitting their tombs in the night stole stealthily among the living to satiate themselves with their blood.[3] The material shapes attributed to these murderous beings were supposed to convey to the eye their perverse and ferocious characters. They were represented as composite creatures in whom the body of a man would be joined grotesquely to the limbs of animals in the most unexpected combinations. They worked in as best they could, birds' claws, fishes' scales, a bull's tail, several pairs of wings, the head of a lion, vulture, hyæna, or wolf; when they left the creature a human head, they made it as hideous and distorted as possible. The South-West wind was distinguished from all the rest by the multiplicity of the incongruous elements of which his person was composed. His dog-like body was supported upon two legs terminating in eagle's claws; in addition to his arms, which were furnished with sharp talons, he had four outspread wings, two of which fell behind him, while the other two rose up and surrounded his head; he had a scorpion's tail, a human face with large goggle-eyes, bushy eyebrows, fleshless cheeks, and retreating lips, showing a formidable row of threatening teeth, while from his flattened skull protruded the horns of a goat: the entire combination was so hideous, that it even alarmed the god and put him to flight, when he was unexpectedly

LION-HEADED GENIUS.[4]

Assyrians, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 64. Complete translations have been given by FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 253–263, vol. iii. pp. 98–101, and again by HALÉVY, *Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, pp. 13–20, 54–93; JENSEN, *De Incantamentorum*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. i. p. 301; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 458–463. Cf. FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 19, 20, 38, 39.

[1] Incantation against the plague demon in FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 239–251, vol. iii. pp. 94–97; cf. *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 47, 48.

[2] This is the "Lilat," the demon of the night, who sucks the blood of her victims, and who is often mentioned in magical incantations (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 17, col. ii. l. 63; vol. iv. pl. 29, No. 1, verso, ll. 29, 30, etc.). On the connection between this demon and the Lilith of Hebrew tradition, cf. FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 36, and SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 147, 148; Sayce appears to confound the ghouls, which never have existed as men or women, with the vampires, who are the dead of both sexes who have quitted the tomb.

[3] Vampires are frequently mentioned in the magical formulas, RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 17, col. ii. ll. 6–15, 62, vol. iv. pl. 1, col. i. ll. 49, 50; vol. iv. pl. 29, No. 1, verso, ll. 27, 28, etc.: cf. FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 35; *La Divination et la Science des présages chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 156, 157. In her *Descent into the Infernal Regions* (cf. p. 694 of this History), Ishtar threatens to "raise the dead that they may eat the living" (l. 19).

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a small terra-cotta figure of the Assyrian period, and now in the Louvre (LONGPÉRIER, *Notice des antiquités assyriennes*, 3rd edit., p. 57, No. 268). It was one of the figures buried under the threshold of one of the gates of the town at Khorsabad, to keep off baleful influences.

confronted with his own portrait.[1] There was no lack of good genii to combat this deformed and vicious band.[2] They too were represented as monsters, but monsters of a fine and noble bearing,—griffins, winged lions, lion-headed men, and more especially those splendid human-headed bulls, those "lamassi" crowned with mitres, whose gigantic statues kept watch before the palace and temple gates.[3] Between these two races hostility was constantly displayed: restrained at one point, it broke out afresh at another, and the evil genii, invariably beaten, as invariably refused to accept their defeat. Man, less securely armed against them than were the gods, was ever meeting with them. "Up there, they are howling, here they lie in wait, —they are great worms let loose by heaven—powerful ones whose clamour rises above the city—who pour water in torrents from heaven, sons who have come out of the bosom of the earth.—They twine around the high rafters, the great rafters, like a crown;—they take their way from house to house,—for the door cannot stop them, nor bar the way, nor repulse them,—for they creep like a serpent under the door—they insinuate themselves like the air between the folding doors,—they separate the bride from the embraces of the bridegroom,—they snatch the child from between the knees of the man,—they entice the unwary from out of his fruitful house,—they are the threatening voice which pursues him from behind."[5] Their malice extended even to animals: "They force the raven to fly away on the wing,—and they make the

THE SOUTH-WEST WIND.[4]

[1] Fr. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 48, 49, 139; Scheil, *Notes d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie assyriennes*, § iii., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvi. pp. 33-36, in which we find indicated the principal figures known at present which are supposed to represent the south-west wind.

[2] The same texts confront the "utukku," the "ekimmu," the "gallu," and the baleful "alu," with the good "utukku," the good "ekimmu," the good "gallu," and the good "alu" (Sayce, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 466, ll. 44-46; cf. Fr. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 23, 138, 139).

[3] On the protective character of the winged and human-headed bulls, see Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire sur les fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, pp. 79-81, and *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 23, 49, 50. It is described fairly at length in the prayer published by Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pls. 58, 59, and translated by Sayce, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 506, ll. 31-35.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the bronze original now in the Louvre. The latter museum and the British Museum possess several other figures of the same demon.

[5] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. i. col. i. ll. 14-43; cf. Talbot, *On the Religious Belief of the Assyrians*, in the *Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. ii. pp. 73-75; Fr. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 28, 29, and *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 79, 80; Oppert, *Fragments Mythologiques*, in Ledrain, *Histoire d'Israel*, vol. ii. p. 469; Sayce, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 451.

swallow to escape from its nest;—they cause the bull to flee, they cause the lamb to flee—they, the bad demons who lay snares."[1]

The most audacious among them did not fear at times to attack the gods of light; on one occasion, in the infancy of the world, they had sought to dispossess them and reign in their stead. Without any warning they had climbed the heavens, and fallen upon Sin, the moon-god; they had repulsed Shamash, the Sun, and Ramman, both of whom had come to the rescue; they had driven Ishtar and Anu from their thrones: the whole firmament would have become a prey to them, had not Bel and Nusku, Ea and Merodach, intervened at the eleventh hour, and succeeded in hurling them down to the earth, after a terrible battle.[2] They never completely recovered from this reverse, and the gods raised up as rivals to them a class of friendly genii —the "Igigi," who were governed by five heavenly Anunnas.[4] The earthly Anunnas, the Anunnaki, had as their chiefs seven sons of Bel, with bodies of lions, tigers, and serpents: "the sixth was a tempestuous wind which obeyed neither god nor king,—the seventh, a whirlwind, a desolating storm which destroys everything."[5]—"Seven, seven,—in the depth of the abyss of waters they are seven,—and destroyers of heaven they are seven.—They have grown up in the depths of the abyss, in the palace;—males they are not, females they are not,—they are storms which pass quickly.—They take no wife, they give birth to no child,—they know neither compassion nor kindness, —they listen to no prayer nor supplication.—As wild horses they are born in

SIN DELIVERED BY MERODACH FROM THE ASSAULT OF THE SEVEN EVIL SPIRITS.[3]

[1] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 27, No. v. ll. 16-23; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie*, p. 29, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 222, 223, vol. iii. pp. 77, 78; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, vol. i. p. 401.

[2] This episode in the history of the struggles of the gods with the evil genii is related in a magical incantation, partly mutilated (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 5). It was noticed by G. SMITH in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 458, 459 (cf. *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 398-403, and *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 107-112), and was translated by FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 171 (cf. *La Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, pp. 23-35, and *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 121-134); OPPERT, *Fragments mythologiques*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire d'Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 476-479; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 307-312; HALÉVY, *Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie*, pp. 20-30, 100-126; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 463-466.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian intaglio published by LAYARD, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Culte public et des Mystères de Mithra*, pl. xxv., No. 1. (cf. *Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, p. 20).

[4] For the "Igigi" and the "Anunna," cf. JENSEN, *Ueber einige sumero-akkadischen Namen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 7, et seq.; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 182, 183.

[5] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 5, col. i. ll. 12-26.

the mountains,—they are the enemies of Ea,—they are the agents of the gods ; —they are evil, they are evil,—and they are seven, they are seven, they are twice seven."[1] Man, if reduced to his own resources, could have no chance of success in struggling against beings who had almost reduced the gods to submission. He invoked in his defence the help of the whole universe, the spirits of heaven and earth, the spirit of Bel and of Belit, that of Ninib and of Nebo, those of Sin, of Ishtar, and of Ramman ;[2] but Gibir or Gibil,[3] the Lord

STRUGGLE BETWEEN A GOOD AND AN EVIL GENIUS.[4]

of Fire, was the most powerful auxiliary in this incessant warfare. The offspring of night and of dark waters, the Anunnaki had no greater enemy than fire; whether kindled on the household hearth or upon the altars, its appearance put them to flight and dispelled their power. "Gibil, renowned hero in the land,—valiant, son of the Abyss, exalted in the land,—Gibil, thy clear flame, breaking forth,—when it lightens up the darkness,—assigns to all that bears a name its own destiny.—The copper and tin, it is thou who dost mix them,—gold and silver, it is thou who meltest them,—thou art the companion of the goddess Ninkasi—thou art he who exposes his breast to the nightly

[1] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 2, col. v. ll. 30-59; cf. TALBOT, *On the Religious Belief of the Assyrians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 73-75; FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 18, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 81-83; J. OPPERT, *Fragments mythologiques*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire d'Israel*, vol. ii. p. 474; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 366; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 457, 458.

[2] So in the bilingual incantations, Sumerian and Semitic, published by RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. i. col. iii. ll. 63-68, col. iv. ll. 1-3.

[3] The characteristics of the fire-god and the part he plays in the struggle against the Anunnaki were studied for the first time by FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie*, etc., pp. 169-174; they have been accurately defined by TALLQVIST, *die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, pp. 25-30.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st series, pl. 45, No. 1.

enemy!—Cause then the limbs of man, son of his god, to shine,—make him to be bright like the sky,—may he shine like the earth,—may he be bright like the interior of the heavens,—may the evil word be kept far from him,"[1] and with it the malignant spirits. The very insistence with which help is claimed against the Anunnaki shows how much their power was dreaded. The Chaldæan felt them everywhere about him, and could not move without incurring the danger of coming into contact with them. He did not fear them so much during the day, as the presence of the luminary deities in the heavens reassured him; but the night belonged to them, and he was open to their attacks. If he lingered in the country at dusk, they were there, under the hedges, behind walls and trunks of trees, ready to rush out upon him at every turn. If he ventured after sundown into the streets of his village or town, he again met with them quarrelling with dogs over the offal on a rubbish heap, crouched in the shelter of a doorway, lying hidden in corners where the shadows were darkest. Even when barricaded within his house, under the immediate protection of his domestic idols, these genii still threatened him and left him not a moment's repose.[2] The number of them was so great that he was unable to protect himself adequately from all of them: when he had disarmed the greater portion of them, there were always several remaining against whom he had forgotten to take necessary precautions. What must have been the total of the subordinate genii, when, towards the IXth century before our era, the official census of the invisible beings stated the number of the great gods in heaven and earth to be sixty-five thousand![3]

We are often much puzzled to say what these various divinities, whose names we decipher on the monuments, could possibly have represented. The sovereigns of Lagash addressed their prayers to Ningirsu, the valiant champion of Inlil; to Ninursag, the lady of the terrestrial mountain; to Ninsia, the lord of fate; to the King Ninagal; to Inzu, of whose real name no one has an idea; to Inanna, the queen of battles; to Pasag, to Galalim, to Dunshagana,

[1] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 14, No. 2, verso, ll. 6-28; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 169, 170, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 93-99, vol. iii. pp. 33-35; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 277, 278; HAUPT, *Die Sumerisch-Akkadische Sprache*, in the *Verhandlungen des 5ten Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Semitic Section, pp. 269-271; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 487, 488.

[2] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 37, et seq. The presence of the evil spirits everywhere is shown, among other magical formulas, by the incantation in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 18, where we find enumerated at length the places from which they are to be kept out. The magician closes the house to them, the hedge which surrounds the house, the yoke laid upon the oxen, the tomb, the prison, the well, the furnace, the shade, the vase for libation, the ravines, the valleys, the mountains, the door (cf. SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 446-448).

[3] Assurnazirpal, King of Assyria, speaks in one of his inscriptions of these sixty-five thousand great gods of heaven and earth (SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 216).

to Ninmar, to Ningishzida.[1] Gudea raised temples to them in all the cities over which his authority extended, and he devoted to these pious foundations a yearly income out of his domain land or from the spoils of his wars. "Gudea, the 'vicegerent' of Lagash, after having built the temple Ininnu for Ningirsu, constructed a treasury; a house decorated with sculptures, such as no 'vicegerent' had ever before constructed for Ningirsu; he constructed it for him, he wrote his name in it, he made in it all that was needful, and he executed faithfully all the words from the mouth of Ningirsu."[2] The dedication of these edifices was accompanied with solemn festivals, in which the whole population took an active part. "During seven years no grain was ground, and the maidservant was the equal of her mistress, the slave walked beside his master, and in my town the weak rested by the side of the strong." Henceforward Gudea watched scrupulously lest anything impure should enter and mar the sanctity of the place. Those we have enumerated were the ancient Sumerian divinities, but the characteristics of most of them would have been lost to us, had we not learned, by means of other documents, to what gods the Semites assimilated them, gods who are better known and who are represented under a less barbarous aspect. Ningirsu, the lord of the division of Lagash which was called Girsu, was identified with Ninib; Inlil is Bel, Ninursag is Beltis, Inzu is Sin, Inanna is Ishtar, and so on with the rest.[4] The cultus of each, too, was not a local cultus, confined to some obscure corner of the country; they all

THE GOD NINGIRSU, PATRON OF LAGASH.[3]

[1] The enumeration of these divinities is found, for example, in the inscription on the statue B of Gudea in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pls. 16–19; cf. AMIAUD, *Inscriptions of Telloh* in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 85, 86, and *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. vii.–xv.; JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, pp. 46, 47). The transcriptions vary with different authors: where Jensen gives Ninursag, Amiaud reads Ningharsag; the Dunshagana of these two authors becomes Shulshagana for LEGAC, *Deux Inscriptions de Gudea, pateshi de Lagashu* (in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. viii. pp. 10, 11), and elsewhere the goddess Gatumdug becomes without reason Gasig(?)-dug.

[2] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. vi. l. 70, col. viii. l. 9; cf. AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. 82, 83, and in the *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. xi., xii.; JENSEN, *Insc. der Könige und Statth. von Lagasch*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, pp. 38, 39.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 22, No. 5. The attribution of this figure to Ningirsu is very probable, but not wholly certain.

[4] Cf. on this subject the memoir of AMIAUD, *Sirpourla, d'après les Inscriptions de la Collection de Sarzec*, p. 15, et seq., where possible identifications of the names of Sumerian gods worshipped at Telloh, with those of Semitic gods, are given, but with a prudent reserve, and the chapter in TIELÉ-GEBRICH, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, vol. i. pp. 145–151.

were rulers over the whole of Chaldæa, in the north as in the south, at Uruk, at Uru, at Larsam, at Nipur, even in Babylon itself. Inlil was the ruler of the earth and of Hades,[1] Babbar was the sun, Inzu the moon, Inanna-Anunit the morning and evening star and the goddess of love,[2] at a time when two distinct religions and two rival groups of gods existed side by side on the banks of the Euphrates. The Sumerian language is for us, at the present day, but a collection of strange names, of whose meaning and pronunciation we are often ignorant. We may well ask what beings and beliefs were originally hidden under these barbaric combinations of syllables which are constantly recurring in the inscriptions of the oldest dynasties, such as Pasag, Dunshagana, Dumuzi-Zuaba, and a score of others. The priests of subsequent times claimed to define exactly the attributes of each of them, and probably their statements are, in the main, correct. But it is impossible for us to gauge the motives which determined the assimilation of some of these divinities, the fashion in which it was carried out, the mutual concessions which Semite and Sumerian must have made before they could arrive at an understanding, and before the primitive characteristics of each deity were softened down or entirely effaced in the process. Many of these divine personages, such as Ea,[3] Merodach,[4] Ishtar,[5] are so completely transformed, that we may well ask to which of the two peoples they owed their origin. The Semites finally gained the ascendency over their rivals, and the Sumerian gods from thenceforward preserved an independent existence only in connection with magic, divination, and the science of foretelling events, and also in the formulas of exorcists and physicians, to which the harshness of their names lent a greater weight. Elsewhere it was Bel and Sin, Shamash and Ramman, who were universally worshipped, but a Bel, a Sin, a Shamash, who still betrayed traces of their former connection with the Sumerian Inlil and Inzu, with Babbar and Mermer.[6] In whatever language,

[1] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 152–154 (where the name is read Mul-ge instead of Mullil, a variant of Inlil); SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 146–149.

[2] For Anunit-Inanna, the Morning Star, and for the divinities confounded with her, see the researches of SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 182–184.

[3] Ea, the god of the abyss and of the primæval waters, is, according to Fr. Lenormant, Sumerian or Accadian (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 148); Hommel (*Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 373) and Sayce (*The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 104, 105, 132–134) both share this view.

[4] Sayce (*The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 106) does not venture to pronounce whether the name of Marduk-Merodach is Semitic or Sumerian; Hommel (*Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 376, 377, and *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 255, 256, 266) believes it to be Sumerian, as also do Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 242, 243) and Lenormant (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 121).

[5] Ishtar is Sumerian or Accadian, according to Fr. Delitzsch in his early works (*Die Chaldæische Genesis*, p. 273), and Hommel (*Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 385, and *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 257, 266) and Sayce (*The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 252–261).

[6] On the identity of the Sumerian god whose name is read indifferently Mermer, Meru, with the Semitic Ramman, cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Les Noms de l'airain et du cuivre dans les deux langues des inscriptions cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol.

however, they were addressed, by whatever name they were called upon, they did not fail to hear and grant a favourable reply to the appeals of the faithful.

Whether Sumerian or Semitic, the gods, like those of Egypt, were not abstract personages, guiding in a metaphysical fashion the forces of nature.[1] Each of them contained in himself one of the principal elements of which our universe is composed,—earth, water, sky, sun, moon, and the stars which moved around the terrestrial mountain. The succession of natural phenomena with them was not the result of unalterable laws; it was due entirely to a series of voluntary acts, accomplished by beings of different grades of intelligence and power. Every part of the great whole is represented by a god, a god who is a man, a Chaldæan, who, although of a finer and more lasting nature than other Chaldæans, possesses nevertheless the same instincts and is swayed by the same passions. He is, as a rule, wanting in that somewhat lithe grace of form, and in that rather easy-going good-nature, which were the primary characteristics of the Egyptian gods: the Chaldæan divinity has the broad shoulders, the thick-set figure and projecting muscles of the people over whom he rules; he has their hasty and violent temperament, their coarse sensuality, their cruel and warlike propensities, their boldness in conceiving undertakings, and their obstinate tenacity in carrying them out. Their goddesses are modelled on the type of the Chaldæan women, or, more properly speaking, on that of their queens. The majority of them do not quit the harem, and have no other ambition than to become speedily the mother of a numerous offspring. Those who openly reject the rigid constraints of such a life, and who seek to share the rank of the gods, seem to lose all self-restraint when they put off the veil: like Ishtar, they exchange a life of severe chastity for the lowest debauchery, and they subject their followers to the same irregular life which they themselves have led. "Every woman born in the country must enter once during her lifetime the enclosure of the temple of Aphroditê, must there sit down and

vii. p. 390, No. 1; PEGNON, *L'Inscription de Mérou-nérar Ier, roi d'Assyrie*, pp. 22, 23; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 202.

[1] The general outline of the Chaldæo-Assyrian religions was completely reconstituted by the earlier Assyriologists: it was fully traced out in the two memoirs of HINCKS, *On the Assyrian Mythology* (in the *Memoirs of the Irish Academy*, November, 1854, vol. xxii. pp. 405-422), and by H. RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (in the *Herodotus* of G. Rawlinson, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 480-527). It was considerably added to by the researches of Fr. Lenormant, in his *Essai sur les fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, and above all by his two works on *La Magie chez les Chaldéens et Les Sources Accadiennes*, and on *La Divination et la science des présages*. Since then, many errors have been corrected and many new facts pointed out by contemporary Assyriologists, although no one has as yet ventured to give a complete exposition of all that is known up to the present time about Chaldæan and Assyrian mythology: we have to fall back upon the abstracts published by FR. LENORMANT, *Histoire Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, 6th edit., vol. vi.; by MÜRDTER-DELITZSCH, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., pp. 23-53; by ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 174-183, or the very instructive summary which has been recently given by TIELE-GEHRICH, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, vol. i. p. 132, et seq.

unite herself to a stranger. Many who are wealthy are too proud to mix with the rest, and repair thither in closed chariots, followed by a considerable train of slaves. The greater number seat themselves on the sacred pavement, with a cord twisted about their heads,—and there is always a great crowd there, coming and going; the women being divided by ropes into long lanes, down which strangers pass to make their choice. A woman who has once taken her place here cannot return home until a stranger has thrown into her lap a silver coin, and has led her away with him beyond the limits of the sacred enclosure. As he throws the money he pronounces these words: 'May the goddess Mylitta make thee happy!'—Now, among the Assyrians, Aphroditê is called Mylitta. The silver coin may be of any value, but none may refuse it, that is forbidden by the law, for, once thrown, it is sacred. The woman follows the first man who throws her the money, and repels no one. When once she has accompanied him, and has thus satisfied the goddess, she returns to her home, and from thenceforth, however large the sum offered to her, she will yield to no one. The women who are tall or beautiful soon return to their homes, but those who are ugly remain a long time before they are able to comply with the law; some of them are obliged to wait three or four years within the enclosure."[1] This custom still existed in the Vth century before our era, and the Greeks who visited Babylon about that time found it still in full force.

The gods, who had begun by being the actual material of the element which was their attribute, became successively the spirit of it, then its ruler.[2] They continued at first to reside in it, but in the course of time they were separated from it, and each was allowed to enter the domain of another, dwell in it, and even command it, as they could have done in their own, till finally the greater number of them were identified with the firmament. Bel, the lord of the earth, and Ea, the ruler of the waters, passed into the heavens, which did not belong to them, and took their places beside Anu: the pathways were pointed out which they had made for themselves across the celestial vault, in order to inspect their kingdoms from the exalted heights to which they had been raised; that of Bel was in the Tropic of Cancer, that of Ea in the Tropic of

[1] HERODOTUS, i. 199; cf. STRABO, xvi. p. 1058, who probably has merely quoted this passage from Herodotus, or some writer who copied from Herodotus. We meet with a direct allusion to this same custom in the Bible, in the *Book of Baruch*: "The women also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken" (ch. vi. 43).

[2] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 144, et seq., where the author shows how Ana-Anu, after having at first been the Heaven itself, the starry vault stretched above the earth, became successively the Spirit of Heaven (*Zi-ana*), and finally the supreme ruler of the world: according to Lenormant, it was the Semites in particular who transformed the primitive spirit into an actual god-king.

Capricorn.[1] They gathered around them all the divinities who could easily be abstracted from the function or object to which they were united, and they thus constituted a kind of divine aristocracy, comprising all the most powerful beings who guided the fortunes of the world. The number of them was considerable, for they reckoned seven supreme and magnificent gods, fifty great gods of heaven and earth, three hundred celestial spirits, and six hundred terrestrial spirits.[2] Each of them deputed representatives here below, who received the homage of mankind for him, and signified to them his will. The god revealed himself in dreams to his seers and imparted to them the course of coming events,[3] or, in some cases, inspired them suddenly and spoke by their mouth: their utterances, taken down and commented on by their assistants, were regarded as infallible oracles. But the number of mortal men possessing adequate powers, and gifted with sufficiently acute senses to bear without danger the near presence of a god, was necessarily limited; communications were, therefore, more often established by means of various objects, whose grosser substance lessened for human intelligence and flesh and blood the dangers of direct contact with an immortal. The statues hidden in the recesses of the temples or erected on the summits of the "ziggurats" became imbued, by virtue of their consecration, with the actual body of the god whom they represented, and whose name was written either on the base or garment of the statue.[4] The sovereign who dedicated them, summoned them to speak in the days to come, and from thenceforth they spoke: when they were interrogated according to the rite instituted specially for each one, that part of the celestial soul, which by means of the prayers had been attracted to and held captive by the statue, could not refuse to reply.[5] Were there for this purpose special

[1] The removal of Bel and Ea to heaven and the placing of them beside Anu, already noticed by Schrader (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, p. 341), and the identification of the "Ways of Bel and Ea" with the Tropics, have been made the subjects of study, and the problems arising out of them have been solved by JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 19–37.

[2] This number is that furnished by the tablet in the British Museum quoted by G. SMITH, in his article in the *North British Review*, January, 1870, p. 309.

[3] A prophetic dream is mentioned upon one of the statues of Telloh (ZIMMERN, *Das Traumgesicht Gudea's*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 232–235; cf. p. 610 of this History). In the records of Assurbanipal we find mention of several "seers"—*shabru*—one of whom predicts the general triumph of the king over his enemies (*Cylinder of Rassam*, col. iii. ll. 118–127), and of whom another announces in the name of Ishtar the victory over the Elamites and encourages the Assyrian army to cross a torrent swollen by rains (*id.*, col. v. ll. 97–103), while a third sees in a dream the defeat and death of the King of Elam (*Cylinder B*, col. v. ll. 49–76, in G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 123–126). These "seers" are mentioned in the texts of Gudea with the prophetesses "who tell the message" of the gods (*Statue B du Louvre*, in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Fouilles en Chaldée*, pl. 16, col. iv. ll. 1–3; cf. AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 78.

[4] In a formula drawn up against evil spirits, for the purpose of making talismanic figures for the protection of houses, it is said of Merodach that he "inhabits the image"—*ashibu salam*—which has been made of him by the magician (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 21, No. 1, ll. 40, 41; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 272, 273; vol. iii. pp. 104–106).

[5] This is what Gudea says, when, describing his own statue which he had placed in the temple of Telloh, he adds that "he gave the order to the statue: 'To the statue of my king, speak'!" (AMIAUD, in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xii. ll. 21–25). The statue of the king, inspired

images, as in Egypt, which were cleverly contrived so as to emit sounds by the pulling of a string by the hidden prophet? Voices resounded at night in the darkness of the sanctuaries, and particularly when a king came there to prostrate himself for the purpose of learning the future: his rank alone, which raised him halfway to heaven, prepared him to receive the word from on high by the mouth of the image.[1] More frequently a priest, accustomed from childhood to the office, possessed the privilege of asking the desired questions and of interpreting to the faithful the various signs by means of which the divine will was made known. The spirit of the god inspired, moreover, whatever seemed good to him, and frequently entered into objects where we should least have expected to find it. It animated stones, particularly such as fell from heaven;[3] also trees, as, for example, the tree of Eridu which pronounced oracles;[4] and, besides the battle-mace, with a granite head fixed on a wooden handle,[5] the axe of Ramman,[6] lances made on the model of Gilgames' fairy javelin, which came and went at its master's orders, without needing to be touched.[7] Such objects, when it was once ascertained

THE ADORATION OF THE MACE AND THE WHIP.[2]

by that of the god, would thenceforth speak when interrogated according to the formularies. Cf. what is said of the divine or royal statues dedicated in the temples of Egypt, pp. 119, 120 of this volume. A number of oracles regularly obtained in the time of Asarhaddon and Assurbanabal have been published by KNUDTZON, *Assyrische Gebete und den Sonnengott*, 1893.

[1] For instance, the Assyrian King Assurbanipal hears at night, in the sanctuary of Ishtar of Arbela, the voice of the goddess herself promising him help against Tiumman, the King of Elam (*Cylinder B*, col. v. ll. 26–49, in G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 120–123).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the Chaldæan intaglio reproduced in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 30bis, No. 13^{b}.

[3] SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 410; on the possible presence of a sacred tree in one of the sanctuaries of Uru, or of a meteoric stone consecrated to the moon-god, Sin, cf. HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, pp. 206, 207.

[4] The tree of Eridu is described in Tablet K, iii. (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 15) of the British Museum; cf. SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 238–242, 471, ll. 26–35, where it is identified with the Cosmic tree. I agree with JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, etc., p. 249, n. 1, that this tree gave its oracles through the medium of a priest attached to its guardianship. The subject of the sacred trees in Egypt, and of the worship rendered to them, has been treated of in pp. 121, 122 of this volume.

[5] The battle-mace placed upright upon the altar, and receiving the homage of a man standing in front of it, is not infrequently seen on Assyrian cylinders; cf. on the subject of this worship, HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 193–198. It is possible that the enormous stone-head of the mace of the vicegerent Ningirsumudu (HEUZEY, *Reconstruction partielle de la stèle du roi Eannadu*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie de Inscriptions*, 1892, vol. xx. p. 270, and *La Lance colossale d'Izdoubar*, *ibid.*, 1893, vol. xxi. p. 310) may be one of these divine maces worshipped in the temples. The whip, placed in the illustration by the side of the two maces, shared in the honours which they received.

[6] The battle-axe set up on an altar to receive the offering of a priest or devotee had attention first called it by A. DE LONGPÉRIER, *Œuvres*, vol. i. pp. 170, 171, 218–221.

[7] One of these bronze or copper lances, decorated with small bas-reliefs, was found by M. de

that they were imbued with the divine spirit, were placed upon the altar and worshipped with as much veneration as were the statues themselves. Animals never became objects of habitual worship as in Egypt: some of them, however, such as the bull and lion, were closely allied to the gods, and birds unconsciously betrayed by their flight or cries the secrets of futurity.[1] In addition to all these, each family possessed its household gods, to whom its members recited prayers and poured libations night and morning, and whose statues set up over the domestic hearth defended it from the snares of the evil ones.[2] The State religion, which all the inhabitants of the same city, from the king down to the lowest slave, were solemnly bound to observe, really represented to the Chaldæans but a tithe of their religious life: it included some dozen gods, no doubt the most important, but it more or less left out of account all the others, whose anger, if aroused by neglect, might become dangerous. The private devotion of individuals supplemented the State religion by furnishing worshippers for most of the neglected divinities, and thus compensated for what was lacking in the official public worship of the community.

A PROTECTING AMULET.[3]

If the idea of uniting all these divine beings into a single supreme one, who would combine within himself all their elements and the whole of their powers, ever for a moment crossed the mind of some Chaldæan theologian, it never spread to the people as a whole. Among all the thousands of tablets or inscribed stones on which we find recorded prayers and magical formulas, we have as yet discovered no document treating of the existence of a supreme god, or even containing the faintest allusion to a divine

Sarzec in the ruins of a kind of villa belonging to the princes of Lagash; it is now in the Louvre: cf. HEUZEY, *La Lance colossale d'Izdoubar et les nouvelles fouilles de M. de Sarzec*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1892, vol. xxi. p. 305, et seq.

[1] Animal forms are almost always restricted either to the genii, the constellations, or the secondary forms of the greater divinities: Ea, however, is represented by a man with a fish's tail, or as a man clothed with a fish-skin, which would appear to indicate that at the outset he was considered to be an actual fish. For the prophetic faculties attributed to birds by the priests, cf. FR. LENORMANT, *La Divination chez les Chaldéens*, p. 52, et seq.

[2] The images of these gods acted as amulets, and the fact of their presence alone repelled the evil spirits. At Khorsabad they were found buried under the threshold of the city gates (PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. i. p. 198, et seq.). A bilingual tablet in the British Museum has preserved for us the formula of consecration which was supposed to invest these protecting statuettes with divine powers (FR. LENORMANT, *Études accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 267-277, and vol. iii. pp. 101-106).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the terra-cotta figurine of Assyrian date now in the Louvre (cf. A. DE LONGPÉRIER, *Notice des Antiquités assyriennes*, 3rd edit., p. 57, No. 262.

unity.[1] We meet indeed with many passages in which this or that divinity boasts of his power, eloquently depreciating that of his rivals, and ending his discourse with the injunction to worship him alone: "Man who shall come after, trust in Nebo, trust in no other god!"[2] The very expressions which are used, commanding future races to abandon the rest of the immortals in favour of Nebo, prove that even those who prided themselves on being worshippers of one god realized how far they were from believing in the unity of God. They strenuously asserted that the idol of their choice was far superior to many others, but it never occurred to them to proclaim that he had absorbed them all into himself, and that he remained alone in his glory, contemplating the world, his creature. Side by side with those who expressed this belief in Nebo, an inhabitant of Babylon would say as much and more of Merodach, the patron of his birthplace, without, however, ceasing to believe in the actual independence and royalty of Nebo. "When thy power manifests itself, who can withdraw himself from it?—Thy word is a powerful net which thou spreadest in heaven and over the earth:—it falls upon the sea, and the sea retires,—it falls upon the plain, and the fields make great mourning,—it falls upon the upper waters of the Euphrates, and the word of Merodach stirs up the flood in them.—O Lord, thou art sovereign, who can resist thee?—Merodach, among the gods who bear a name, thou art sovereign."[3] Merodach is for his worshippers the king of the gods, he is not the sole god. Each of the chief divinities received in a similar manner the assurance of his omnipotence, but, for all that, his most zealous followers never regarded them as the only God, beside whom there was none other, and whose existence and rule precluded those of any other. The simultaneous elevation of certain divinities to the supreme rank had a reactionary influence on the ideas held with regard to the nature of each. Anu, Bel, and Ea, not to mention others, had enjoyed at the outset but a limited and incomplete personality, confined to a single concept, and were regarded as possessing only such attributes as were indispensable to the exercise of their power within a prescribed sphere, whether in heaven, or on the earth, or in the waters; as each in his turn gained the ascendancy over his rivals, he became invested with the qualities which were

[1] The supreme god, whose existence the earlier Assyriologists thought they had discovered (H. RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, in the *Herodotus* of G. RAWLINSON, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 482, cf. G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 114, 115; FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire sur les fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, pp. 63, 64, *Les Dieux de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, pp. 4, 5), was as much a being of their own invention as the supreme god imagined by Egyptologists to occupy the highest position in the Egyptian Pantheon.

[2] Inscription on the statue of the god Nebo, of the time of Rammannirari III., King of Assyria, now preserved in the British Museum (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 35, No. ii. l. 12).

[3] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 26, No. iv. ll. 1–22: cf. the translations of this text given in French by FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 175, and *Études accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 119–123, vol. iii. pp. 41–43; in German by DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., p. 37; and in English by SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 497.

exercised by the others in their own domain. His personality became enlarged, and instead of remaining merely a god of heaven or earth or of the waters, he became god of all three simultaneously. Anu reigned in the province of Bel or of Ea as he ruled in his own; Bel joined to his own authority that of Anu and Ea; Ea treated Anu and Bel with the same absence of ceremony which they had shown to him, and added their supremacy to his own. The personality of each god was thenceforward composed of many divers elements: each preserved a nucleus of his original being, but superadded to this were the peculiar characteristics of all the gods above whom he had been successively raised. Anu took to himself somewhat of the temperaments of Bel and of Ea, and the latter in exchange borrowed from him many personal traits. The same work of levelling which altered the characteristics of the Egyptian divinities, and transformed them little by little into local variants of Osiris and the Sun, went on as vigorously among the Chaldæan gods: those who were incarnations of the earth, the waters, the stars, or the heavens, became thenceforth so nearly allied to each other that we are tempted to consider them as being doubles of a single god, worshipped under different names in different localities. Their primitive forms can only be clearly distinguished when they are stripped of the uniform in which they are all clothed.

The sky-gods and the earth-gods had been more numerous at the outset than they were subsequently. We recognize as such Anu, the immovable firmament, and the ancient Bel, the lord of men and of the soil on which they live, and into whose bosom they return after death; but there were others, who in historic times had partially or entirely lost their primitive character,—such as Nergal,[1] Ninib,[2] Dumuzi;[3] or, among the goddesses, Damkina,[4] Esharra,[5] and even Ishtar herself,[6] who, at the beginning of their existence, had represented

[1] This conclusion, arrived at from the variety of functions attributed to Nergal, is completely rejected by JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, etc., pp. 481–484; according to him Nergal was from the beginning, what he undoubtedly was at a later period, the blazing and overpowering summer or midday sun.

[2] Ninib and his double Ningirsu are gods of cultivation and fertility, emanating from the gods of the earth, like their mother Esharra, the fruitful soil which produces harvest and fattens the cattle (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 61, 199); cf. p. 576, note 3, of this volume.

[3] Dumuzi, Duuzi, the Tammuz of the Western Semites, was both god of the earth of the living, and of the world of the dead, but by preference the god who caused vegetation to grow, and who clothed the earth with verdure in the spring (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 197, 225, 227, 480).

[4] Damkina, Davkina, the Δαυκὴ of Greek transcriptions, is one of the few goddesses who was recognized almost unanimously by all Assyriologists who have interested themselves in the study of religion, as representing the *Earth* (LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 148, 183; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 375, 376; SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 139, 264, 265); her name of Dam-ki is so compounded that it signifies literally "the mistress of the earth."

[5] For the attribute of divinity of the soil, which the goddess Esharra undoubtedly possessed, cf. what is said by JENSEN, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 195–201.

[6] This very ingenious theory of Tiele's is based upon the legend of the descent of Ishtar into the infernal regions (TIELE, *La Déesse Ishtar surtout dans le mythe babylonien*, in the *Acts of the VIth International Congress of Orientalists*, vol. ii. pp. 493, 506). It has been adopted by SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 251, and it has every appearance of probability; the sidereal character of Ishtar would arise from her union with Anunit.

only the earth, or one of its most striking aspects. For instance, Nergal and Ninib were the patrons of agriculture and protectors of the soil, Dumuzi was the ground in spring whose garment withered at the first appoach of summer, Damkina was the leafy mould in union with fertilizing moisture, Esharra was the field whence sprang the crops, Ishtar was the clod which again grew green after the heat of the dog days and the winter frosts. All these beings had been forced to submit in a greater or less degree to the fate which among most primitive races awaits those older earth-gods, whose manifestations are usually too vague and shadowy to admit of their being grasped or represented by any precise imagery without limiting and curtailing their spheres. New deities had arisen of a more definite and tangible kind, and hence more easily understood, and having a real or supposed province which could be more easily realized, such as the sun, the moon, and the fixed or wandering stars. The moon is the measure of time; it determines the months, leads the course of the years, and the entire life of mankind and of great cities depends upon the regularity of its movements: the Chaldæans, therefore, made it, or rather the spirit which animated it, the father and king of the gods; but its suzerainty was everywhere a conventional rather than an actual superiority, and the sun, which in theory was its vassal, attracted more worshippers than the pale and frigid luminary. Some adored the sun under its ordinary title of Shamash, corresponding to the Egyptian Râ; others designated it as Merodach, Ninib, Nergal, Dumuzi, not to mention other less usual appellations. Nergal in the beginning had nothing in common with Ninib, and Merodach differed alike from Shamash, Ninib, Nergal, and Dumuzi; but the same movement which instigated the fusion of so many Egyptian divinities of diverse nature, led the gods of the Chaldæans to divest themselves little by little of their individuality and to lose themselves in the sun. Each one at first became a complete sun, and united in himself all the innate virtues of the sun—its brilliancy and its dominion over the world, its gentle and beneficent heat, its fertilizing warmth, its goodness and justice, its emblematic character of truth and peace; besides the incontestable vices which darken certain phases of its being—the fierceness of its rays at midday and in summer, the inexorable strength of its will, its combative temperament, its irresistible harshness and cruelty. By degrees they lost this uniform character, and distributed the various attributes among themselves. If Shamash continued to be the sun in general,[1] Ninib restricted himself, after the example of the Egyptian Harmakhis, to being merely the rising and setting sun,[2] the

[1] Shamash is, like Râ in Egyptian (cf. p. 88, note 1, of this volume), the actual word which signifies "sun" in the ordinary language: it is transcribed Σαώς (HESYCHIUS, *sub voce*) by the Greeks.

[2] Lenormant attributed to him the character of "the nocturnal sun in the darkness, in the lower hemisphere" (*Essai de Commentaire sur les Fragments Cosmogoniques de Bérose*, p. 113). Delitzsch

sun on the two horizons. Nergal became the feverish and destructive summer sun.[1] Merodach was transformed into the youthful sun of spring and early morning;[2] Dumuzi, like Merodach, became the sun before the summer.[3] Their moral qualities naturally were affected by the process of restriction which had been applied to their physical being, and the external aspect now assigned to each in accordance with their several functions differed considerably from that formerly attributed to the unique type from which they had sprung. Ninib was represented as valiant, bold, and combative; he was a soldier who dreamed but of battle and great feats of arms.[4] Nergal united a crafty fierceness to his bravery: not content with being lord of battles, he became the pestilence which breaks out unexpectedly in a country, the death which comes like a thief, and carries off his prey before there is time to take up arms against him.[5] Merodach united wisdom with courage and strength: he attacked the wicked, protected the good, and used his power in the cause of order and justice.[6] A very ancient legend, which was subsequently fully developed among the Canaanites, related the story of the unhappy passion of Ishtar for Dumuzi. The goddess broke out yearly into a fresh frenzy, but the tragic death of

prefers to identify him with the sun in the south, the midday sun, who burns up and destroys everything (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte Babyl. und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., p. 33). Amiaud, partially returning to Lenormant's opinion, thought that Ninib was the sun hidden behind and struggling with clouds, an obscured sun, but obscured during the daytime (AMIAUD, *Sirpourla d'après les inscriptions de la collection de Sarzec*, pp. 18, 19). Finally, Jensen concludes the long dissertation he has devoted to the subject of this god (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 457–475) by declaring that "the morning sun on the horizon, being similar in appearance to the setting sun on the horizon, was identified with it;" in other words, that Ninib is the rising and setting sun, analogous to the Egyptian Harmakhis, "Harmakhuîti," the Horus of the two horizons of the sky (cf. p. 138 of this volume), to which conclusion Tiele adheres implicitly (*Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, vol. i. p. 168).

[1] The solar character of Nergal, at least in later times, is admitted, but with restrictions, by all Assyriologists. The evident connection between him and Ninib, of which we have proofs (LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire*, etc., p. 123, et seq.), was the ground of Delitzsch's theory that he was likewise the burning and destructive sun (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Gesch. Babyloniens*, etc., 2nd edit., p. 34), and also of Jensen's analogous concept of a midday and summer sun (JENSEN, *Kosmologie*, etc., pp. 484, 485).

[2] Fr. Lenormant seems to have been the first to distinguish in Merodach, besides the god of the planet Jupiter, a solar personage (*Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171, and *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 120, 121, 177). This notion, which has been generally admitted by most Assyriologists (see what is said by SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 98–101), has been defined with greater exactitude by Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Bab.*, pp. 87, 88, 249, 250), who is inclined to see in Merodach both the morning sun and the spring sun; and this is the opinion held at present (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte Bab. und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., p. 31).

[3] SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 212, 232, et seq.

[4] This idea, with others, results from the examination of the hymns to Ninib published in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 17, ll. 1–9, pl. 29, ll. 1–25; and in JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Bab.*, pp. 470–473: the three have been translated by JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, etc., pp. 464–473; the first by LHOTZKY, *Die Annalen Assurnazirpals*, pp. 2, 3; the second by Père SCHEIL, *Inscription en caractères archaïques de Samsi-Râmman IV., roi d'Assyrie*, pp. 2–5.

[5] The part played by Nergal, "the great Nera," as the god of the plague, has been made the subject of a special study by SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 310–313; cf. M. JASTROW, *A Fragment of the Babylonian Dibbarra Epic*, pp. 21, 36, et seq.

[6] Upon the character of Merodach, cf. the prayer of Nebuchadrezzar, in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 53, col. i. ll. 41–60, and particularly the hymn (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 29, No. 1), translated by FR. LENORMANT, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. p. 178, et seq., *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 175, 176, *Études accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 116–121; by FR. DELITZSCH, *Die Chaldäische Genesis*, p. 302, et seq.; and by SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 501, 502.

the hero finally moderated the ardour of her devotion. She wept distractedly for him, went to beg the lords of the infernal regions for his return, and brought him back triumphantly to the earth: every year there was a repetition of the same passionate infatuation, suddenly interrupted by the same mourning. The earth was united to the young sun with every recurring spring, and under the influence of his caresses became covered with verdure; then followed autumn and winter, and the sun, grown old, sank into the tomb, from whence his mistress had to call him up, in order to plunge afresh with him by a common impulse into the joys and sorrows of another year.[1]

The differences between the gods were all the more accentuated, for the reason that many who had a common origin were often separated from one another by, relatively speaking, considerable distances. Having divided the earth's surface between them, they formed, as in Egypt, a complete feudal system, whose chiefs severally took up their residence in a particular city. Anu was worshipped in Uruk, Enlil-Bel reigned in Nipur, Eridu belonged to Ea, the lord of the waters. The moon-god, Sin, alone governed two large fiefs, Uru in the extreme south, and Harran towards the extreme north-west; Shamash had Larsam and one of the Sipparas for his dominion, and the other sun-gods were not less well provided for, Nergal possessing Kutha, Zamama having Kish, Ninib side by side with Bel reigning in Nipur, while Merodach ruled at Babylon.[2] Each was absolute master in his own territory, and it is quite exceptional to find two of them co-regnant in one locality, as were Ninib and Bel at Nipur, or Ea and Ishtar in Uruk; not that they raised any opposition on principle to the presence of a stranger divinity in their dominions, but they welcomed them only under the titles of allies or subjects.[3] Each, moreover, had fair play, and Nebo or Shamash, after having filled the *rôle* of sovereign at Borsippa or at Larsam, did not consider it derogatory to his dignity to accept a lower rank in Babylon or at Uru. Hence all the feudal gods played a double part, and had, as it were, a double civil portion—that of suzerain in one or two localities, and

[1] For the questions which arise from the exact philological relationship between Dumuzi and Tammuz, cf. JENSEN, *Ueber einige sumero-akkadische und babylonisch-assyrische Götternamen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 17–24. For the myth of Tammuz-Adonis and of Ishtar-Aphroditê, two special memoirs may be consulted; one by Fr. Lenormant (*Il Mito di Adone-Tammuz nei documenti cuneiformi*, in the *Atti del IV. Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, pp. 143–173), and the other by Tiele (*La Déesse Ishtar surtout dans le mythe babylonien*, in the *Actes du VIe Congrès international des Orientalistes*, vol. ii. pp. 493–506), whose respective conclusions do not agree in detail. The account of the descent of Ishtar into the infernal regions will be found on pp. 693–696 of this volume.

[2] Without having recourse to the original texts, the reader may find the localities belonging to each of the great divinities mentioned in DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* Nipur, p. 221; Eridu, p. 228; Uru, p. 227; Larsam, p. 223; Sippara, p. 210; Kutha, p. 218; Kish, p. 219. The attribution of Harran to Sin, which is wanting in Delitzsch, is found in SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 163, 164.

[3] There will be found in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 66, verso, col. 7, a list of the divinities, whose images, placed in the principal temples of Assyria, constituted the complete court, and so to speak the domestic *entourage* of the chief god (SAYCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–220).

that of vassals everywhere else—and this dual condition was the surest guarantee not only of their prosperity, but of their existence. Sin would have run great risk of sinking into oblivion if his resources had been confined to the subventions from his domain temples of Harran and Uru. Their impoverishment would in such case have brought about his complete failure: after having enjoyed an existence amid riches and splendour in the beginning of history, he would have ended his life in a condition of misery and obscurity. But the sanctuaries erected to him in the majority of the other cities, the honours which these bestowed upon him, and the offerings which they made to him, compensated him for the poverty and neglect which he experienced in his own domains; and he was thus able to maintain his divine dignity on a suitable footing. All the gods were, therefore, worshipped by the Chaldæans, and the only difference among them in this respect arose from the fact that some exalted one special deity above the others. The gods of the richest and most ancient principalities naturally enjoyed the greatest popularity. The greatness of Uru had been the source of Sin's prestige, and Merodach owed his prosperity to the supremacy which Babylon had acquired over the districts of the north. Merodach was regarded as the son of Ea, as the star which had risen from the abyss to illuminate the world, and to confer upon mankind the decrees of eternal wisdom. He was proclaimed as lord—"bîlu"—*par excellence*, in comparison with whom all other lords sank into insignificance, and this title soon procured for him a second, which was no less widely recognized than the first: he was spoken of everywhere as the Bel of Babylon, Bel-Merodach—before whom Bel of Nipur was gradually thrown into the shade.[1] The relations between these feudal deities were not always pacific: jealousies arose among them like those which disturbed the cities over which they ruled; they conspired against each other, and on occasions broke out into open warfare. Instead of forming a coalition against the evil genii who threatened their rule, and as a consequence tended to bring everything into jeopardy, they sometimes made alliances with these malign powers and mutually betrayed each other. Their history, if we could recover it in its entirety, would be marked by as violent deeds as those which distinguished the princes and kings who worshipped them. Attempts were made, however, and that too from an early date, to establish among them a hierarchy like that which existed among the great ones of the earth. The faithful, who, instead of praying to each one separately, preferred to address them all, invoked them always in the same order: they began with Anu, the heaven, and followed with

[1] The confusion of Merodach and Bel was noted by the first Assyriologists: they distinguished between Bel of Nipur, Bel-Nimrod (H. RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians*, pp. 488-492; G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 117-119), and Bel of Babylon, or Bel-Merodach (H. RAWLINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-517; G. RAWLINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135). The manner in which these gods became assimilated has been studied by FR. LENORMANT, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. p. 170, et seq.; and by SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 85, et seq.

Bel, Ea, Sin, Shamash, and Ramman.[1] They divided these six into two groups of three, one trio consisting of Anu, Bel, and Ea, the other of Sin, Shamash, and Ramman. All these deities were associated with Southern Chaldæa, and the system which grouped them must have taken its rise in this region, probably at Uruk, whose patron Anu occupied the first rank among them.[2] The theologians who classified them in this manner seem never to have dreamt of explaining, like the authors of the Heliopolitan Ennead, the successive steps in their creation: these triads were not, moreover, copies of the human family, consisting of a father and mother whose marriage brings into the world a new being. Others had already given an account of the origin of things, and of Merodach's struggles with chaos;[3] these theologians accepted the universe as it was, already made, and contented themselves with summing up its elements by enumerating the gods which actuated them.[4] They assigned the first place to those elements which make the most forcible impression upon man—beginning with Anu, for the heaven was the god of their city; following with Bel of Nipur, the earth which from all antiquity has been associated with the heaven; and concluding with Ea of Eridu, the terrestrial waters and primordial Ocean whence Anu and Bel, together with all living creatures, had sprung—Ea being a god whom, had they not been guided by local vanity, they would have made sovereign lord of all. Anu owed his supremacy to an historical accident rather than a religious conception: he held his high position, not by his own merits, but because the prevailing theology of an early period had been the work of his priesthood.[5]

The characters of the three personages who formed the supreme triad can be readily deduced from the nature of the elements which they represent. Anu is the heaven itself—"ana"—the immense vault which spreads itself above our heads, clear during the day when glorified by the sun, obscure and strewn with innumerable star clusters during the night.[6] Afterwards it becomes the

[1] This is the constant order in the inscriptions, for instance, of Nabonidos, and in those of Shalmaneser II., and a summary of the legend of Gilgames shows that it obtained in ancient times (A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pp. 9, 10), with the customary interchanging of Ramman and Ishtar in the sixth place.

[2] H. Rawlinson was inclined to place the source of Chaldæan theology in Eridu; but Sayce rightly remarks (*The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 192) that the choice of Anu as head of the sequence suggests Uruk rather than Eridu.

[3] Cf. pp. 537–545 of the present work for the Babylonian cosmogony, of which Merodach is the hero.

[4] I know of Sayce only (*The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 110, 111, 192, 193) who has endeavoured to explain the historical formation of the triads. They are considered by him as of Accadian origin, and probably began in an astronomical triad, composed of the moon-god, the sun-god, and the evening star (*op. cit.*, p. 110), Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar; alongside this elementary trinity, "the only authentic one to be found in the religious faith of primitive Chaldæa," the Semites may have placed the cosmogonical trinity of Anu, Bel, and Ea, formed by the reunion of the gods of Uruk, Nipur, and Eridu (*op. cit.*, pp. 192, 193).

[5] SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 192–194.

[6] Anu was at first considered as a god of the lower world, and identified with Dis or Pluto (H. RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 485–487; cf. HINCKS, *On the*

spirit which animates the firmament,[1] or the god which rules it:[2] he resides in the north towards the pole, and the ordinary route chosen by him when inspecting his domain is that marked out by our ecliptic.[3] He occupies the high regions of the universe, sheltered from winds and tempests, in an atmosphere always serene, and a light always brilliant. The terrestrial gods and those of middle-space take refuge in this "heaven of Anu,"[4] when they are threatened by any great danger, but they dare not penetrate its depths, and stop, shortly after passing its boundary, on the ledge which supports the vault, where they loll and howl like dogs.[5] It is but rarely that it may be entered, and then only by the highly privileged—kings whose destiny marked them out for admittance, and heroes who have fallen valiantly on the field of battle. In his remote position on unapproachable summits Anu seems to participate in the calm and immobility of his dwelling. If he is quick in forming an opinion and coming to a conclusion, he himself never puts into execution the plans which he has matured or the judgments which he has pronounced: he relieves himself of the trouble of acting, by assigning the duty to Bel-Merodach, Ea, or Ramman,[6] and he often employs inferior genii to execute his will. "They are seven, the messengers of Anu their king; it is they who from town to town raise the stormy wind; they are the south wind which drives mightily in the heavens; they are the destroying clouds which overturn the heavens; they are the rapid tempests which bring darkness in the midst of clear day, they roam here and there with the wicked wind and the ill-omened hurricane."[7] Anu sends forth

Assyrian Mythology, pp. 406, 407; G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 112, 115–117). His *rôle* was determined for the first time by Lenormant (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 106, 121, 142, 144, 145), who, after at first regarding him as the primordial chaos (*Essai sur les frag. Cosmog. de Bérose*, pp. 64–66), "first material emanation from the divine existence," recognized that Anu was identical with *Anna, ana*, the heaven, and combined the idea of firmament with that of the Time-god, *κρόνος*, and the world, *κόσμος*, to bring it into conformity with the conceptions contained in a passage of Damascius (*De Principiis*, § 125, ed. RUELLE, pp. 321, 322). The identity of Anu with the heaven, and consequently his character of Heaven-god, are now generally recognized (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, pp. 370–373; SAYCE, *Relig. Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 186–195; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 4, 11, 12, 274; MÜRDTER-DELITZSCH, *Geschichte Babyl. und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., pp. 25, 26; TIELE, *Assyr.-Babyl. Geschichte*, pp. 517, 521).

[1] It is the *Zi-ana*, therefore, the "spirit of the heaven" of magical conjurations, which they compare with and oppose to the "spirit of the earth" (LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 139, 140, 144; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 363, 370; SAYCE, *Relig. Anc. Babyl.*, pp. 186, 187).

[2] He bears, indeed, the title *Anu, the great one of the heaven, the great god* (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. v. pl. 45, No. 2, l. 22), who rules over the vault of the firmament.

[3] JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, p. 16, et seq.

[4] As to the meaning of this expression, see JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 11, 12, where it is shown that it does not designate one only of the many heavens among which the gods were considered as distributed (JEREMIAS, *Die Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstell. vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 59, 60).

[5] Cf. the description of the gods in the legend of the Deluge, p. 569 of the present volume.

[6] In the account of the war raised by Tiamat against the gods of light, he successively sends Ea and Bel-Merodach against the powers of Chaos (cf. 539 of the present work). In the legend of the good Zu, it is to Ramman that Anu confides the task of recovering the tablets of destiny (J. HARPER, *Die Babyl. Legenden von Etana*, etc., in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 409–412); cf. pp. 666, 667 of the present work.

[7] *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 5, col. i. ll. 27–39; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Le Dieu Lune*, in the *Gazette*

all the gods as he pleases, recalls them again, and then, to make them his pliant instruments, enfeebles their personality, reducing it to nothing by absorbing it into his own. He blends himself with them, and their designations seem to be nothing more than doublets of his own: he is Anu the Lakhmu who appeared on the first days of creation; Anu Urâsh or Ninib is the sun-warrior of Nipur; and Anu is also the eagle Alala whom Ishtar enfeebled by her caresses.[1] Anu regarded in this light ceases to be the god *par excellence:* he becomes the only chief god, and the idea of authority is so closely attached to his name that the latter alone is sufficient in common speech to render the idea of God.[2] Bel would have been entirely thrown into the shade by him, as the earth-gods generally are by the sky-gods, if it had not been that he was confounded with his namesake Bel-Merodach of Babylon: to this alliance he owed to the end the safety of his life, in presence of Anu.[3] Ea was the most active and energetic member of the triad.[4] As he represented the bottomless abyss, the dark waters which had filled the universe until the day of the creation, there had been attributed to him a complete knowledge of the past, present, and future, whose germs had lain within him, as in a womb. The attribute of supreme wisdom was revered in Ea, the lord of spells and charms, to which gods and men were alike subject: no strength could prevail against

Archéologique, 1878, p. 24, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 122, 123; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 307; SAYCE, *Religion of Ancient Babylonians*, p. 463. DELITZSCH, *Die Chaldäische Genesis*, p. 308, thinks that the seven bad genii are associated with the seven disastrous days of the Chaldæo-Assyrian year.

[1] A tablet from the library of Assurbanipal (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 69, No. 1, verso) gives a list of twenty-one gods and goddesses identical with Anu, and with his feminine form Anat, in the *rôle* of father and mother of all things (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 272–275); other texts show that these identifications were accepted by theologians, at least for some of these divinities, *e.g.* Urash-Ninib (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 136–139) and Lakhmu (SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babyl.*, pp. 191, 192).

[2] This fact, noticed by the earliest Assyriologists, had suggested the idea that *An, Anu, Ana*, was the name of deity in the abstract, applied by abuse of language to a particular god (RAWLINSON, *On the Relig. of Babyl. and Assyrians*, p. 486; cf. G. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 115). Assyriologists have now reversed the notion, following LENORMANT, *La Magie*, etc., pp. 144, 145.

[3] SAYCE, *Religion of Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 103, 104.

[4] The name of this god was read "Nisrok" by Oppert (*Expéd. en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. pp. 339, 340), "Nouah" by Hincks and Lenormant (*Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 130–132). The true reading is Ia, Ea, usually translated "house" (LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 145, 146), "water-house" (HOMMEL, *Geschichte*, p. 254); this is a popular interpretation which appears to have occurred to the Chaldæans from the values of the signs entering into the name of the god (JENSEN, *Kosmologie*, p. 246, note). From the outset H. Rawlinson (*Relig. of the Babyl. and Assyrians*, pp. 492–495) recognized in Ea, which he read Hea, Hoa, the divinity presiding over the abyss of waters; he compared him with the serpent of Holy Scripture, in its relation to the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life, and deduced therefrom his character of lord of wisdom. His position as lord of the primordial waters, from which all things proceeded, clearly defined by Lenormant (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 145–147), is now fully recognized (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 373–375; DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 27; SAYCE, *Relig. of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 131–145; TIELE, *Babyl.-Assyr. Geschichte*, pp. 518–520). His name was transcribed 'Aὸς by Damascius (*De Principiis*, § 125, ed. RUELLE, p. 322), a form which is not easily explained (JENSEN, *Kosmologie*, p. 271); the most probable hypothesis is that of Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 254), who considers 'Aὸς as a shortened form of 'Iαὸς = Ia, Ea.

his strength, no voice against his voice: when once he opened his mouth to give a decision, his will became law, and no one might gainsay it. If a peril should arise against which the other gods found themselves impotent, they resorted to him immediately for help, which was never refused.[1] He had saved Shamashnapishtim from the Deluge;[2] every day he freed his votaries from sickness and the thousand demons which were the causes of it.[3] He was a potter, and had modelled men out of the clay of the plains.[4] From him smiths and workers in gold obtained the art of rendering malleable and of fashioning the metals. Weavers and stone-cutters, gardeners, husbandmen, and sailors hailed him as their teacher and patron. From his incomparable knowledge the scribes derived theirs, and physicians and wizards invoked spirits in his name alone by the virtue of prayers which he had condescended to teach them.[5]

Subordinate to these limitless and vague beings, the theologians placed their second triad, made up of gods of restricted power and invariable form. They recognized in the unswerving regularity with which the moon waxed and waned, or with which the sun rose and set every day, a proof of their subjection to the control of a superior will, and they signalized this dependence by making them sons of one or other of the three great gods. Sin was the offspring of Bel,[6] Shamash of Sin,[7] Ramman of Anu.[8] Sin was indebted for this primacy among the subordinate divinities to the preponderating influence

[1] For instance, in the story of the revolt of the Anunnaki (see p. 634 of the present work), Bel, on learning the progress of the enemy, sends his messenger Nusku to implore the aid of Ea (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 5, col. ii. l. 36, et seq.); Ea sends off immediately his son Merodach, whose arrival brought victory to the gods of light (cf. SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 454–465; HALÉVY, *Documents de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie*, pp. 101, 102).

[2] See pp. 566, 567 of the present work for the account of a dream by which Ea warns Shamashnapishtim of the danger threatening him and humanity.

[3] He procures for men, by the intermediation of his son Merodach, the cure of headaches and fevers from which they suffer (SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 460, 461, 470, 472).

[4] JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 293–295; cf. p. 695 of the present volume for an account of the creation of man, or rather of a divine messenger in the form of man, by Ea.

[5] The variety of Ea's functions is proved by his titles in a tablet in the British Museum (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. ii. pl. 55, l. 17, et seq., and for a second tablet, pl. 58, No. v.). This tablet, however, is not complete, and the monuments reveal several more titles than are to be found in it.

[6] His filiation is indicated clearly in the most ancient monuments from Uru; for instance, on a terra-cotta cone from the temple of Mugheîr he is called "Nannar, the mighty bull of Anu, the son of Inlil-Bel" (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. iv. ll. 1–4; cf. No. v.).

[7] Shamash was called "the scion of Nannar" in an inscription of the King of Ur, Gungunum (see p. 619 of the present work), which came from the temple of Mugheîr (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 2, No. vi. l, ll. 1–3).

[8] Tiglath-pileser I. calls Ramman "the valiant son of Anu." Anu and Ramman held in common a very ancient temple in the town of Assur, where they were worshipped together. It was restored by Tiglath-pileser I. (*Prism*, col. vii. ll. 60–113); there was also a chapel there dedicated to Ramman alone (*ibid.*, col. viii. ll. 1–16).

which Uru exercised over Southern Chaldæa.[1] Mar, where Ramman was the chief deity, never emerged from its obscurity, and Larsam acquired supremacy only many centuries after its neighbour, and did not succeed in maintaining it for any length of time.[2] The god of the suzerain city necessarily took precedence of those of the vassal towns, and when once his superiority was admitted by the people, he was able to maintain his place in spite of all political revolutions. Sin[3] was called in Uru, "Uruki,"[4] or "Nannar the glorious,"[5] and his priests sometimes succeeded in identifying him with Anu. "Lord, prince of the gods, who alone in heaven and earth is exalted,—father Nannar, lord of the hosts of heaven, prince of the gods,—father Nannar, lord, great Anu, prince of the gods,—father Nannar, lord, moon-god, prince of the gods,—father Nannar, lord of Uru, prince of the gods. . . .—Lord, thy deity fills the far-off heavens, like the vast sea, with reverential fear! Master of the earth, thou who fixest there the boundaries [of the towns] and assignest to them their names,—father, begetter of gods and men, who establishest for them dwellings and institutest for them that which is good, who proclaimest royalty and bestowest the exalted sceptre on those whose destiny was determined from distant times,—chief, mighty, whose heart is great, god whom no one can name, whose limbs are steadfast, whose knees never bend, who preparest the paths of thy brothers the gods. . . .—In heaven, who is supreme? As for thee, it is thou alone who art supreme!—As for thee, thy decree is made known in heaven, and the Igigi bow their faces!—As for thee, thy decree is made known upon earth, and the spirits of the abyss kiss the dust!—As for thee, thy decree blows above like the wind, and stall and pasture become fertile!—As for thee, thy decree is accomplished upon earth below, and the grass and green things grow!—As

[1] SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 164–167; TIELE-GEHRICH, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, vol. i. pp. 164–167.

[2] Upon the supremacy of Larsam, see p. 619 of this work.

[3] The name of Sin has been read in Sumero-Accadian Enzuna, Zu-in-na, Zuin (LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 16, 127; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 493, 494), which would be the origin of the current form Sin. Jensen disputes this etymology (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 101, 102), also Winckler (*Sumer und Akkad* in the *Mitt. des Akademisch-Orientalischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 1887, i. p. 10) and Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Gesch.*, p. 523) consider the ideogram employed in writing the name of the god to be of Semitic origin.

[4] At first read Hurki (RAWLINSON, *Relig. Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 504). The name of the god is attached to that of the town, and may signify "protector" (*ibid.*, note 8), or "the god of the place of protection;" we cannot say which meaning is the right one (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 205, 206).

[5] The name Nannaru has been rendered in Greek Νάναρος, and has given rise to a legend which we know in its Persian form. Nicholas of Damascus (*Frag. Hist. Græcorum*, ed. MÜLLER-DIDOT, vol. iii. pp. 359–363) borrowed it from Ctesias. This story, of which the mythological import was recognized by Ch. Lenormant (CHABOUILLET, *Cat. Gén. des Camées et Pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Imp.*, p. 111), was referred to Nannaru-Sin by FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Comment. sur Bérose*, pp. 96, 97, and his opinion has now been adopted by Assyriologists; cf. SAYCE, *Relig. Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 157–159. A kindred form of the name is Nannak, Nanak, which has also passed into Greek, Ναννακός, and around which many legends grew, and were spread abroad in Asia Minor in the Græco-Roman period.

for thee, thy decree is seen in the cattle-folds and in the lairs of the wild beasts, and it multiplies living things!—As for thee, thy decree has called into being equity and justice, and the peoples have promulgated thy law!—As for thee, thy decree, neither in the far-off heaven, nor in the hidden depths of the earth, can any one recognize it!—As for thee, thy decree, who can learn it, who can try conclusions with it?—O Lord, mighty in heaven, sovereign upon earth, among the gods thy brothers, thou hast no rival."[1] Outside Uru and Harran, Sin did not obtain this rank of creator and

THE GOD SIN RECEIVES THE HOMAGE OF TWO WORSHIPPERS.[2]

ruler of things; he was simply the moon-god, and was represented in human form, usually accompanied by a thin crescent,[3] upon which he sometimes stands upright, sometimes appears with the bust only rising out of it, in royal costume and pose.[4] His mitre is so closely associated with him that it takes his place on the astrological tablets; the name he bears—"agu"—often indicates the moon regarded simply as a celestial body and without connotation of deity.[5] Babbar-Shamash, "the light of the gods, his fathers," "the illustrious

[1] *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 9, ll. 1–10, 28–39, 53–62, and verso, 1–12; cf. LENORMANT, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 158–164, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 131–148, vol. iii. pp. 45–53, and the *Dieu Lune délivré de l'attaque des mauvais Esprits*, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, pp. 32, 35; DELITZSCH, *Die Chaldäische Genesis*, pp. 281–283; OPPERT, *Frag. cosmogoniques*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, vol. ii. pp. 482–484; HOMMEL, *Geschichte*, pp. 378, 379; SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 160–162.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a heliogravure by MÉNANT, *La Glyptique Orientale*, vol. i. pl. iv., No. 2.

[3] The individuals which appear on the cylinders, accompanied by a crescent, represent the god Sin.

[4] LAJARD, *Monuments relatifs au culte de Mithra*, pl. xliv., No. 1, liv. *B*, No. 16; cf. p. 621 of the present work.

[5] The mitre ornamented with horns, "agu," represents especially the full moon. It was said in this case that "Sin had put on his mitre" (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 58, No. 3, l. 1; cf. SAYCE, *Astron. and Astrology of the Babylonians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 225, 226), where the expression includes the halos which form around the moon, whilst at the first quarter the horns alone appear (cf. p. 545 of the present volume, at the end of the account of the creation). It

scion of Sin," [1] passed the night in the depths of the north, behind the polished metal walls which shut in the part of the firmament visible to human eyes.[2] As soon as the dawn had opened the gates for him, he rose in the east all aflame, his club in his hand, and he set forth on his headlong course over the chain of mountains which surrounds the world;[3] six hours later he had attained the limit of his journey towards the south, he then continued his journey to the

SHAMASH SETS OUT, IN THE MORNING, FROM THE INTERIOR OF THE HEAVEN BY THE EASTERN GATE.[4]

west, gradually lessening his heat, and at length re-entered his accustomed resting-place by the western gate, there to remain until the succeeding morning. He accomplished his journey round the earth in a chariot conducted by two charioteers, and drawn by two vigorous onagers, "whose legs never grew weary;" [5] the flaming disk which was seen from earth was one of the wheels of his chariot.[6] As soon as he appeared he was hailed with the chanting of hymns: "O Sun, thou appearest on the foundation of the heavens,—thou drawest back the bolts which bar the scintillating heavens, thou openest the gate of

means Sin on the top of stelæ (*Stèle de Salmanasar II.*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi. pl. viii.), or on the boundary marks which indicate the limits of a district (*Caillou Michaux*, in the *Bibliothèque Nat.*; cf. the vignette, p. 762 of the present work).

[1] Babbar is the Sumerian name, Shamash the Semitic, which, pronounced Shawash, according to a known law of Babylonian phonetics, has been transcribed by the Greeks as Σαώς. The name Shamash was at first read *San* or *Sansi* (RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 500).

[2] Cf. the description of the heavens and the indications of the two doors given on pp. 543–545 of the present work. The texts bearing on the course of the sun are to be found in JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 9, 10.

[3] His course along the embankment which runs round the celestial vault was the origin of the title, *Line of Union between Heaven and Earth* (cf. p. 666 of the present work): he moved, in fact, where the heavens and the earth come into contact, and appeared to weld them into one by the circle of fire which he described. Another expression of this idea occurs in the preamble of Nergal and Ninib, who were called "the separators;" the course of the sun might, in fact, be regarded as separating, as well as uniting, the two parts of the universe.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio of green jasper in the Louvre (MÉNANT, *La Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. p. 123, No. 71). The original measures about $1\frac{3}{10}$ inch. in height. On the representation of the sun opening the doors of heaven in the morning and shutting them in the evening, cf. now HEUZEY, *Mythes Chaldéens* (extract from the *Revue Archéologique* for 1895).

[5] JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 98–111.

[6] The disk has sometimes four, sometimes eight rays inscribed on it, indicating wheels with four

the heavens! O Sun, thou raisest thy head above the earth,—Sun, thou extendest over the earth the brilliant vault of the heavens."[1] The powers of darkness fly at his approach or take refuge in their mysterious caverns, for "he destroys the wicked, he scatters them, the omens and gloomy portents, dreams, and wicked ghouls—he converts evil to good, and he drives to their

SHAMASH IN HIS SHRINE, HIS EMBLEM BEFORE HIM ON THE ALTAR.[2]

destruction the countries and men—who devote themselves to black magic."[3] In addition to natural light, he sheds upon the earth truth and justice abundantly; he is the "high judge"[4] before whom everything makes

or eight spokes respectively. Rawlinson supposed "that these two figures indicate a distinction between the male and female power of the deity, the disk with four rays symbolizing Shamash, the orb with eight rays being the emblem of Ai, Gula, or Anunit" (*On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, in G. RAWLINSON, *Herodotus*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 504).

[1] *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 20, No. 2, ll. 1–10; cf. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 165, 166; JENSEN, *Hymnen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 192, et seq.; SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 491.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Rassam, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii., plate between pp. 164 and 165. The busts of the two deities on the front of the roof of the shrine are the two charioteers of the sun (PINCHES, *Antiquities found by M. H. Rassam at Abu-Habbah*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii. pp. 164, 165; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 229, note 4); they uphold and guide the rayed disk upon the altar. Cf. in the Assyrian period the winged disk led with cords by two genii.

[3] *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 17, verso, ll. 43–46; cf. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 164–165; OPPERT, *Fragments cosmogoniques*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, vol. ii. pp. 481, 482); SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 173.

[4] *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 54, col. iv. l. 29; and in the various hymns to the sun; *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 28, No. 1; vol. v. pl. 50, col. 1, ll. 10–15; cf. BRÜNNOW, *Assyrian Hymns*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 7–13, 15–24; FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. p. 139, ll. 37, 38; and SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 499, 500, 516.

obeisance, his laws never waver, his decrees are never set at naught. "O Sun, when thou goest to rest in the middle of the heavens—may the bars of the bright heaven salute thee in peace, and may the gate of heaven bless thee!—May Misharu, thy well-beloved servant, guide aright thy progress, so that on Ebarra, the seat of thy rule, thy greatness may rise, and that A, thy cherished spouse, may receive thee joyfully! May thy glad heart find in her thy rest!—May the food of thy divinity be brought[1] to thee by her,—warrior, hero, sun, and may she increase thy vigour;—lord of Ebarra, when thou approachest, mayest thou direct thy course aright!—O Sun, urge rightly thy way along the fixed road determined for thee,—O Sun, thou who art the judge of the land, and the arbiter of its laws!"[2]

It would appear that the triad had begun by having in the third place a goddess, Ishtar of Dilbat.[3] Ishtar is the evening star which precedes the appearance of the moon, and the morning star which heralds the approach of the sun: the brilliance of its light justifies the choice which made it an associate of the greater heavenly bodies. "In the days of the past . . . Ea charged Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar with the ruling of the firmament of heaven; he distributed among them, with Anu, the command of the army of heaven, and among these three gods, his children, he apportioned the day and the night, and compelled them to work ceaselessly."[4] Ishtar was separated from her two companions, when the group of the planets was definitely organized and claimed the adoration of the devout; the theologians then put in her place an individual of a less original aspect, Ramman.[5] Ramman embraced within him the elements of many very ancient genii, all of whom had been set over the atmosphere, and the phenomena which are daily displayed in it—wind,

[1] This is a direct allusion to the sacrifice or libation which the sun received every evening in the temple of Sippar, Ebarra, or Ebabbara, on his going to rest.

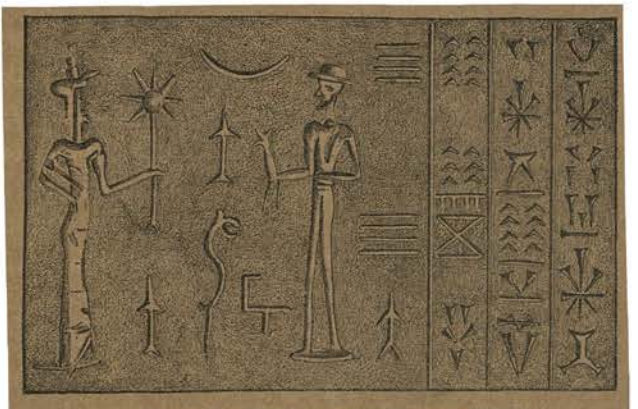
[2] PINCHES, *Antiquities found by M. Rassam*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii. pp. 167, 168; F. BERTIN, *L'Incorporation verbale en Accadien*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 157–161; HOMMEL, *Geschichte*, pp. 228, 229.; SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 177, note 1, 513.

[3] SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 110, 193; A. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pp. 9, 10. In the inscription on the stele of Shalmaneser II., the second triad is composed of Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 7, col. i. ll. 2, 3).

[4] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 5, col. i. ll. 52–79; cf. for the interpretation of the legend, SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 257, 258.

[5] The name of the god of the atmosphere is a subject which has stirred up the greatest amount of dissension among Assyriologists; it has been read *Iv* or *Iva*, afterwards *Bin* by Hincks (*Assyrian Mythology*, in the *Memoirs of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiii. pp. 412, 413), *Vul* or *Pul* by Rawlinson (*Relig. Babyl. and Assyrians*, pp. 497, 498), *Ao*, *Hou*, by Opport (*Rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction publique*, p. 45, et seq.), *Mer*, *Meru*, *Mermiru*, by Pinches (*The Bronze Gates discovered by M. Ranam*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vii. pp. 114, 115), and by Pegnon (*Inscription de Mèrou-Nèrar 1er roi d'Assyrie*, pp. 22, 23), *Immêr*, *Immèrou*, by Thureau-Dangin (*la lecture de l'idéogramme Immer*, dans le *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, vol. vi. pp. 385–393). The reading Rammanu, Ramman, deduced from Ramamu, to bellow, to thunder, is now accepted, although Oppert recently proposed to adopt generally Hadad (*Adad-Nirar*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres*, 1893, vol. xxi. pp. 177–179), which is proved in particular instances. (Cf. Zech. xii. 11.—ED.)

rain, and thunder. These genii occupied an important place in the popular religion which had been cleverly formulated by the theologians of Uruk, and there have come down to us many legends in which their incarnations play a part. They are usually represented as enormous birds flocking on their swift wings from below the horizon, and breathing flame or torrents of water upon the countries over which they hovered. The most terrible of them was Zu, who presided over tempests: he gathered the clouds together, causing them to burst in torrents of rain or hail; he let loose the winds and lightnings, and nothing remained standing where he had passed.[1] He had a numerous family: among them cross-breeds of extraordinary species which would puzzle a modern naturalist, but were matters of course to the ancient priests. His mother Siris, lady of the rain and clouds, was a bird like himself;[3] but Zu had as son a vigorous bull, which, pasturing in the meadows, scattered abundance and fertility around him. The caprices of these strange beings, their malice, and their crafty attacks, often brought upon them vexatious misfortunes.[4] Shutu, the south wind, one day beheld Adapa, one of the numerous offspring of Ea, fishing in order to provide food for his family. In spite of his exalted origin, Adapa was no god; he did not possess the gift of immortality, and he was not at liberty to appear in the presence



ISHTAR HOLDING HER STAR BEFORE SIN.[2]

[1] With regard to the bird Zu, see G. SMITH, *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 112–122; E. J. HARPER, *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbara*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 413–418. His disputes with the sun will be dealt with on pp. 666, 667 of the present work.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an intaglio at Rome; see FR. LENORMANT, *Tre Monumenti Caldei ed Assiri delle collezioni romane*, pl. vi., No. 3.

[3] E. J. Harper (*op cit.*, pp. 415–417; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 91, 93) identifies Zu with the constellation of Pegasus, and the bull, his son, with our constellation of the Bull.

[4] The legend of Adapa has been partly preserved for us on one of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (WINCKLER, *Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, vol. iii., pl. clxvi. *a*, *b*). It was successively pointed out by Lehmann (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 380), Sayce (*Address to the Assyrian Section of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, pp. 24–29, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 265, 266), and Scheil (*Légende chaldéenne trouvée à Tell-el-Amarna*, in the *Revue des Religions*, vol. i. pp. 162–165) A translation and commentary has been published by ZIMMERN, *An Old Babylonian Legion from Egypt*, in the *Sunday School Times* (June 18, 1892), p. 386, et seq., cf. A. GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 420–422; afterwards by HARPER, *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbara*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 418–425.

of Anu in heaven. He enjoyed, nevertheless, certain privileges, thanks to his familiar intercourse with his father Ea, and owing to his birth he was strong enough to repel the assaults of more than one deity. When, therefore, Shutu, falling upon him unexpectedly, had overthrown him, his anger knew no bounds: "'Shutu, thou hast overwhelmed me with thy hatred, great as it is,—I will break thy wings!' Having thus spoken with his mouth unto Shutu, Adapa broke his wings. For seven days,—Shutu breathed no longer upon the earth." Anu, being disturbed at this quiet, which seemed to him not very consonant with the meddling temperament of the wind, made inquiries as to its cause through his messenger Ilabrât. "His messenger Ilabrât answered him: 'My master,—Adapa, the son of Ea, has broken Shutu's wings.'—Anu, when he heard these words, cried out: 'Help!'" and he sent to Ea Barku, the genius of the lightning, with an order to bring the guilty one before him. Adapa was not quite at his ease, although he had right on his side; but Ea, the cleverest of the immortals, prescribed a line of conduct for him. He was to put on at once a garment of mourning, and to show himself along with the messenger at the gates of heaven. Having arrived there, he would not fail to meet the two divinities who guarded them,—Dumuzi and Gishzida: "'In whose honour this garb, in whose honour, Adapa, this garment of mourning?' 'On our earth two gods have disappeared—it is on this account I am as I am.'[1] Dumuzi and Gishzida will look at each other,[1] they will begin to lament, they will say a friendly word—to the god Anu for thee, they will render clear the countenance of Anu,—in thy favour. When thou shalt appear before the face of Anu, the food of death, it shall be offered to thee, do not eat it. The drink of death, it shall be offered to thee, drink it not. A garment, it shall be offered to thee, put it on. Oil, it shall be offered to thee, anoint thyself with it. The command I have given thee observe it well.'" Everything takes place as Ea had foreseen. Dumuzi and Gishzida welcome the poor wretch, speak in his favour, and present him: "as he approached, Anu perceived him, and said to him: 'Come, Adapa, why didst thou break the wings of Shutu?' Adapa answered Anu: 'My lord,—for the household of my lord Ea, in the middle of the sea,—I was fishing, and the sea was all smooth.—Shutu breathed, he, he overthrew me, and I plunged into the adode of fish. Hence the anger of my heart,—that he might not begin

[1] Dumuzi and Gishzida are the two gods whom Adapa indicates without naming them; insinuating that he has put on mourning on their account, Adapa is secure of gaining their sympathy, and of obtaining their intervention with the god Anu in his favour. As to Dumuzi, see pp. 645–648 of the present work; the part played by Gishzida, as well as the event noted in the text regarding him, is unknown.

again his acts of ill will,—I broke his wings.'" Whilst he pleaded his cause the furious heart of Anu became calm. The presence of a mortal in the halls of heaven was a kind of sacrilege, to be severely punished unless the god should determine its expiation by giving the philtre of immortality to the intruder. Anu decided on the latter course, and addressed Adapa: "'Why, then, did Ea allow an unclean mortal to see—the interior of heaven and earth?' He handed him a cup, he himself reassured him.—'We, what shall we give him? The food of life—take some to him that he may eat.' The food of life, some was taken to him, but he did not eat of it. The water of life, some was taken to him, but he drank not of it. A garment, it was taken to him, and he put it on. Oil, some was taken to him, and he anointed himself with it." Anu looked upon him; he lamented over him: "'Well, Adapa, why hast thou not eaten —why hast thou not drunk? Thou shalt not now have eternal life.' 'Ea, my lord, has commanded me: thou shalt not eat, thou shalt not drink.'" Adapa thus lost, by remembering too well the commands of his father, the opportunity which was offered to him of rising to the rank of the immortals; Anu sent him back to his home just as he had come, and Shutu had to put up with his broken wings.

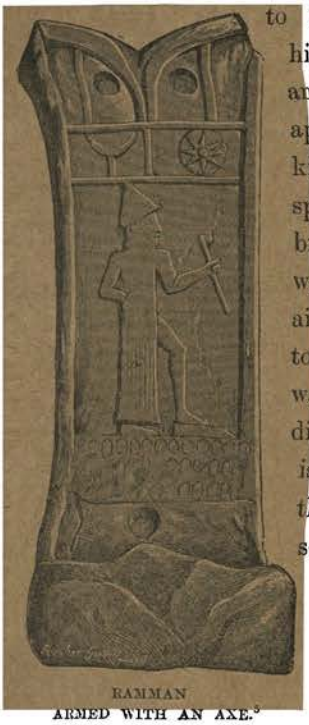
THE BIRDS OF THE TEMPEST.[1]

Ramman absorbed one after the other all these genii of tempest and contention, and out of their combined characters his own personality of a hundred diverse aspects was built up. He was endowed with the capricious and changing disposition of the element incarnate in him, and passed from tears to laughter, from anger to calm, with a promptitude which made him one of the most disconcerting deities. The tempest was his favourite *rôle*. Sometimes he would burst suddenly on the heavens at the head of a troop of savage subordinates, whose chiefs were known as Matu, the squall, and Barku, the lightning; sometimes these were only the various manifestations of his own nature, and it was he himself who was called Matu and Barku.[2] He collected the clouds, sent forth the thunderbolt, shook the mountains, and "before his rage and violence, his bellowings, his thunder, the gods of heaven arose to the

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan cylinder in the Museum of New York (CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pl. xxxi., No. 5). Lenormant, in a long article, which he published under the pseudonym of Mansell, fancied he recognized here the encounter between Sabitum and Gilgames (*Un épisode de l'épopée chaldéenne*, in the *Gazette archéologique*, 1879, pp. 114–119) on the shores of the Ocean; cf. pp. 584, 585 of the present volume.

[2] On the origin of Ramman, and the diverse Sumerian and Semitic deities which he absorbed, see SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 202–212; Tiele asserts that he was admitted to the honours of the great gods only about the XIVth or XIIIth century, under the influence of the Aramæans in Syria (*Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, vol. i. p. 188–189).

firmament—the gods of the earth sank into the earth" in their terror.[1] The monuments represent him as armed for battle with club, axe, or the two-bladed flaming sword which was usually employed to signify the thunderbolt.[2] As he destroyed everything in his blind rage, the kings of Chaldæa were accustomed to invoke him against their enemies, and to implore him to "hurl the hurricane upon the rebel peoples and the insubordinate nations."[3] When his wrath was appeased, and he had returned to more gentle ways, his kindness knew no limits. From having been the water-spout which overthrew the forests, he became the gentle breeze which caresses and refreshes them: with his warm showers he fertilizes the fields; he lightens the air and tempers the summer heat. He causes the rivers to swell and overflow their banks; he pours out the waters over the fields, he makes channels for them, he directs them to every place where the need of water is felt. But his fiery temperament is stirred up by the slightest provocation, and then "his flaming sword scatters pestilence over the land: he destroys the harvest, brings the ingathering to nothing, tears up trees, and beats down and roots up the corn."[4] In a word, the second triad formed a more homogeneous whole when Ishtar still belonged to it, and it is entirely owing to the presence of this goddess in it that we are able to understand its plan and purpose; it was essentially astrological, and it was intended that none should be enrolled in it but the manifest leaders of the constellations. Ramman, on the contrary, had nothing to commend him for a position alongside the moon and sun; he was not a celestial body, he had no definitely shaped form, but resembled an aggregation of gods rather than a single deity. By the addition of Ramman to the triad, the void occasioned



RAMMAN ARMED WITH AN AXE.[5]

[1] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Inso.*, vol. iv. pl. 28, No. 2, ll. 12–15; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. p. 192, and SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 500.

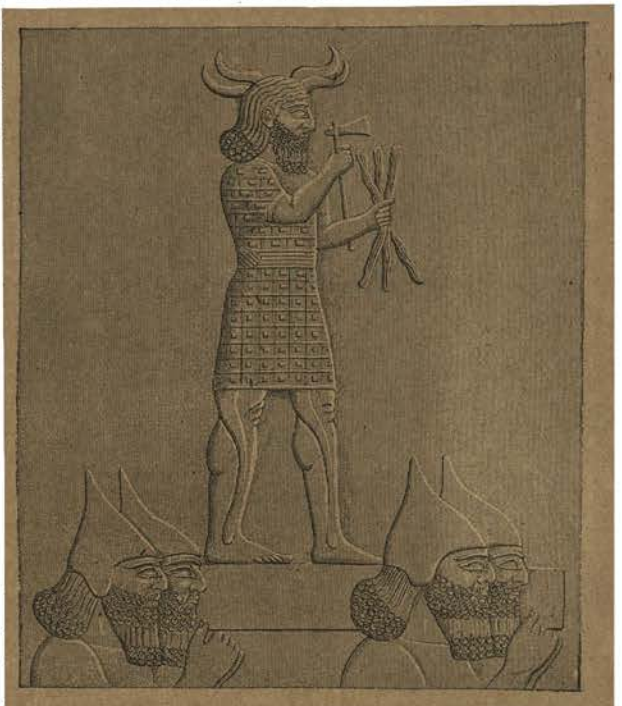
[2] Tiglath-pileser I., conqueror of the Kumani, made one of these swords, which he calls "a copper lightning flash," and he dedicated it, as a trophy of his victory, in a chapel built on the ruins of one of the vanquished cities (*Prism of Tiglath-pileser I.*, col. vi. ll. 15–21).

[3] Cf. the curse pronounced by Tiglath-pileser I. at the end of his *Prism* (col. viii. ll. 83–88), in the name of Ramman, worshipped in the royal city of Ashshur.

[4] The character of Ramman was fully defined in the works of the early Assyriologists (H. RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 497–500; FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de commentaire sur Bérose*, pp. 93–95).

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 258. The original, a small stele of terra-cotta, is in the British Museum. The date of this representation is uncertain. Ramman stands upon the mountain which supports the heaven.

by the removal of Ishtar was filled up in a blundering way. We must, however, admit that the theologians must have found it difficult to find any one better fitted for the purpose: when Venus was once set along with the rest of the planets, there was nothing left in the heavens which was sufficiently brilliant to replace her worthily. The priests were compelled to take the most powerful deity they knew after the other five—the lord of the atmosphere and the thunder.[1]



RAMMAN, THE GOD OF TEMPESTS AND THUNDER.[3]

The gods of the triads were married, but their goddesses for the most part had neither the liberty nor the important functions of the Egyptian goddesses.[2] They were content, in their modesty, to be eclipsed behind the personages of their husbands, and to spend their lives in the shade, as the women of Asiatic countries still do. It would appear, moreover, that there was no trouble taken about them until it was too late—when it was desired, for instance, to explain the affiliation of the immortals. Anu and Bel were bachelors to start with. When it was determined to assign to them female companions, recourse

[1] Their embarrassment is shown in the way in which they have classed this god. In the original triad, Ishtar, being the smallest of the three heavenly bodies, naturally took the third place. Ramman, on the contrary, had natural affinities with the elemental group, and belonged to Anu, Bel, Ea, rather than to Sin and Shamash. So we find him sometimes in the third place, sometimes in the first of the second triad, and this post of eminence is so natural to him, that Assyriologists have preserved it from the beginning, and describe the triad as composed, not of Sin, Shamash, and Ramman, but of Ramman, Sin, and Shamash (RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 482, 497), or even of Sin, Ramman, and Shamash (HINCKS, *On the Assyrian Mythology*, in the *Memoirs of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiii. pp. 410–413).

[2] The passive and almost impersonal character of the majority of the Babylonian and Assyrian goddesses is well known (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de comment. sur Bérose*, p. 69). The majority must have been independent at the outset, in the Sumerian period, and were married later on, under the influence of Semitic ideas (SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 110–112, 176, 179, 345, 346).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LAYARD'S *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st series, pl. 65. Properly speaking, this is a Susian deity brought by the soldiers of Assurbanipal into Assyria, but it carries the usual insignia of Ramman, and in the absence of other information may help to show us how this god was represented in the first millennium before our era: he has neither the conical head-dress nor the long robe of the Ramman on p. 662 of the present work.

was had to the procedure adopted by the Egyptians in a similar case: there was added to their names the distinctive suffix of the feminine gender, and in this manner two grammatical goddesses were formed, Anat and Belit, whose dispositions give some indications of this accidental birth.[1] There was always a vague uncertainty about the parts they had to play, and their existence itself was hardly more than a seeming one. Anat sometimes represented a feminine heaven, and differed from Anu only in her sex.[2] At times she was regarded as the antithesis of Anu, *i.e.* as the earth in contradistinction to the heaven.[3] Belit, as far as we can distinguish her from other persons to whom the title "lady" was attributed, shared with Bel the rule over the earth and the regions of darkness where the dead were confined.[4] The wife of Ea was distinguished by a name which was not derived from that of her husband, but she was not animated by a more intense vitality than Anat or Belit: she was called Damkina, the lady of the soil, and she personified in an almost passive manner the earth united to the water which fertilized it.[5] The goddesses of the second triad were perhaps rather less artificial in their functions. Ningal, doubtless, who ruled along with Sin at Uru, was little more than an incarnate epithet. Her name means "the great lady," "the queen,"[6] and her person is the double of that of her husband; as he is the man-moon, she is the woman-moon, his beloved,[7] and the mother of his children Shamash and Ishtar.[8] But A or Sirrida enjoyed an indisputable authority alongside Shamash: she never lost sight of the fact that she had been a sun like Shamash, a disk-god before she was transformed into a goddess.[9] Shamash, moreover, was surrounded by an actual harem, of which Sirrida was the acknowledged queen, as he himself

[1] On the "grammatical" goddesses of Egypt, see pp. 105, 106 of the present work.

[2] G. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 117; DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 26.

[3] HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 373; TIELE, *Babyl.-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 521; SAYCE, *Relig. Anc. Babylonians*, p. 194. On the diffusion of the worship of Anat among the neighbouring nations especially in Syria, see the observations of LENORMANT, *Essai de Comm. sur Bérose*, pp. 150–152; of SAYCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–189; and of JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 192–194, 272–274.

[4] On the Belit-Beltis of Nipur, the Ninlilla of the old texts, see FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 105, 106, 152; and SAYCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 150, 177; cf. p. 691 of the present work. I shall have occasion to speak later on of the *rôle* played by another Beltis (of Babylon), different from her of Nipur.

[5] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie*, etc., pp. 148, 153; SAYCE (*op. cit.*, pp. 139, 264, 265). Damkina, Davkina, was transcribed Δαύκη by the Greeks (DAMASCIUS, *De Principiis*, § 125, ed. RUELLE, p. 322).

[6] JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 14, n. 3.

[7] Cylinder of Nabonidos found at Abu-Habba, published in RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. v. pl. 64, col. ii. ll. 38, 39.

[8] Cf. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 125, 126.

[9] On the goddess A, Aa, Ai, called also Sirrida, Sirdu, and on its masculine form, see SAYCE, *Relig. of the Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 177–179. Pinches (*The Divine Name A*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1885, pp. 27, 28) is inclined to attach the male form of this deity to the Iaô, Iahveh of the Hebrews, but this view has not found favour among Assyriologists. The reading proposed by Oppert, "Malik," he would refer to the masculine doublet of the divinity (*La Chronologie biblique*, etc., p. 15, note 5, and *Catalogue de la Collections de Clercq*, vol. i. p. 57, note 1).

was its king,[1] and among its members Gula, the great,[2] and Anunit, the daughter of Sin, the morning star,[3] found a place. Shala, the compassionate, was also included among them; she was subsequently bestowed upon Ramman.[4] They were all goddesses of ancient lineage, and each had been previously worshipped on her own account when the Sumerian people held sway in Chaldæa: as soon as the Semites gained the upper hand, the powers of these female deities became enfeebled, and they were distributed among the gods. There was but one of them, Nanâ, the doublet of Ishtar, who had succeeded in preserving her liberty: when her companions had been reduced to comparative insignificance, she was still acknowledged as queen and mistress in her city of Eridu. The others, notwithstanding the enervating influence to which they were usually subject in the harem, experienced at times inclinations to break into rebellion, and more than one of them, shaking off the yoke of her lord, had proclaimed her independence: Anunit, for instance, tearing herself away from the arms of Shamash, had vindicated, as his sister and his equal, her claim to the half of his dominion. Sippara was a double city, or rather there were two neighbouring Sipparas, one distinguished as the city of the Sun, "Sippara sha Shamash," while the other gave lustre to Anunit in assuming the designation of "Sippara sha Anunitum." Rightly interpreted, these family arrangements of the gods had but one reason for their existence—the necessity of explaining without coarseness those parental connections which the theological classification found it needful to establish between the deities constituting the two triads. In Chaldæa as in Egypt there was no inclination to represent the divine families as propagating their species otherwise than by the procedure observed in human families: the union of the goddesses with the gods thus legitimated their offspring.

The triads were, therefore, nothing more than theological fictions. Each of them was really composed of six members, and it was thus really a council of twelve divinities which the priests of Uruk had instituted to attend to the affairs of the universe; with this qualification, that the feminine half of the assembly rarely asserted itself, and contributed but an insignificant part to

[1] Malik, whence the name Malkatu, by which a bilingual text renders the ideogram of the goddess A (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Comment. sur Bérose*, pp. 97, 98). The complete form is "Malkatu sha shami," the queen of heaven, and in this capacity the goddess is usually identified with Ishtar (SCHRADER, *Die Göttin Ishtar*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyr.*, vol. iii. pp. 353–364, and vol. iv. pp. 74–76).

[2] On Gula, see RAWLINSON, *Relig. of Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 503, 504; FR. LENORMANT, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 99, 103.

[3] Anunit was at first considered to be the female sun (RAWLINSON, *Relig. of Babyl. and Assyrians*, pp. 502, 503; G. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 128, 129) or the moon (FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 107, 121). She is usually identified with Ishtar, who borrows from her the quality of morning star; cf. p. 670 of the present volume.

[4] Shala is the wife of Merodach and Dumuzi as well as of Ramman (SAYCE, *Religion of Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 209–211); her name, added to the epithet *ummu*, mother, is the origin of the name Σαλαμβώ, Σαλάμβας, applied by Hesychius and by the *Etymologicon Magnum* to the Babylonian Aphroditê (RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 499, n. 8; FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire sur les fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, p. 95).

the common work. When once the great divisions had been arranged, and the principal functionaries designated, it was still necessary to work out the details, and to select agents to preserve an order among them. Nothing happens by chance in this world, and the most insignificant events are determined by previsional arrangements, and decisions arrived at a long time previously. The gods assembled every morning in a hall situated near the gates of the sun in the east, and there deliberated on the events of the day.[1] The sagacious Ea submitted to them the fates which are about to be fulfilled, and caused a record of them to be made in the chamber of destiny on tablets which Shamash or Merodach carried with him to scatter everywhere on his way; but he who should be lucky enough to snatch these tablets from him would make himself master of the world for that day. This misfortune had arisen only once, at the beginning of the ages.[2] Zu, the storm-bird, who lives with his wife and children on Mount Sabu under the protection of Bel,[3] and who from this elevation pounces down upon the country to ravage it, once took it into his head to make himself equal to the supreme gods. He forced his way at an early hour into the chamber of destiny before the sun had risen: he perceived within it the royal insignia of Bel, "the mitre of his power, the garment of his divinity,—the fatal tablets of his divinity, Zu perceived them. He perceived the father of the gods, the god who is the tie between heaven and earth,[4]—and the desire of ruling took possession of his heart;—yea, Zu perceived the father of the gods, the god who is the tie between heaven and earth,—and the desire of ruling took possession of his heart,—'I will take the fatal tablets of the gods, I myself,—and the oracles of all the gods, it is I who will give them forth;—I will install myself on the throne, I will send forth decrees,—I will manage the whole of the Igigi.'[5]—And his heart plotted warfare;—lying in wait on the threshold of the hall, he watched for the dawn. —When Bel had poured out the shining waters,—had installed himself on the throne, and donned the crown, Zu took away the fatal tablets from his hand,—he seized power, and the authority to give forth decrees,—the god Zu, he flew away and concealed himself in the mountains."[6] Bel immediately cried out,

[1] On the hall of destiny, and what takes place within it, see JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 234–243.

[2] The legend of the bird Zu was discovered, and the fragments of it translated for the first time, by G. SMITH, *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 113–122; cf. SAYCE, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 40. All that is at present known has been published by J. E. HARPER, *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana*, etc., in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 408–418.

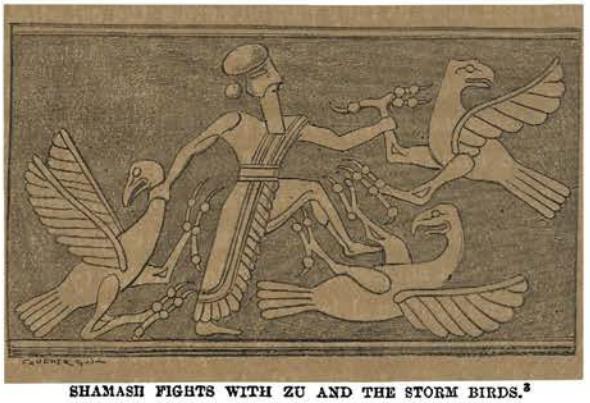
[3] The importance of Mount Sabu in mythology was pointed out by FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 105, 106; he thought that its site was near the towns of Kish and Kharshagkalamma (*ibid.*, p. 219), which appears to me improbable. I should be inclined to look for it rather at the extremities of the world, somewhere in the south, without fixing it more definitely.

[4] On the meaning of this epithet as applied to solar deities, see p. 656, note 3, of the present work.

[5] The Igigi are the spirits of the heavens, in opposition to the Anunnaki; see p. 654 of the present work.

[6] J. E. HARPER, *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana*, etc., p. 409, ll. 5–22.

he was inflamed with anger, and ravaged the world with the fire of his wrath. "Anu opened his mouth, he spake,—he said to the gods his offspring:—'Who will conquer the god Zu?—He will make his name great in every land.'—Ramman, the supreme, the son of Anu, was called, and Anu himself gave to him his orders;—yea, Ramman, the supreme, the son of Anu, was called, and Anu himself gave to him his orders.—'Go, my son Ramman, the valiant, since nothing resists thy attack;—conquer Zu by thine arm, and thy name shall be great among the great gods,—among the gods, thy brothers, thou shalt have no equal: sanctuaries shall be built to thee, and if thou buildest for thyself thy cities in the "four houses of the world,"—thy cities shall extend over all the terrestrial mountain![1] Be valiant, then, in the sight of the gods, and may thy name be strong.' Ramman answers, he addresses this speech to Anu his father:—'Father, who will go to the inaccessible mountains? Who is the equal of Zu among the gods, thy offspring? He has carried off in his hand the fatal tablets,—he has seized power and authority to give forth decrees,—Zu thereupon flew away and hid himself in his mountain.—Now, the word of his mouth is like that of the god who unites heaven and earth;—my power is no more than clay,—and all the gods must bow before him.'"[3] Anu sent for the god Bara, the son of Ishtar, to help him, and exhorted him in the same language he had addressed to Ramman: Bara refused to attempt the enterprise. Shamash, called in his turn, at length consented to set out for Mount Sabu: he triumphed over the storm-bird, tore the fatal tablets from him, and brought him before Ea as a prisoner.[4] The sun of the complete day, the sun in the full possession of his strength, could alone win back the attributes of power



SHAMASH FIGHTS WITH ZU AND THE STORM BIRDS.[2]

[1] Literally, "Construct thy cities in the four regions of the world (cf. pp. 543, 544 of the present work), and thy cities will extend to the mountain of the earth." Anu would appear to have promised to Ramman a monopoly; if he wished to build cities which would recognize him as their patron, these cities will cover the entire earth.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin. from LAJARD, *Introduction à l'histoire du Culte public et des mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, pl. lxi., No. 7; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Sur la signification des sujets de quelques cylindres Babyloniens et Assyriens*, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1878, p. 254.

[3] J. E. HARPER, *Die Babylonischen Legenden*, etc., pp. 409, 410, ll. 26–52. The last lines are mutilated, and the meaning is therefore uncertain.

[4] Cf. MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pp. 107–110, for the meaning of the scenes engraved on the cylinders, which exhibit the bird Zu led as a prisoner before Ea.

which the morning sun had allowed himself to be despoiled of. From that time forth the privilege of delivering immortal decrees to mortals was never taken out of the hands of the gods of light.

Destinies once fixed on the earth became a law—"mamit"—a good or bad fate,[1] from which no one could escape, but of which any one might learn the disposition beforehand if he were capable of interpreting the formulas of it inscribed on the book of the sky. The stars, even those which were most distant from the earth, were not unconcerned in the events which took place upon it. They were so many living beings endowed with various characteristics, and their rays as they passed across the celestial spaces exercised from above an active control on everything they touched. Their influences became modified, increased or weakened according to the intensity with which they shed them, according to the respective places they occupied in the firmament, and according to the hour of the night and the month of the year in which they rose or set. Each division of time, each portion of space, each category of existences—and in each category each individual—was placed under their rule and was subject to their implacable tyranny. The infant was born their slave, and continued in this condition of slavery until his life's end: the star which was in the ascendant at the instant of his birth became his star, and ruled his destiny.[2] The Chaldæans, like the Egyptians, fancied they discerned in the points of light which illuminate the nightly sky, the outline of a great number of various figures—men, animals, monsters, real and imaginary objects, a lance, a bow, a fish, a scorpion, ears of wheat, a bull, and a lion.[3] The majority of these were spread out above their heads on the surface of the celestial vault; but twelve of these figures, distinguishable by their brilliancy, were arranged along the celestial horizon in the pathway of the sun, and watched over his daily course along the walls of the world. These divided this part of the sky into as many domains or "houses," in which they exercised absolute authority, and across which the god could not go without having previously obtained their consent, or having brought them into subjection beforehand. This arrangement is a reminiscence of the wars by which Bel-

[1] On "mamit," destiny, and the goddess personifying it in the Chaldæan Pantheon, see SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 305–309.

[2] The questions relating to the influence of the stars upon human destiny, in Chaldæan beliefs, were fully examined for the first time by FR. LENORMANT, *La Divination et la Science des présages chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 5–14, 37–47.

[3] The identification of the Chaldæan constellations with those of Græco-Roman or modern times has not yet been satisfactorily made out; the stars seem to have been grouped by them, as by the Egyptians, in a manner different from that which obtains to-day. Several of the results obtained by OPPERT (*Tablettes Assyriennes*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, vol. xviii. pp. 443–453) and by SAYCE (*Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 145–339) have been called in question by JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 42–57, whose conclusions, however, have not been accepted by other Assyriologists.

Merodach, the divine bull, the god of Babylon, had succeeded in bringing order out of chaos: he had not only killed Tiâmat, but he had overthrown and subjugated the monsters which led the armies of darkness. He meets afresh, every year and every day, on the confines of heaven and earth, the scorpion-men of his ancient enemy, the fish with heads of men or goats, and many more. The twelve constellations were combined into a zodiac, whose twelve signs, transmitted to the Greeks and modified by them, may still be read on our astronomical charts.[1] The constellations, immovable, or actuated by a slow motion, in longitude only, contain the problems of the future, but they are not sufficient of themselves alone to furnish man with the solution of these problems. The heavenly bodies capable of explaining them, the real interpreters of destiny,[2] were at first the two divinities who rule the empires of night and day—the moon and the sun; afterwards there took part in this work of explanation the five planets which we call Jupiter, Venus, Saturn,[3] Mars, and Mercury, or rather the five gods who actuate them, and who have controlled their course from the moment of creation—Merodach, Ishtar, Ninib, Nergal, and Nebo.[4] The planets seemed to traverse the heavens in every direction, to cross their own and each other's paths, and to approach the fixed stars or recede from them; and the species of rhythmical dance in which they are carried unceasingly across the celestial spaces revealed to men, if they examined it attentively, the irresistible march of their own destinies, as surely as if they had made themselves master of the fatal tablets of Shamash, and could spell them out line by line.

The Chaldæans were disposed to regard the planets as perverse sheep who

[1] The Chaldæan origin of the zodiac had been made as little as possible of by Letronne (*Sur l'origine du Zodiaque grec*, in the *Œuvres Choisies*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 458, et seq.), afterwards by Ideler (*Ueber den Ursprung des Thierkreises*, in the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin, 1838, pp. 1–24); their opinions ruled for a long time. The question was reopened by Lenormant (*Essai de Commentaire de Bérose*, pp. 229–233; *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 67–73; *Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. pp. 234–238, note), who has discovered the greater part of our zodiacal signs in Chaldæa. His demonstration was completed by Jensen (*Die Kosmologie*, pp. 67–95, 310–320, and *Ursprung des Thierkreises*, in the *Deutsche Revue*, June, 1890), and the ideograms for the signs were discovered by Epping (*Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 170, et seq.).

[2] Diodorus Sic., ii. 30: οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κοινῇ μὲν ἑρμηνεῖς ὀνομάζουσιν. According to Jensen, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 99, 100, the expression is of great antiquity; one of the Sumerian names of the planets is "kinmi," which is considered as signifying the "messenger," the "interpreter" of the gods.

[3] On the orthography of the name Kaimânu, and its application to Saturn, see Jensen, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 111–116; on the identity of Kaimânu and the Hebrew Chiun, see Oppert, *Tablettes Assyriennes*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 6th series, vol. xviii., 1871, p. 445.

[4] The names of the planets, like those of the stars, have furnished matter for numerous discussions. They have been investigated by several students—by Fr. Lenormant (*Essai de Commentaire de Bérose*, p. 105, and pp. 370–376 in notes), Oppert (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*), Sayce (*Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 167–172), Jensen (*Die Kosmologie*, pp. 95–133). The most probable identifications are those of Epping (*Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 7, et seq.) and Oppert (*Un Annuaire astronomique Babylonien*, extracted from the *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, and reproduced with modifications in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vi. pp. 110–112), with whom Jensen reluctantly agrees (*ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 125–129).

had escaped from the fold of the stars to wander wilfully in search of pasture.[1] At first they were considered to be so many sovereign deities, without other function than that of running through the heavens and furnishing there predictions of the future; afterwards two of them descended to the earth, and received upon it the homage of men[2]—Ishtar from the inhabitants of the city of Dilbat, and Nebo from those of Borsippa. Nebo[3] assumed the *rôle* of a soothsayer and a prophet. He knew and foresaw everything, and was ready to give his advice upon any subject: he was the inventor of the method of making clay tablets, and of writing upon them. Ishtar was a combination of contradictory characteristics.[4] In Southern Chaldæa she was worshipped under the name of Nanâ, the supreme mistress.[5] The identity of this lady of the gods, "Bêlit-ilânit," the Evening Star, with Anunit, the Morning Star, was at first ignored, and hence two distinct goddesses were formed from the twofold manifestation of a single deity: having at length discovered their error, the Chaldæans merged these two beings in one, and their names became merely two different designations for the same star under a twofold aspect. The double character, however, which had been attributed to them continued to be attached to the single personality. The Evening Star had symbolized the goddess of love, who attracted the sexes towards one another, and bound them together by the chain of desire; the Morning Star, on

ISHTAR AS A WARRIOR-GODDESS.[6]

[1] Their generic name, read as "lubat," in Sumero-Accadian, "bibbu" in Semitic speech (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire de Bérose*, pp. 370, 371), denoted a quadruped, the species of which Lenormant was not able to define; JENSEN (*Die Kosmologie*, pp. 95–99) identified it with the sheep and the ram. At the end of the account of the creation, Merodach-Jupiter is compared with a shepherd who feeds the flock of the gods on the pastures of heaven (cf. p. 545 of the present work).

[2] The site of Dilbat is unknown: it has been sought in the neighbourhood of Kishu and Babylon (DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 219); it is probable that it was in the suburbs of Sippara. The name given to the goddess was transcribed Δελεφάτ (HESYCHIUS, *sub voce*), and signifies the herald, the messenger of the day.

[3] The *rôle* of Nebo was determined by the early Assyriologists (RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 523–526; OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 257; LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire de Bérose*, pp. 114–116). He owed his functions partly to his alliance with other gods (SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 118, 119).

[4] See the chapter devoted by Sayce to the consideration of Ishtar in his *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (*IV. Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 221, et seq.), and the observations made by Jeremias on the subject in the sequel of his *Izdubar-Nimrod* (*Ishtar-Astarte im Izdubar-Epos*), pp. 56–66.

[5] With regard to Nanâ, consult, with reserve, FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire de Bérose*, pp. 100–103, 378, 379, where the identity of Ishtar and Nanâ is still unrecognized.

[6] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a heliogravure in MÉNANT'S *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pl. iv., No. 6.

the other hand, was regarded as the cold-blooded and cruel warrior who despised the pleasures of love and rejoiced in warfare: Ishtar thus combined in her person chastity and lasciviousness, kindness and ferocity, and a peaceful and warlike disposition, but this incongruity in her characteristics did not seem to disconcert the devotion of her worshippers. The three other planets would have had a wretched part to play in comparison with Nebo and Ishtar, if they had not been placed under new patronage. The secondary solar gods, Merodach, Ninib, and Nergal, led, if we examine their *rôle* carefully, but an incomplete existence: they were merely portions of the sun, while Shamash represented the entire orb. What became of them apart from the moment in the day and year in which they were actively engaged in their career? Where did they spend their nights, the hours during which Shamash had retired into the firmament, and lay hidden behind the mountains of the north? As in Egypt the Horuses identified at first with the sun became at length the rulers of the planets, so in Chaldæa the three suns of Ninib, Merodach, and Nergal became respectively assimilated to Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars;[1] and this identification was all the more easy in the case of Saturn, as he had been considered from the beginning as a bull belonging to Shamash.[2] Henceforward, therefore, there was a group of five powerful gods—distributed among the stars of heaven, and having abodes also in the cities of the earth—whose function it was to announce the destinies of the universe. Some, deceived by the size and brilliancy of Jupiter, gave the chief command to Merodach, and this opinion naturally found a welcome reception at Babylon, of which he was the feudal deity.[4] Others, taking into account only the preponderating influence exercised by the planets over the fortunes of men, accorded the primacy to Ninib, placing Merodach next, followed respectively by Ishtar, Nergal, and Nebo.[5] The five planets, like the six triads, were not long before they took to themselves consorts, if indeed they had not already been married

NEBO.[3]

[1] JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 139–141; Ishtar, Nebo, Sin, and Shamash being heavenly bodies, to begin with, and the other great gods, Anu, Bel, Ea, and Ramman having their stars in the heavens, the Chaldæans were led by analogy to ascribe to the gods which represented the phases of the sun, Merodach, Ninib, and Nergal, three stars befitting their importance, *i.e.* three planets.

[2] "Alap shamshi" in the astronomical tablets. Diodorus Siculus (ii. 30) shows that the Saturn of the Greeks was a sun in the eyes of the Babylonians: *ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κρόνον ὀνομαζόμενον ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ καὶ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα προσημαίνοντα καλοῦσιν Ἥλιον.*

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian statue in alabaster in the British Museum.

[4] This is the order followed in the lists transcribed by JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 100, 101, and confirmed by certain texts, with some variation in the positions assigned to some of the planets after Jupiter.

[5] This classification follows from the numerical powers assigned to the gods of the planets in tablet K 170 in the British Museum, which come in for treatment at pp. 673, 674 of the present work.

before they were brought together in a collective whole. Ninib chose for wife, in the first place, Bau, the daughter of Anu, the mistress of Uru, highly venerated from the most remote times;[1] afterwards Gula, the queen of physicians, whose wisdom alleviated the ills of humanity, and who was one of the goddesses sometimes placed in the harem of Shamash himself.[2] Merodach associated with him Zirbanit, the fruitful, who secures from generation to generation the permanence and increase of living beings.[3] Nergal distributed his favours sometimes to Laz,[4] and sometimes to Esharra, who was, like himself, warlike and always victorious in battle.[5] Nebo provided himself with a mate in Tashmit,[6] the great bride, or even in Ishtar herself.[7] But Ishtar could not be content with a single husband: after she had lost Dumuzi-Tammuz, the spouse of her youth, she gave herself freely to the impulses of her passions, distributing her favours to men as well as gods, and was sometimes subject to be repelled with contempt by the heroes upon whom she was inclined to bestow her love.[8] The five planets came thus to be actually ten, and advantage was taken of these alliances to weave fresh schemes of affiliation: Nebo was proclaimed to be the son of Merodach and Zirbanit,[9] Merodach the son of Ea,[10] and Ninib the offspring of Bel and Esharra.[11]

There were two councils, one consisting of twelve members, the other of

[1] Bau, read also "Gur," who occupies an important place in the Telloh inscriptions (AMIAUD, *Sirpourla*, pp. 17, 18), was at the beginning the mother of Ea, and a personification of the dark waters and chaos (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 379-382): it was not until late that it was determined to marry her to Ninib.

[2] Gula, "the great," must have been at the outset but a mere epithet applied to Bau, before she became an independent incarnate goddess (HOMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 381, note): her *rôle* and that of Bau run on parallel lines in the Babylonian texts (cf. JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 245, 246). Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 529, 530) recognizes in her the eternal fire, the vital as well as the hurtful heat, the fever which kills.

[3] The name of Zirbanit, Zirpanit, one of the Chaldæan deities whose importance was acknowledged by Assyriologists at an early date (OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 297; RAWLINSON, *On the Religion of the Babylonians*, etc., pp. 517, 518), signifies "she who produces seed," "who produces posterity." She appears to have been connected with a very ancient goddess, Gasmu, "the wise," who was either the wife or daughter of Ea, and who seems to have been considered at the beginning as lady and voice of the Ocean (SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 110-112).

[4] We know of Laz nothing more than the name: Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 225) suggests with hesitation that this goddess was of Cossæan origin.

[5] Esharra is in one aspect the earth (cf. pp. 645, 646 of the present volume), in another the goddess of war.

[6] Tashmit, whose name was at first read Urmit or Varamit (RAWLINSON, *Relig. of Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 525), is the goddess of letters, and always associated with Nebo in the formula at the end of each of the documents preserved in the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. She opened the eyes and ears of those who received instructions from her husband, or who read his books (SAYCE, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

[7] It was especially under the name of Nanâ that Ishtar was associated with Nebo in the temple of Borsippa (TIELE, *Bemerkungen ueber E-sagila*, etc., in the *Zeit. für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 185-187).

[8] Cf. pp. 579-581 of the present work, the adventure of Ishtar with Gilgames, in which the latter reproaches her for her long list of lovers.

[9] SAYCE, *op. cit.*, p. 112, et seq., explains very ingeniously the intimate relations between Merodach and Nebo, by the gradual absorption of Borsippa, of which city Nebo was the feudal deity, by Babylon.

[10] On the origin of this affiliation, see SAYCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 105, who attributes it to very ancient relations between the inhabitants of the two cities, possibly to a foundation made at Babylon by colonists from Eridu, the city of Ea, in Southern Chaldæa.

[11] JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 196, 197, 199.

ten; the former was composed of the most popular gods of Southern Chaldæa, representing the essential elements of the world, while the latter consisted of the great deities of Northern Chaldæa, whose function it was to regulate or make known the destinies of men. The authors of this system, who belonged to Southern Chaldæa, naturally gave the first position to their patron gods, and placed the twelve above the ten. It is well known that Orientals display a great respect for numbers, and attribute to them an almost irresistible power; we can thus understand how it was that the Chaldæans applied them to designate their divine masters, and we may calculate from these numbers the estimation in which each of these masters was held.[1] The goddesses had no value assigned to them in this celestial arithmetic, Ishtar excepted, who was not a mere duplication, more or less ingenious, of a previously existing deity, but possessed from the beginning an independent life, and could thus claim to be called goddess in her own right. The members of the two triads were arranged on a descending scale, Anu taking the highest place: the scale was considered to consist of a soss of sixty units in length, and each of the deities who followed Anu was placed ten of these units below his predecessor, Bel at 50 units, Ea at 40, Sin at 30, Shamash at 20, Ramman at 10 or 6.[2] The gods of the planets were not arranged in a regular series like those of the triads, but the numbers attached to them expressed their proportionate influence on terrestrial affairs: to Ninib was assigned the same number as had been given to Bel, 50, to Merodach perhaps 25, to Ishtar 15, to Nergal 12, and to Nebo 10. The various spirits were also fractionally estimated, but this as a class, and not as individuals:[3] the priests would not have known how to have solved the problem if they had been obliged to ascribe values to the infinity of existences.[4] As the Heliopolitans were obliged to eliminate from the Ennead many feudal divinities, so the Chaldæans had left out of account many of their sovereign deities, especially goddesses, Bau of Uru, Nanâ of Uruk, and Allat; or if they did introduce them into their calculations, it was by a subterfuge, by identifying them with other goddesses, to whom places had been already assigned; Bau being thus coupled with Gula,

[1] The discovery of this fact is to be ascribed to Hincks (*On the Assyrian Mythology*, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiii. p. 405, et seq.), from the tablet K 170 in the British Museum (FR. LENORMANT, *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes*, No. 28, pp. 93, 94; FR. DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 1st edit., p. 39, B, No. 1).

[2] The number given by tablet K 170 is 6, and properly belongs to Ramman; the number 10 is really to be ascribed to the god of fire, Nusku, who is sometimes confounded with Ramman.

[3] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie*, etc., pp. 24, 25.

[4] As far as we can at present determine, the most ancient series established was that of the planetary gods, whose values, following each other irregularly, are not calculated on a scheme of mathematical progression, but according to the empirical importance, which a study of predictions had ascribed to each planet. The regular series, that of the great gods, bears in its regularity the stamp of its later introduction; it was instituted after the example of the former, but with corrections of what seemed capricious, and fixing the interval between the gods always at the same figure.

Nanâ with Ishtar, and Allat with Ninlil-Beltis. If figures had been assigned to the latter proportionate to the importance of the parts they played, and the number of their votaries, how comes it that they were excluded from the cycle of the great gods? They were actually placed alongside rather than below the two councils, and without insistence upon the rank which they enjoyed in the hierarchy. But the confusion which soon arose among divinities of identical or analogous nature opened the way for inserting all the neglected personalities in the framework already prepared for them. A sky-god, like Dagan, would mingle naturally with Anu, and enjoy like honours with him.[1] The gods of all ranks associated with the sun or fire, Nusku,[2] Gibil,[3] and Dumuzi, who had not been at first received among the privileged group, obtained a place there by virtue of their assimilation to Shamash, and his secondary forms, Bel-Merodach, Ninib, and Nergal. Ishtar absorbed all her companions, and her name put in the plural, Ishtarati, "the Ishtars," embraced all goddesses in general, just as the name Ilâni took in all the gods.[4] Thanks to this compromise, the system flourished, and was widely accepted: local vanity was always able to find a means for placing in a prominent place within it the feudal deity, and for reconciling his pretensions to the highest rank with the order of precedence laid down by the theologians of Uruk. The local god was always the king of the gods, the father of the gods, he who was worshipped above the others in everyday life, and whose public cult constituted the religion of the State or city.

The temples were miniature reproductions of the arrangement of the universe.[5] The "ziggurat" represented in its form the mountain of the world,

[1] The god whose name is written with two ideograms which can be read "Dagan," though the pronunciation of the word is not quite certain, was identified by early Assyriologists with the Dagon of the Philistines (HINCKS, *On Assyr. Mythology*, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiii. pp. 409, 410; OPPERT, *Expéd. en Mésopot.*, vol. ii. p. 264; FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire*, pp. 66–68), and pointed out as the Bel-Dagan in opposition to the Bel-Merodach. This opinion prevailed for a long time (MÉNANT, *Le Mythe de Dagon*, in the *Revue de l'Hist. des Relig.*, vol. xi. pp. 295–301, and *Recherches sur la Glyptique*, vol. ii. pp. 49–54), and made Dagan the fish-god, the god of fecundity. Jensen (*Die Kosmologie*, pp. 449–456) has shown that he is a sky-god in origin, a secondary form of Anu, and consequently of the astrological Bel, considered as possessing a constellation in the sky.

[2] Nusku has been identified with Gibil, the fire-god, by certain texts which put both of them in connection with Nebo. Nusku, according to Sayce (*Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 118, 119), was originally the god of the dawn, who became later the midday sun, the sun of the zenith (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 33). In magical conjurations he plays the subordinate part of "messenger of the gods," and is there associated usually with Bel (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 5, col. ii. ll. 32–51).

[3] Gibil, Gibir, is the fire-god and flame-god (FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 169, et seq., in which the name is given as *bil-gi*; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 390–393), absorbed later by the sun (SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 179–182).

[4] For example, in the "Fasti" of Sargon (l. 176) the scribe writes *ilani u ishtarati ashibbuti Ashshur*, "the gods and the Ishtars who inhabit Assyria."

[5] This idea, analogous to that which had determined the distribution of the Egyptian temples, arose from the form of the mountain which the Chaldæans gave to their temples (FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire*, etc., p. 358, et seq.; *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. p. 123, et seq.), and from the name "Ekur," a common designation of temples and the earth (JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*,

and the halls ranged at its feet resembled approximately the accessory parts of the world: the temple of Merodach at Babylon comprised them all up to the chambers of fate, where the sun received every morning the tablets of destiny.[1] The name often indicated the nature of the patron deity or one of his attributes: the temple of Shamash at Larsam, for instance, was called E-Babbara, "the house of the sun," and that of Nebo at Borsippa, E-Zida, "the eternal house." No matter where the sanctuary of a specific god might be placed, it always bore the same name; Shamash, for example, dwelt at Sippara as at Larsam in an E-Babbara. In Chaldæa as in Egypt the king or chief of the State was the priest *par excellence*, and the title of "vicegerent," so frequent in the early period, shows that the chief was regarded as representing the divinity among his own people;[2] but a priestly body, partly hereditary, partly selected, fulfilled for him his daily sacerdotal functions, and secured the regularity of the services. A chief priest—"ishshakku"—was at their head, and his principal duty was the pouring out of the libation. Each temple had its "ishshakku," but he who presided over the worship of the feudal deity took precedence of all the others in the city, as in the case of the chief priests of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, of Sin at Uru, and of Shamash at Larsam or Sippara.[3] He presided over various categories of priests and priestesses whose titles and positions in the hierarchy are not well known. The "sangutu" appear to have occupied after him the most important place, as chamberlains attached to the house of the god, and as his liegemen. To some of these was entrusted the management of the harem of the god, while others were overseers of the remaining departments of his palace.[4] The "kîpu" and the "shatammu" were especially charged with the management of his financial interests, while the "pashishu" anointed with holy and perfumed oil his statues of stone, metal, or wood, the votive stelæ set up in the chapels, and the objects used in worship and sacrifice, such as the great basins, the "seas" of copper which contained the water employed in the ritual ablutions,[5]

pp. 185–195): the form of a mountain which the "ziggurat" assumed reminded the Chaldæans of the terrestrial mountain, with its zones or superimposed stories (cf. p. 543 of the present work).

[1] This hall was described by Nebuchadrezzar II. (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 54, col. ii. ll. 54–65) and by Neriglissor (*ibid.*, vol. i. pl. 67, ll. 33–37), in passages of which the real meaning was discovered by JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 85, 86, 237, 238.

[2] See p. 604 of the present work for what has been said about "vicegerent."

[3] The titles "ishshaku," "nishakku," which answer to the terms "patisi" and "nues" of the non-Semitic languages of Chaldæa, appear to come from the root "nashaku," to pour out a libation (SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 60, n. 1). The chief of ishshakus was called *ishshaku ziru*, chief high priest.

[4] The "sangu" (plur. *sangutu*) is he who is "bound" to the god (SAYCE, *op. cit.*, p. 61); kings were accustomed to assume the title, *e.g.* Ashshurishîshî (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 3, No. 6, ll. 1, 8. 9) and Kurigalzu (*ibid.*, vol. i. pl. 4, No. xiv. ll. 1, 2, 3). Tiele (*Babyl.-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 546, 547) thinks that the "sangu" belonged to the same class as the "ishshakku."

[5] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2, No. 3; cf. Y. LE GAC, *Ur-Bau, patèsi de Lagashu*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. vii. p. 150. Compare the "brasen sea" of the temple of Jerusalem (2 *Kings* xxv. 13; *Jer.* iii. 17); the Babylonian term is "apsu," which is also used to

and the victims led to the altar.[1] After these came a host of officials, butchers and their assistants, soothsayers, augurs, prophets,—in fact, all the attendants that the complicated rites, as numerous in Chaldæa as in Egypt,[2] required, not to speak of the bands of women and men who honoured the god in meretricious rites.[3] Occupation for this motley crowd was never lacking. Every day and almost every hour a fresh ceremony required the services of one or other member of the staff, from the monarch himself, or his deputy in the temple, down to the lowest sacristan. The 12th of the month Elul was set apart at Babylon for the worship of Bel and Beltis: the sovereign made a donation to them according as he was disposed, and then celebrated before them the customary sacrifices, and if he raised his hand to plead for any favour, he obtained it without fail. The 13th was dedicated to the moon, the supreme god; the 14th to Beltis and Nergal; the 15th to Shamash; the 16th was a fast in honour of Merodach and Zirbanit; the 17th was the annual festival of Nebo and Tashmit; the 18th was devoted to the laudation of Sin and Shamash; while the 19th was a "white day" for the great goddess Gula.[4] The whole year was taken up in a way similar to this casual specimen from the calendar. The kings, in founding a temple, not only bestowed upon it the objects and furniture required for present exigencies, such as lambs and oxen, birds, fish, bread, liquors, incense, and odoriferous essences; they assigned to it an annual income from the treasury, slaves, and cultivated lands; and their royal successors were accustomed to renew these gifts or increase them on every opportunity.[5] Every victorious campaign brought him his share in the spoils and captives; every fortunate or unfortunate event which occurred in connection with the State or royal family meant an increase in the gifts to the god, as an act of thanksgiving on the one hand for the divine favour, or as

denote the abyss of the primordial waters. One text (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 23, No. 1), which Lenormant had interpreted as describing a descent of Ishtar to the lower regions (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 157–160), deals in fact with the setting up of a "brasen sea" upheld by bronze oxen (SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, p. 63, n. 3).

[1] SAYCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–63.

[2] For the service of the Egyptian temples, see p. 125 of the present work.

[3] On the priestesses of Ishtar at Uruk, and on the name given to them, cf. JEREMIAS, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pp. 59, 60. It will be remembered that it was through the seductions of one of these that Gilgames got a hold over Eabani (see pp. 577–579 of the present volume). Besides these priestesses of Ishtar we know of those of Anu and their male companions (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. ii. pl. 17, col. i. ll. 11, 12).

[4] The tablet from which this information is taken contains daily prescriptions for a supplementary month of the Chaldæan year—the 2nd Elul—which were part of a complete calendar (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pls. 32, 33; cf. SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 69–77).

[5] The most ancient instances of these donations are furnished by inscriptions of the sovereigns of Lagash. Urninâ (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 21, col. iii. ll. 7–10; cf. AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 65, and *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xxix.), Gudea (*Insc. de la Statue E*; cf. AMIAUD, *The Insc. of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 94–96, and *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. xxi.-xxii., and *Inscription de la Statue G*, col. iii.–vi., in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 13, 3; cf. AMIAUD, *Insc. of Telloh*, pp. 101, 102, and *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 30, 31).

an offering on the other to appease the wrath of the god. Gold, silver, copper, lapis-lazuli, gems and precious woods, accumulated in the sacred treasury; fields were added to fields, flocks to flocks, slaves to slaves; and the result of such increase would in a few generations have made the possessions of the god equal to those of the reigning sovereign, if the attacks of neighbouring peoples had not from time to time issued in the loss of a part of it, or if the king himself had not, under financial pressure, replenished his treasury at the expense of the priests. To prevent such usurpations as far as possible, maledictions were hurled at every one who should dare to lay a sacrilegious hand on the least object belonging to the divine domain; it was predicted of such "that he would be killed like an ox in the midst of his prosperity, and slaughtered like a wild urus in the fulness of his strength! . . . May his name be effaced from his stelæ in the temple of his god! May his god see pitilessly the disaster of his country, may the god ravage his land with the waters of heaven, ravage it with the waters of the earth. May he be pursued as a nameless wretch, and his seed fall under servitude! May this man, like every one who acts adversely to his master, find nowhere a refuge, afar off, under the vault of the skies or in any abode of man whatsoever."[1] These threats, terrible as they were, did not succeed in deterring the daring, and the mighty men of the time were willing to brave them, when their interests prompted them. Gulkishar, Lord of the "land of the sea," had vowed a wheat-field to Ninâ, his lady, near the town of Deri, on the Tigris. Seven hundred years later, in the reign of Belnadinabal, Ekarrakaîs, governor of Bîtsinmagir, took possession of it, and added it to the provincial possessions, contrary to all equity. The priest of the goddess appealed to the king, and prostrating himself before the throne with many prayers and mystic formulas, begged for the restitution of the alienated land. Belnadinabal acceded to the request, and renewed the imprecations which had been inserted on the original deed of gift: "If ever, in the course of days, the man of law, or the governor of a suzerain who will superintend the town of Bîtsinmagir, fears the vengeance of the god Zikum or the goddess Ninâ, may then Zikum and Ninâ, the mistress of the goddesses, come to him with the benediction of the prince of the gods; may they grant to him the destiny of a happy life, and may they accord to him days of old age, and years of uprightness! But as for thee, who hast a mind to change this, step not across its limits,

[1] Inscription of the *Statue B de Gudea*, in the Louvre, in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pls. 16, 17, 19, col. ix. ll. 6–9, 15–26; see AMIAUD'S translation, *The Inscription of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 86, 87, and his *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xv.; JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statdhalter von Lagasch*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pl. 1, pp. 46–49.

do not covet the land: hate evil and love justice."[1] If all sovereigns were not so accommodating in their benevolence as Belnadinabal, the piety of private individuals, stimulated by fear, would be enough to repair the loss, and frequent legacies would soon make up for the detriment caused to the temple possessions by the enemy's sword or the rapacity of an unscrupulous lord. The residue, after the vicissitudes of revolutions, was increased and diminished from time to time, to form at length in the city an indestructible fief whose administration was a function of the chief priest for life, and whose revenue furnished means in abundance for the personal exigencies of the gods as well as the support of his ministers.

This was nothing more than justice would prescribe. A loyal and universal faith would not only acknowledge the whole world to be the creation of the gods, but also their inalienable domain. It belonged to them at the beginning; every one in the State of which the god was the sovereign lord, all those, whether nobles or serfs, vicegerents or kings, who claimed to have any possession in it, were but ephemeral lease-holders of portions of which they fancied themselves the owners. Donations to the temples were, therefore, nothing more than voluntary restitutions, which the gods consented to accept graciously, deigning to be well pleased with the givers, when, after all, thay might have considered the gifts as merely displays of strict honesty, which merited neither recognition nor thanks. They allowed, however, the best part of their patrimony to remain in the hands of strangers, and they contented themselves with what the pretended generosity of the faithful might see fit to assign to them. Of their lands, some were directly cultivated by the priests themselves; others were leased to lay people of every rank, who took off the shoulders of the priesthood all the burden of managing them, while rendering at the same time the profit that accrued from them; others were let at a fixed rent according to contract. The tribute of dates, corn, and fruit, which was rendered to the temples to celebrate certain commemorative ceremonies in the honour of this or that deity, were fixed charges upon certain lands, which at length usually fell entirely into the hands of the priesthood as mortmain possessions. These were the sources of the fixed revenues of the gods, by means of which they and their people were able to live, if not luxuriously, at least in a manner befitting their dignity. The offerings and sacrifices were a kind of windfall, of which the quantity varied strangely with the seasons; at certain times few were received, while at other times there was a superabundance. The

[1] HILPRECHT, *Babyl. Exped. of Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. pls. 30, 31, and *Assyriaca*, vol. i. pp. 1-58; OPPERT, *Le Champ sacré de la déesse Ninâ*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1893, vol. xxi. pp. 326–344; and *La Fondation consacrée à la déesse Ninâ*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. viii. pp. 360–374.

greatest portion of them was consumed on the spot by the officials of the sanctuary; the part which could be preserved without injury was added to the produce of the domain, and constituted a kind of reserve for a rainy day, or was used to produce more of its kind. The priests made great profit out of corn and metals, and the skill with which they conducted commercial operations in silver was so notorious that no private person hesitated to entrust them with the management of his capital: they were the intermediaries between lenders and borrowers, and the commissions which they obtained in these transactions was not the smallest or the least certain of their profits. They maintained troops of slaves, labourers, gardeners, workmen, and even women-singers and sacred courtesans of which mention has been made above,[1] all of whom either worked directly for them in their several trades, or were let out to those who needed their services. The god was not only the greatest cultivator in the State after the king, sometimes even excelling him in this respect, but he was also the most active manufacturer, and many of the utensils in daily use, as well as articles of luxury, proceeded from his workshops. His possessions secured for him a paramount authority in the city, and also an influence in the councils of the king: the priests who represented him on earth thus became mixed up in State affairs, and exercised authority on his behalf in the same measure as the officers of the crown.[2]

He had, indeed, as much need of riches and renown as the least of his clients. As he was subject to all human failings, and experienced all the appetites of mankind, he had to be nourished, clothed, and amused, and this could be done only at great expense. The stone or wooden statues erected to him in the sanctuaries furnished him with bodies, which he animated with his breath, and accredited to his clients as the receivers of all things needful to him in his mysterious kingdom.[3] The images of the gods were clothed in vestments, they were anointed with odoriferous oils, covered with jewels, served with food and drink; and during these operations the divinities themselves, above in the heaven, or down in the abyss, or in the bosom of the earth, were arrayed in garments, their bodies were perfumed with unguents, and their appetites fully

[1] See, for the different classes of the servants of the gods, p. 577, note 4, of the present work.

[2] See, for everything bearing on the domain of the temples, and the sacerdotal administration of it, the carefully studied article by PEISER, *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums*, pp. xvii.–xxix.; on the financial functions of priests and priestesses, see MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 8.

[3] LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 46, 47; J. C. BALL, *Glimpses of Babylonian Religion*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. pp. 153–162. The theory of Chaldæan animated and prophetic statues, as we might expect, is identical with the Egyptian, which I have briefly described on pp. 119, 120 of the present work.

satisfied: all that was further required for this purpose was the offering of sacrifices together with prayers and prescribed rites. The priest began by solemnly inviting the gods to the feast: as soon as they sniffed from afar the smell of the good cheer that awaited them, they ran "like a swarm of flies" and prepared themselves to partake of it.[1] The supplications having been heard, water was brought to the gods for the necessary ablutions before a repast.[2] "Wash thy hands, cleanse thy hands,—may the gods thy brothers wash their hands!—From a clean dish eat a pure repast,—from a clean cup drink pure water." The statue, from the rigidity of the material out of which it was carved, was at a loss how to profit by the exquisite things which had been lavished upon it: the difficulty was removed by the opening of its mouth at the moment of consecration, thus enabling it to partake of the good fare to its satisfaction.[4] The banquet lasted a long time, and consisted of every delicacy which the culinary skill of the time could prepare: the courses consisted of dates, wheaten flour, honey, butter, various kinds of wines, and fruits, together with roast and boiled meats. In the most ancient times it would appear that even human sacrifices were offered, but this custom was obsolete except on rare occasions, and lambs, oxen, sometimes swine's flesh, formed the

A VOTARY LED TO THE GOD TO RECEIVE THE REWARD OF THE SACRIFICE.[3]

[1] This is the simile used by the author of the poem of Gilgames to express the eagerness of the gods at the moment of Shamashuapishtim's sacrifice (see p. 570 of the present work).

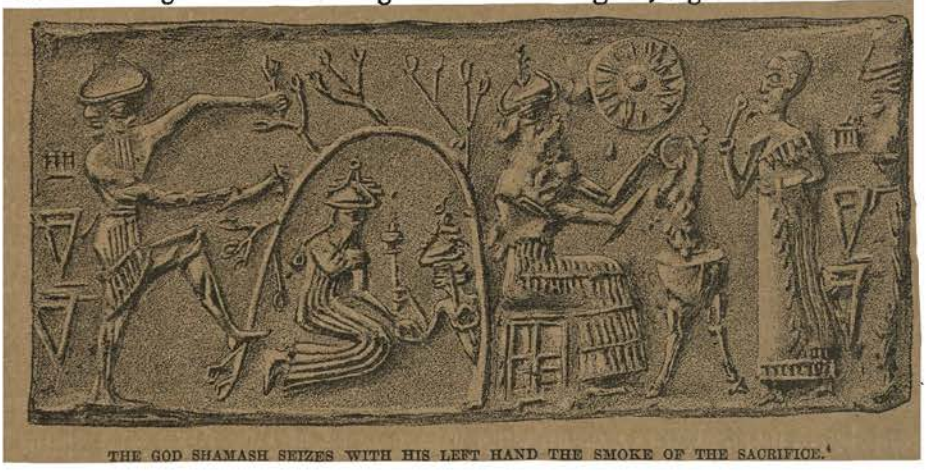
[2] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 13, No. 2, ll. 1–5; translated by LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 47; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 414; SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, p. 487; J. C. BALL, *Glimpses of Babylonian Religion*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. pp. 155, 156.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio in the Berlin Museum, reproduced in heliogravure by MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pl. iv., No. 1.

[4] This operation, which was also resorted to in Egypt in the case of the statues of the gods and deceased persons, is clearly indicated in a text of the second Chaldæan empire published in *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 25. The priest who consecrates an image makes clear in the first place (col. iii. ll. 15, 16) that "its mouth not being open it can partake of no refreshment: it neither eats food nor drinks water." Thereupon he performs certain rites, which he declares were celebrated, if not at that moment, at least for the first time by Ea himself: "Ea has brought thee to thy glorious place,—to thy glorious place he has brought thee,—brought thee with his splendid hand,—brought also butter and honey;—*he has poured consecrated water into thy mouth,—and by magic has opened thy mouth*" (col. iv. ll. 49, 50). Henceforward the statue can eat and drink like an ordinary living being the meat and beverages offered to it during the sacrifice (J. C. BALL, *Glimpses*, etc., in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. pp. 160, 161).

usual elements of the sacrifice.[1] The gods seized as it arose from the altar the unctuous smoke, and fed on it with delight. When they had finished their repast, the supplication of a favour was adroitly added, to which they gave a favourable hearing.[2] Services were frequent in the temples: there was one in the morning and another in the evening on ordinary days, in addition to those which private individuals might require at any hour of the day. The festivals assigned to the local god and his colleagues, together with the acts

THE SACRIFICE: A GOAT PRESENTED TO ISHTAR.[3]



THE GOD SHAMASH SEIZES WITH HIS LEFT HAND THE SMOKE OF THE SACRIFICE.[4]

of praise in which the whole nation joined, such as that of the New Year, required an abundance of extravagant sacrifices, in which the blood of the

[1] The evidence for the existence of human sacrifices was first pointed out, as far as I am aware, by FR. LENORMANT, *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 196–198 (cf. *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 112, 113), afterwards by SAYCE, *On Human Sacrifices among the Babylonians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. pp. 25–31; there are perhaps representations of these in MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique*, vol. i. p. 152, fig. 95 (cf. *Catalogue de la Collection de Clercq*, vol. i., Introduction, p. 18, pl. vii., Nos. 20, 30 *bis*, pl. xviii., No. 167, pl. xix., Nos. 176–182). The existence of such sacrifices has been insisted on by SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, pp. 78, 83, 84; by TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 548; and by J. C. BALL, *Glimpses*, etc., in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, 1891–92, vol. xiv. pp. 149–153.

[2] Cf. the invocation, for instance, published by RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 17, and translated by LENORMANT, *La Magie*, p. 46, and *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 143, 144: "O Sun, at the raising of my hands, come to the supplication,—eat his offering, consume his victim, strengthen his hand,—*and may he be delivered by thy order from his affliction, may his evil be done away*" (ll. 53–59).

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian intaglio illustrated in A. RICH, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811*, pl. x., No. 10 (cf. MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique*, vol. i. pp. 163, 164). The sacrifice of the goat, or rather its presentation to the god, is not infrequently represented on the Assyrian bas-reliefs; for examples, see BOTTA, *Le Monument de Ninive*, vol. i. p. 43.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio pointed out by HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*

victims flowed like water. Days of sorrow and mourning alternated with these days of joy, during which the people and the magnates gave themselves up to severe fasting and acts of penitence.[1] The Chaldæans had a lively sense of human frailty, and of the risks entailed upon the sinner by disobedience to the gods. The dread of sinning haunted them during their whole life; they continually subjected the motives of their actions to a strict scrutiny, and once self-examination had revealed to them the shadow of an evil intent, they were accustomed to implore pardon for it in a humble manner. "Lord, my sins are many, great are my misdeeds!—O my god, my sins are many, great my misdeeds!—O my goddess, my sins are many, great my misdeeds!—I have committed faults and I knew them not; I have committed sin and I knew it not; I have fed upon misdeeds and I knew them not; I have walked in omissions and I knew them not.—The lord, in the anger of his heart, he has stricken me,—the god, in the wrath of his heart, has abandoned me,—Ishtar is enraged against me, and has treated me harshly!—I make an effort, and no one offers me a hand,—I weep, and no one comes to me,—I cry aloud, and no one hears me:—I sink under affliction, I am overwhelmed, I can no longer raise up my head,—I turn to my merciful god to call upon him, and I groan! . . . Lord, reject not thy servant,—and if he is hurled into the roaring waters, stretch to him thy hand;—the sins I have committed, have mercy upon them,—the misdeeds I have committed, scatter them to the winds—and my numerous faults, tear them to pieces like a garment."[2] Sin in the eyes of the Chaldæan was not, as with us, an infirmity of the soul; it assaulted the body like an actual virus, and the fear of physical suffering or death engendered by it, inspired these complaints with a note of sincerity which cannot be mistaken.[3]

Every individual is placed, from the moment of his birth, under the

en Chaldée, pl. 30 *bis*, 17 *b*; cf. HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'art*, vol. i. pp. 192, 193; the original is in the Louvre. The scene depicted behind Shamash deals with a legend still unknown. A goddess, pursued by a genius with a double face, has taken refuge under a tree, which bows down to protect her; while the monster endeavours to break down the obstacle branch by branch, a god rises from the stem and hands to the goddess a stone-headed mace to protect her against her enemy.

[1] On sin, and the feelings it inspired in the Chaldæans, see ZIMMERN, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*; also DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., pp. 38, 39; FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 146–163; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker*, pp. 315–322.

[2] *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 10, col. i. ll. 36–61, col. ii. ll. 1–6, 35–44. A verse of it has been translated by FOX TALBOT, *On the Religious Belief of the Assyrians*, in the *Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. ii. pp. 71, 72; SAYCE has translated the whole into English (*Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vii. p. 151, et seq.), FR. LENORMANT into French (*Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 148–152); DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER into German, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., pp. 38, 39; HOMMEL, in *Die Semitischen Völker*, p. 317; and lastly ZIMMERN, in *Die Babylonischen Busspsalmen*, p. 61, et seq.

[3] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 166, 167.

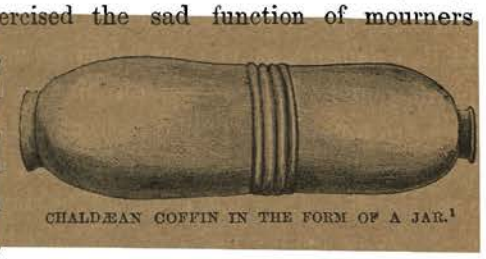
protection of a god and goddess, of whom he is the servant, or rather the son, and whom he never addresses otherwise than as his god and his goddess. These deities accompany him night and day, not so much to protect him from visible dangers, as to guard him from the invisible beings which ceaselessly hover round him, and attack him on every side.[1] If he is devout, piously disposed towards his divine patrons and the deities of his country, if he observes the prescribed rites, recites the prayers, performs the sacrifices—in a word, if he acts rightly—their aid is never lacking; they bestow upon him a numerous posterity, a happy old age, prolonged to the term fixed by fate, when he must resign himself to close his eyes for ever to the light of day. If, on the contrary, he is wicked, violent, one whose word cannot be trusted, "his god cuts him down like a reed," extirpates his race, shortens his days, delivers him over to demons who possess themselves of his body and afflict it with sicknesses before finally despatching him. Penitence is of avail against the evil of sin, and serves to re-establish a right course of life, but its efficacy is not permanent, and the moment at last arrives in which death, getting the upper hand, carries its victim away.[2] The Chaldæans had not such clear ideas as to what awaited them in the other world as the Egyptians possessed: whilst the tomb, the mummy, the perpetuity of the funereal revenues, and the safety of the double, were the engrossing subjects in Egypt, the Chaldæan texts are almost entirely silent as to the condition of the soul, and the living seem to have had no further concern about the dead than to get rid of them as quickly and as completely as possible. They did not believe that everything was over at the last breath, but they did not on that account think that the fate of that which survived was indissolubly associated with the perishable part, and that the disembodied soul was either annihilated or survived, according as the flesh in which it was sustained was annihilated or survived in the tomb. The soul was doubtless not utterly unconcerned about the fate of the *larva* it had quitted: its pains were intensified on being despoiled of its earthly case if the latter were mutilated, or left without sepulture, a prey to the fowls of the air.[3] This feeling, however, was not sufficiently developed to create a desire for escape from corruption entirely, and to cause a resort to the mummifying process of the Egyptians. The Chaldæans did not subject the body, therefore,

[1] FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 181–183, whose ideas on this subject have been adopted by all Assyriologists interested in the matter.

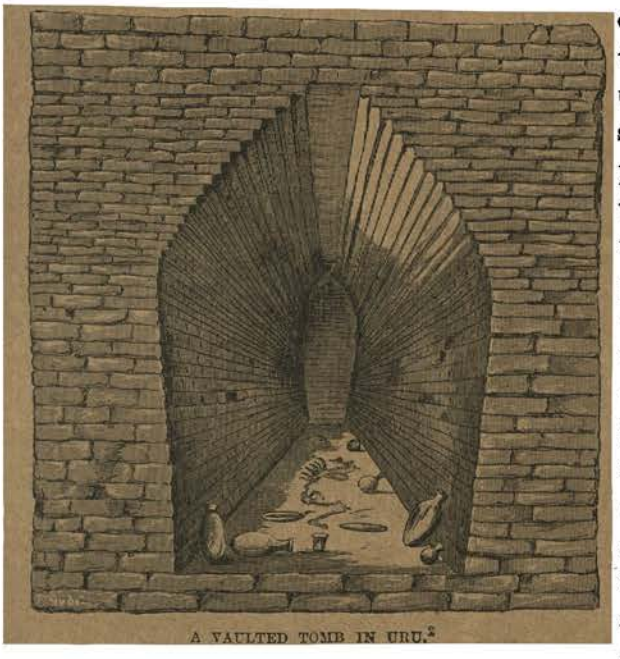
[2] A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 46–49, where are to be found gathered for the first time in a sufficiently complete manner all that the texts reveal on death and posthumous humanity.

[3] HALÉVY, *La Croyance à l'immortalité de l'âme chez les Chaldéens*, in the *Mélanges de Critique et d'Histoire*, p. 368; A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Darstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 54–57.

to those injections, to those prolonged baths in preserving fluids, to that laborious swaddling which rendered it indestructible; whilst the family wept and lamented, old women who exercised the sad function of mourners washed the dead body, perfumed it, clad it in its best apparel, painted its cheeks, blackened its eyelids, placed a collar on its neck, rings on its fingers, arranged its arms upon its breast, and stretched it on a bed, setting up at its head a little altar for the customary offerings of water, incense, and cakes. Evil spirits prowled incessantly around the dead bodies of the Chaldæans, either to feed upon them, or to use them in their sorcery: should they succeed in slipping into a corpse, from that moment it could be metamorphosed into a vampire, and return to the world to suck the blood of the living. The Chaldæans were, therefore, accustomed to invite by prayers beneficent genii and gods to watch over the dead. Two of these would take their invisible places at the head and foot of the bed, and wave their hands in the act of blessing: these were the vassals of Ea, and, like their master, were usually clad in fish-skins. Others placed themselves in the sepulchral chamber, and stood ready to strike any one who dared to enter: these had human figures, or lions' heads joined to the bodies of men. Others, moreover, hovered over the house in order to drive off the spectres who might endeavour to enter through the roof. During the last hours in which the dead body



CHALDÆAN COFFIN IN THE FORM OF A JAR.[1]

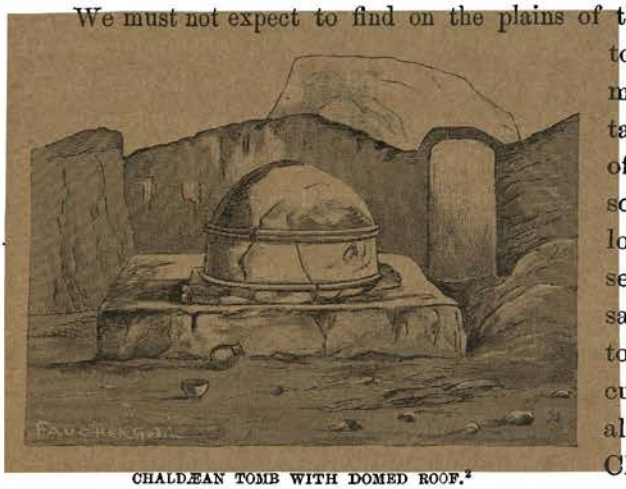


A VAULTED TOMB IN URU.[2]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Abu-Shahrein*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 414.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 273.

remained among its kindred, it reposed under the protection of a legion of gods.[1]



CHALDÆAN TOMB WITH DOMED ROOF.[2]

We must not expect to find on the plains of the Euphrates the rock-cut tombs, the mastabas or pyramids, of Egypt. No mountain chain ran on either side of the river, formed of rock soft enough to be cut and hollowed easily into chambers or sepulchral halls, and at the same time sufficiently hard to prevent the tunnels once cut from falling in. The alluvial soil upon which the Chaldæan cities were built, far from preserving the dead body, rapidly decomposed it under the influence of heat and moisture:[3] vaults constructed in it would soon be invaded by water in spite of masonry; paintings and sculpture would soon be eaten away by nitre, and the funereal furniture and the coffin quickly destroyed. The dwelling-house of the Chaldæan dead could not, therefore, properly be called, as those of Egypt, an "eternal house." It was constructed of dried or burnt brick, and its form varied much from the most ancient times. Sometimes it was a great vaulted chamber, the courses forming the

CHALDÆAN TOMB WITH FLAT ROOF.[4]

[1] This is what we see on the bronze bas-relief discovered by Peretié, a drawing of which was published by CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *L'Enfer Assyrien* (in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1879, vol. xxxviii. pl. 25), afterwards by PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 363, 364; cf. pp. 690, 691 of the present work.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 270.

[3] PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 347, et seq.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 270.

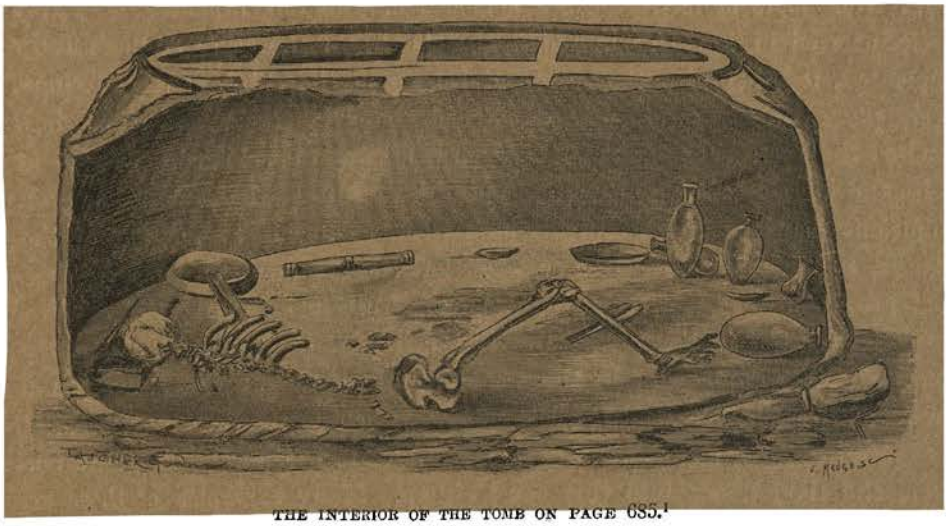
roof being arranged corbel-wise, and contained the remains of one or two bodies walled up within it.[1] At other times it consisted merely of an earthen jar, in which the corpse had been inserted in a bent-up posture, or was composed of two enormous cylindrical jars, which, when united and cemented with bitumen, formed a kind of barrel around the body.[2] Other tombs are represented by wretched structures, sometimes oval and sometimes round in shape, placed upon a brick base and covered by a flat or domed roof.[3] The interior was not of large dimensions, and to enter it was necessary to stoop to a creeping posture. The occupant of the smallest chambers was content to have with him his linen, his ornaments, some bronze arrowheads, and metal or clay vessels. Others contained furniture which, though not as complete as that found in Egyptian sepulchres, must have ministered to all the needs of the spirit. The body was stretched, fully clothed, upon a mat impregnated with bitumen, the head supported by a cushion or flat brick, the arms laid across the breast, and the shroud adjusted by bands to the loins and legs. Sometimes the corpse was placed on its left side, with the legs slightly bent, and the right hand, extending over the left shoulder, was inserted into a vase, as if to convey the contents to the mouth. Clay jars and dishes, arranged around the body, contained the food and drink required for the dead man's daily fare—his favourite wine, dates, fish, fowl, game, occasionally also a boar's head—and even stone representations of provisions, which, like those of Egypt, were lasting substitutes for the reality. The dead man required weapons also to enable him to protect his food-store, and his lance, javelins and baton of office were placed alongside him, together with a cylinder bearing his name, which he had employed as his seal in his lifetime. Beside the body of a woman or young girl was arranged an abundance of spare ornaments, flowers, scent-bottles, combs, cosmetic pencils, and cakes of the black paste with which they were accustomed to paint the eyebrows and the edges of the eyelids.[4]

[1] Vaulted chambers are confined chiefly to the ancient cemeteries of Uru at Mugheîr; they are rather over six to seven feet long, with a breadth of five and a half feet. The walls are not quite perpendicular, but are somewhat splayed up to two-thirds of their height, where they begin to narrow into the vaulted roof (TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 272, 273); cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 371, et seq.

[2] This kind of sepulchre is found both at Mugheîr and Tell-el-Lahm (TAYLOR, *Abu-Shahrein*, etc., in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. 413, 414); cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 371, 372. The jars have a small opening at one end to allow of the escape of the decomposing gases.

[3] TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 269. This kind of tomb is found at a considerable depth; at Mugheîr the majority of those discovered were six to eight feet below the surface (cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 372, 373).

[4] TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 271-274, 414, 415; and *Notes on Abu-Shahrein*, *ibid.*, p. 413.



THE INTERIOR OF THE TOMB ON PAGE 685.[1]

Cremation seems in many cases to have been preferred to burial in a tomb. The funeral pile was constructed at some distance from the town, on a specially reserved area in the middle of the marshes. The body, wrapped up in coarse matting, was placed upon a heap of reeds and rushes saturated with bitumen: a brick wall, coated with moist clay, was built around this to circumscribe the action of the flames, and, the customary prayers having been recited, the pile was set on fire, masses of fresh material, together with the funerary furniture and usual viaticum, being added to the pyre. When the work of cremation was considered to be complete, the fire was extinguished, and an examination made of the residue. It frequently happened that only the most accessible and most easily destroyed parts of the body had been attacked by the flames, and that there remained a black and disfigured mass which the fire had not consumed. The previously prepared coating of mud was then made to furnish a clay covering for the body, so as to conceal the sickening spectacle from the view of the relatives and spectators. Sometimes, however, the furnace accomplished its work satisfactorily, and there was nothing to be seen at the end but greasy ashes and scraps of calcined bones. The remains were frequently left where they were, and the funeral pile became their tomb. They were, however, often collected and disposed of in a manner which varied

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by Taylor (*Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 271). The object placed under the head of the skeleton is the dried brick mentioned in the text; the vessel to which the hand is stretched out was of copper; the other vessels were of earthenware, and contained water, or dates, of which the stones were found. The small cylinders on the side were of stone; the two large cylinders, between the copper vessel and those of earthenware, were pieces of bamboo, of whose use we are ignorant.

with their more or less complete combustion. Bodies insufficiently burnt were interred in graves, or in public chapels; while the ashes of those fully cremated, together with the scraps of bones and the *débris* of the offerings, were placed in long urns. The heat had contorted the weapons and half melted the vessels of copper; and the deceased was thus obliged to be content with the fragments only of the things provided for him. These were, however, sufficient for the purpose, and his possessions, once put to the test of the flames, now accompanied him whither he went: water alone was lacking, but provision was made for this by the construction on the spot of cisterns to collect it. For this purpose several cylinders of pottery, some twenty inches broad, were inserted in the ground one above the other from a depth of from ten to twelve feet, and the last cylinder, reaching the level of the ground, was provided with a narrow neck, through which the rain-water or infiltrations from the river flowed into this novel cistern. Many examples of these are found in one and the same chamber,[1] thus giving the soul an opportunity of finding water in one or other of them.[2] The tombs at Uruk, arranged closely together with coterminous walls, and gradually covered by the sand or by the accumulation and *débris* of new tombs, came at length to form an actual mound. In cities where space was less valuable, and where they were free to extend, the tombs quickly disappeared without leaving any vestiges above the surface, and it would now be necessary to turn up a great deal of rubbish before discovering their remains. The Chaldæa of to-day presents the singular aspect of a country almost without cemeteries, and one would be inclined to think that its ancient inhabitants had taken pains to hide them.[3] The sepulture of royal personages alone furnishes us with monuments of which we can determine the site. At Babylon these were found in the ancient palaces in which the living were no longer inclined to dwell: that of Shargina, for instance, furnished a burying-place for kings more than two thousand years after the death of its founder. The chronicles devoutly indicate the

[1] The German expedition of 1886–87 found four of these reservoirs in a single chamber, and nine distributed in the chambers of a house entirely devoted to the burial of the dead (R. KOLDEWEY, *Die Altbabylonischen Gräber*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 415).

[2] The mode of cremation, and the two cemeteries in Southern Chaldæa, where it was practised, were discovered by the German expedition referred to in the preceding note, and fully described by KOLDEWEY, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 403–430.

[3] Various explanations have been offered to account for this absence of tombs. Without mentioning the desperate attempt to get rid of the difficulty by the assumption that the dead bodies were cast into the river (PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. ii. p. 184), Loftus thinks that the Chaldæans and Assyrians were accustomed to send them to some sanctuary in Southern Chaldæa, especially to Uru and Uruk, whose vast cemeteries, he contends, would have absorbed during the centuries the greater part of the Euphratean population (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 198, et seq.); his opinion has been adopted by some historians (DELITZSCH-MÜRDTER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2nd edit., pp. 59, 60; E. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 181; and, as far only as the later period is concerned, by HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 210)

spot where each monarch, when his earthly reign was over,[1] found a last resting-place; and where, as the subject of a ceremonial worship similar to that of Egypt, his memory was preserved from the oblivion which had overtaken most of his illustrious subjects.[2]

The dead man, or rather that part of him which survived—his "ekimmu"[3]—dwelt in the tomb, and it was for his comfort that there were provided, at the time of sepulture or cremation, the provisions and clothing, the ornaments and weapons, of which he was considered to stand in need. Furnished with these necessities by his children and heirs, he preserved for the donors the same affection which he had felt for them in his lifetime, and gave evidence of it in every way he could, watching over their welfare, and protecting them from malign influences. If they abandoned or forgot him, he avenged himself for their neglect by returning to torment them in their homes, by letting sickness attack them, and by ruining them with his imprecations: he became thus no less hurtful than the "luminous ghost" of the Egyptians, and if he were accidentally deprived of sepulture, he would not be merely a plague to his relations, but a danger to the entire city.[4] The dead, who were unable to earn an honest living, showed little pity to those who were in the same position as themselves: when a new-comer arrived among them without prayers, libations, or offerings, they declined to receive him, and would not give him so much as a piece of bread out of their meagre store. The spirit of the unburied dead man, having neither place of repose nor means of subsistence, wandered through the town and country, occupied with no other thought than that of attacking and robbing the living.[5] He it was who, gliding into the house during the night, revealed himself to its inhabitants

[1] See on this subject the information contained in the fragment of the royal list discovered and published by G. SMITH, *On fragments of an Inscription giving part of the Chronology from which the Canon of Berosus was copied*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii, pp. 361–379. SAYCE, *Dynastic Tablets of the Babylonians* (*Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 21), translates by "In the palace of Sargon [his corpse] was burned . . . in the palace of Kar-Merodach [he was burned]," a passage which others refer to the record of interments.

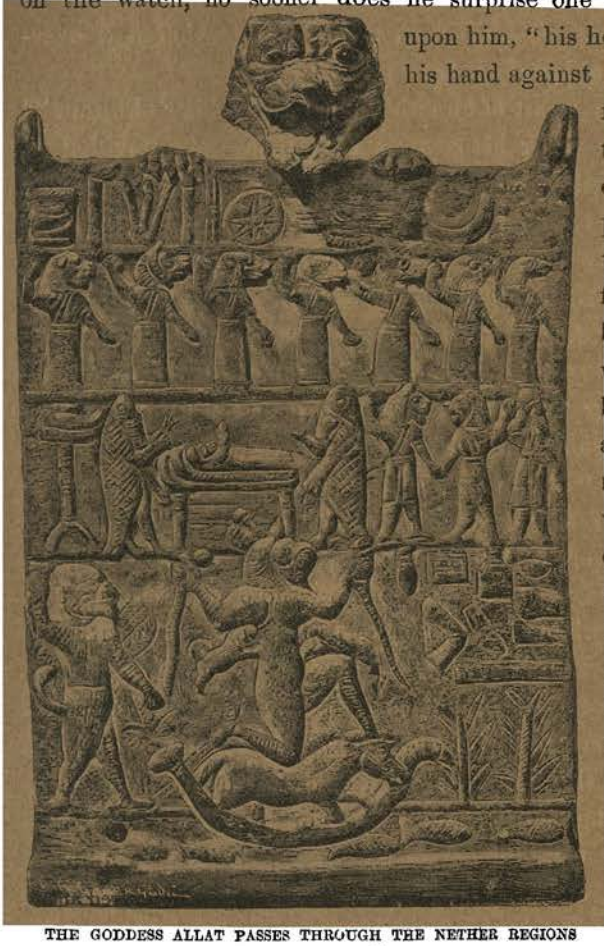
[2] AMIAUD, *Matériaux pour le Dict. Assyrien*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1881, vol. xviii. pp. 236, 237; in the text published by PINCHES, *Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-Writing, autographed from the Original Documents*, vol. i. p. 17, Assurbanipal is represented as clad in a torn garment, pouring out a libation to the *Manes* of the kings, his predecessors, and scattering on the occasion his favours upon gods and men, and upon the living and the dead.

[3] The meaning of the word "ekimmu," "ikimmu," after having been mistaken by the early Assyriologists, was rightly given by AMIAUD, *Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 7th series, 1881, vol. xviii. p. 237. It is equivalent to the "ka" of the Egyptians, and represents probably the same conception, although it is never seen represented like the "ka" on the monuments of various ages; cf. pp. 108, 109 of the present work.

[4] Among the evil beings against whom defence is needed by means of conjurations, appears "the man who has not been buried in the earth" (SAYCE, *Relig. of Anc. Babylonians*, p. 441).

[5] He then becomes "the ekimmu who attacks and lays hold of the living" (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 16, No. 2, l. 7, et seq.; HAUPT, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 82, ll. 7, 8). He must not be confounded with "the utukku of the tomb" (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. ii. pl. 17, col. i. l. 3); that is to say, with the evil spirit who "enters into the cavity of the tomb" (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. ii. pl. 18, col. iii. l. 25) or "into its vaulted chambers" (*ibid.*, l. 40).

with such a frightful visage as to drive them distracted with terror. Always on the watch, no sooner does he surprise one of his victims than he falls upon him, "his head against his victim's head, his hand against his hand, his foot against his foot."[1] He who has been thus attacked, whether man or beast, would undoubtedly perish if magic were not able to furnish its all-powerful defence against this deadly embrace.[2] This human survival, who is so forcibly represented both in his good and evil aspects, was nevertheless nothing more than a sort of vague and fluid existence—a double, in fact, analogous in appearance to that of the Egyptians. With the faculty of roaming at will through space, and of going forth from and returning to his abode, it was impossible to regard him as condemned always to dwell in the case of terra-cotta in which his body lay moldering: he was transferred, therefore, or rather he transferred himself, into the dark land—the Aralu—situated very far away—according to some, beneath the surface of the earth; according to others, in the eastern or northern extremities of the universe.[4] A river which opens into this region and separates it from the sunlit earth, finds its source in the primordial waters



THE GODDESS ALLAT PASSES THROUGH THE NETHER REGIONS IN HER BARK.[3]

[1] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. ii. pl. 17, col. iii. ll. 65–69; cf. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 8, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 182–185, vol. iii. p. 62; SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 446.

[2] The majority of the spells employed against sickness contain references to the spirits against which they contend—"the wicked ekimmu who oppresses men during the night" (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. v. pl. 50, col. i. l. 24; cf. SAYCE, *op. cit.*, p. 516), or simply "the wicked ekimmu," the ghost.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bronze plaque of which an engraving was published by Clermont-Ganneau. The original, which belonged to M. Péretié, is now in the collection of M. de Clercq.

[4] With regard to this dark country, see JEREMIAS, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 59–66, 75–80; and JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 215–234.

into whose bosom this world of ours is plunged.[1] This dark country is surrounded by seven high walls, and is approached through seven gates, each of which is guarded by a pitiless warder. Two deities rule within it—Nergal, "the lord of the great city," and Beltis-Allat, "the lady of the great land," whither everything which has breathed in this world descends after death. A legend relates that Allat, called in Sumerian Erishkigal, reigned alone in Hades, and was invited by the gods to a feast which they had prepared in heaven. Owing to her hatred of the light, she sent a refusal by her messenger Namtar, who acquitted himself on this mission with such a bad grace, that Anu and Ea were incensed against his mistress, and commissioned Nergal to descend and chastise her; he went, and finding the gates of hell open, dragged the queen by her hair from the throne, and was about to decapitate her, but she mollified him by her prayers, and saved her life by becoming his wife.[3] The nature of Nergal fitted him well to play the part of a prince of the departed: for he was the destroying sun of summer, and the genius of pestilence and battle. His functions, however, in heaven and earth took up so much of his time that he had little leisure to visit his nether kingdom, and he was consequently obliged to content himself with the *rôle* of providing subjects for it by despatching thither the thousands of recruits which he gathered daily from the abodes of men or from the field of

NERGAL, THE GOD OF HADES; BACK VIEW.[2]

[1] These are the "waters of death," mentioned at the end of the poem of Gilgames (cf. p. 585), and represented on one of the faces of the bronze plaque figured on the preceding page (690).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin. This is the back of the bronze plate represented on the preceding page; the animal-head of the god appears in relief at the top of the illustration.

[3] The text of this legend was found amongst the Tell el Amarna Tablets, and published in BEZOLD-BUDGE, *The Tell el Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, pp. lxxxv–lxxxvi, 140–141; it has been translated and commented upon by HALÉVY, *Le Rapt de Perséphoné ou Proserpine par Pluton chez les Babyloniens*, in the *Revue Sémitique*, vol. i. pp. 372–376.

battle. Allat was the actual sovereign of the country. She was represented with the body of a woman, ill-formed and shaggy, the grinning muzzle of a lion, and the claws of a bird of prey. She brandished in each hand a large serpent—a real animated javelin, whose poisonous bite inflicted a fatal wound upon the enemy. Her children were two lions, which she is represented as suckling, and she passed through her empire, not seated in the saddle, but standing upright or kneeling on the back of a horse, which seems oppressed by her weight. Sometimes she set out on an expedition upon the river which communicates with the countries of light, in order to meet the procession of newly arrived souls ceaselessly despatched to her: she embarked in this case upon an enchanted vessel, which made its way without sail or oars, its prow projecting like the beak of a bird, and its stern terminating in the head of an ox. She overcomes all resistance, and nothing can escape from her: the gods themselves can pass into her empire only on the condition of submitting to death like mortals, and of humbly avowing themselves her slaves.[1]

The warders at the gates despoiled the new-comers of everything which they had brought with them, and conducted them in a naked condition before Allat, who pronounced sentence upon them, and assigned to each his place in the nether world. The good or evil committed on earth by such souls was of little moment in determining the sentence: to secure the favour of the judge, it was of far greater importance to have exhibited devotion to the gods and to Allat herself, to have lavished sacrifices and offerings upon them and to have enriched their temples. The souls which could not justify themselves were subjected to horrible punishment: leprosy consumed them to the end of time, and the most painful maladies attacked them, to torture them ceaselessly without any hope of release. Those who were fortunate enough to be spared from her rage, dragged out a miserable and joyless existence. They were continually suffering from the pangs of thirst and hunger, and found nothing to satisfy their appetites but clay and dust. They shivered with cold, and they obtained no other garment to protect them than mantles of feathers—the great silent wings of the night-birds, invested with which they fluttered about and filled the air with their screams.[2] This gloomy and cruel conception of ordinary life in this strange kingdom was still worse than the idea formed of the existence in the tomb to which it succeeded. In the cemetery the soul was, at least, alone with the dead body; in the house of Allat, on the contrary, it was lost as it were among spirits as much afflicted as itself, and among the genii

[1] The names of the deities presiding over the nether world, their attributes, the classes of secondary genii attached to them, and the functions of each class, are all dealt with in A. JEREMIAS' excellent work, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 66–75. The form and attributes of Allat are described from her portrait on p. 690 of the present work.

[2] This is the description of the dead given in the first lines of the "Descent of Ishtar to the Infernal Regions," given on p. 693 of the present work; it is confirmed by the fragments of the last long of the poem of Gilgames, as given on pp. 588, 589 of this volume.

born of darkness. None of these genii had a simple form, or approached the human figure in shape; each individual was a hideous medley of human and animal parts, in which the most repellent features were artistically combined. Lions' heads stood out from the bodies of scorpion-tailed jackals, whose feet were armed with eagles' claws: and among such monsters the genii of pestilence, fever, and the south-west wind took the chief place. When once the dead had become naturalized among this terrible population, they could not escape from their condition, unless by the exceptional mandate of the gods above. They possessed no recollection of what they had done upon earth. Domestic affection, friendships, and the memory of good offices rendered to one another,—all were effaced from their minds: nothing remained there but an inexpressible regret at having been exiled from the world of light, and an excruciating desire to reach it once more. The threshold of Allat's palace stood upon a spring which had the property of restoring to life all who bathed in it or drank of its waters: they gushed forth as soon as the stone was raised, but the earth-spirits guarded it with a jealous care, and kept at a distance all who attempted to appropriate a drop of it. They permitted access to it only by order of Ea himself, or one of the supreme gods, and even then with a rebellious heart at seeing their prey escape them. Ancient legends related how the shepherd Dumuzi, son of Ea and Damkina, having excited the love of Ishtar while he was pasturing his flocks under the mysterious tree of Eridu, which covers the earth with its shade, was chosen by the goddess from among all others to be the spouse of her youth, and how, being mortally wounded by a wild boar, he was cast into the kingdom of Allat.[1] One means remained by which he might be restored to the light of day: his wounds must be washed in the waters of the wonderful spring, and Ishtar resolved to go in quest of this marvellous liquid.[2] The undertaking was fraught with danger, for no one might travel to the infernal regions without having previously gone through the extreme terrors of death, and even the gods themselves could not transgress this fatal law. "To the land without return, to the land which thou knowest—Ishtar, the daughter

[1] See pp. 647, 648 of the present volume for the legend of Dumuzi.

[2] The text of the "Descent of Ishtar to the Infernal Regions" was discovered by FOX TALBOT (*Trans. of Royal Soc. of Literature*, 2nd series, vol. viii. pp. 244–257; cf. *Journ. As. Soc.*, new series, vol. iv. pp. 25, 26, 27), afterwards published by FR. LENORMANT, *Tablette cunéiforme du Musée Britannique* (*K 162*), in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. pp. 31–35; translated by him in the *Essai de Commentaire, etc., de Bérose*, pp. 457–510 (cf. *Les Premières Civilisations*, vol. ii. pp. 81–93; *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes*, No. 30, pp. 100–105), afterwards by Fox Talbot himself (*The Legend of Ishtar descending to Hades*, in *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 179–212). Since then the majority of Assyriologists have bestowed pains on the interpretation of this poem: SCHRADER (*Die Höllenfahrt der Istar*, Giessen, 1874), OPPERT (*L'Immortalité de l'âme chez les Chaldéens*, in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 1874, vol. viii. pp. 210–233, and *Fragments Mythologiques*, in LEDRAIN, *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 461–469), A. JEREMIAS (*Die Höllenfahrt der Istar*, etc., 1889, reproduced in the beginning of *Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 4–45). I have followed almost exclusively the translation of A. Jeremias.

of Sin, turned her thoughts: she, the daughter of Sin, turned her thoughts—to the house of darkness, the abode of Irkalla—to the house from which he who enters can never emerge—to the path upon which he who goes shall never come back—to the house into which he who enters bids farewell to the light—the place where dust is nourishment and clay is food; the light is not seen, darkness is the dwelling, where the garments are the wings of birds—where dust accumulates on door and bolt." Ishtar arrives at the porch, she knocks at it, she addresses the guardian in an imperious voice: "'Guardian of the waters, open thy gate—open thy gate that I may enter, even I.—If thou openest not the door that I may enter, even I,—I will burst open the door, I will break the bars, I will break the threshold, I will burst in the panels, I will excite the dead that they may eat the living,—and the dead shall be more numerous than the living.'—The guardian opened his mouth and spake, he announced to the mighty Ishtar: 'Stop, O lady, and do not overturn the door until I go and apprise the Queen Allat of thy name.' Allat hesitates, and then gives him permission to receive the goddess: 'Go, guardian, open the gate to her—but treat her according to the ancient laws.'"

Mortals enter naked into the world, and naked must they leave it: and since Ishtar has decided to accept their lot, she too must be prepared to divest herself of her garments. "The guardian went, he opened his mouth: 'Enter, my lady, and may Kutha rejoice—may the palace and the land without return exult in thy presence!' He causes her to pass through the first gate, divests her, removes the great crown from her head:—'Why, guardian, dost thou remove the great crown from my head?'—'Enter, my lady, such is the law of Allat.' The second gate, he causes her to pass through it, he divests her—removes the rings from her ears:—'Why, guardian, dost thou remove the rings from my ears?'—'Enter, my lady, such is the law of Allat.'" And from gate to gate he removes some ornament from the distressed lady—now her necklace with its attached amulets, now the tunic which covers her bosom, now her enamelled girdle, her bracelets, and the rings on her ankles: and at length, at the seventh gate, takes from her her last covering. When she at length arrives in the presence of Allat, she throws herself upon her in order to wrest from her in a terrible struggle the life of Dumuzi; but Allat sends for Namtar, her messenger of misfortune, to punish the rebellious Ishtar. "Strike her eyes with the affliction of the eyes—strike her loins with the affliction of the loins—strike her feet with the affliction of the feet—strike her heart with the affliction of the heart—strike her head with the affliction of the head—strike violently at her, at her whole body!" While Ishtar was suffering the torments of the infernal regions, the world of the living was wearing mourning on account of her death. In the absence of the goddess of love, the rites of love could no

longer be performed. The passions of animals and men were suspended. If she did not return quickly to the daylight, the races of men and animals would become extinct, the earth would become a desert, and the gods would have neither votaries nor offerings. "Papsukal, the servant of the great gods, tore his face before Shamash—clothed in mourning, filled with sorrow. Shamash went —he wept in the presence of Sin, his father,—and his tears flowed in the presence of Ea, the king:—'Ishtar has gone down into the earth, and she has not come up again!—And ever since Ishtar has descended into the land without return . . . [the passions of men and beasts have been suspended] . . . the master goes to sleep while giving his command, the servant goes to sleep on his duty.'" The resurrection of the goddess is the only remedy for such ills, but this is dependent upon the resurrection of Dumuzi: Ishtar will never consent to reappear in the world, if she cannot bring back her husband with her. Ea, the supreme god, the infallible executor of the divine will—he who alone can modify the laws imposed upon creation—at length decides to accord to her what she desires. "Ea, in the wisdom of his heart, formed a male being,—formed Uddushunâmir, the servant of the gods:—'Go then, Uddushunâmir, turn thy face towards the gate of the land without return;

ISHTAR DESPOILED OF HER GARMENTS IN HADES.[1]

—the seven gates of the land without return—may they become open at thy presence—may Allat behold thee, and rejoice in thy presence!—When her heart shall be calm, and her wrath appeased, charm her in the name of the great gods—turn thy thoughts to the spring.'—'May the spring, my lady, give me of its waters that I may drink of them.'" Allat broke out into a terrible rage, when she saw herself obliged to yield to her rival; "she beat her sides, she gnawed her fingers," she broke out into curses against the messenger of misfortune. "'Thou hast expressed to me a wish which should not be made!—Fly, Uddushunâmir, or I will shut thee up in the great prison—the mud of the drains of the city shall be thy food—the gutters of the town shall be thy drink—the shadow of the walls shall be thy abode—the thresholds shall be thy habitation

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio in the Hague Museum (cf. MÉNANT, *Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux, etc., de la Haye*, pl. v., No. 26). On the naked figure of Ishtar, see the memoir of NICOLSKY, *La Déesse des Cylindres*, etc., in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1890, vol. xxx. pp. 36–43. Salomon Reinach has demonstrated that the naked figure is not the goddess herself, but a statue of the goddess which was adored in one of the temples.

—confinement and isolation shall weaken thy strength.'"[1] She is obliged to obey, notwithstanding; she calls her messenger Namtar and commands him to make all the preparations for resuscitating the goddess. It was necessary to break the threshold of the palace in order to get at the spring, and its waters would have their full effect only in presence of the Anunnas. "Namtar went, he rent open the eternal palace,—he twisted the uprights so that the stones of the threshold trembled;—he made the Anunnaki come forth, and seated them on thrones of gold,—he poured upon Ishtar the waters of life, and brought her away." She received again at each gate the articles of apparel she had abandoned in her passage across the seven circles of hell: as soon as she saw the daylight once more, it was revealed to her that the fate of her husband was henceforward in her own hands. Every year she must bathe him in pure water, and anoint him with the most precious perfumes, clothe him in a robe of mourning, and play to him sad airs upon a crystal flute, whilst her priestesses intoned their doleful chants, and tore their breasts in sorrow: his heart would then take fresh life, and his youth flourish once more, from springtime to springtime, as long as she should celebrate on his behalf the ceremonies already prescribed by the deities of the infernal world.

Dumuzi was a god, the lover, moreover, of a goddess, and the deity succeeded where mortals failed.[2] Ea, Nebo, Gula, Ishtar, and their fellows possessed, no doubt, the faculty of recalling the dead to life, but they rarely made use of it on behalf of their creatures, and their most pious votaries pleaded in vain from temple to temple for the resurrection of their dead friends; they could never obtain the favour which had been granted by Allat to Dumuzi. When the dead body was once placed in the tomb, it rose up no more, it could no more be reinstated in the place in the household it had lost, it never could begin once more a new earthly existence. The necromancers, indeed, might snatch away death's prey for a few moments. The earth gaped at the words of their invocations, the soul burst forth like a puff of wind and answered gloomily the questions proposed to it; but when the charm was once broken, it had to retrace its steps to the country without return, to be plunged once more in

[1] It follows from this passage that Ishtar could be delivered only at the cost of another life: it was for this reason, doubtless, that Ea, instead of sending the ordinary messenger of the gods, created a special messenger. Allat, furious at the insignificance of the victim sent to her, contents herself with threatening Uddushanâmir with an ignominious treatment if he does not escape as quickly as possible.

[2] Merodach is called "the merciful one who takes pleasure in raising the dead to life," and "the lord of the pure libation," the "merciful one who has power to give life" (A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstell. vom Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 101; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 296, 297). In Jeremias (*op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101) may be found the list of the gods who up to the present are known to have had the power to resuscitate the dead; it is probable that this power belonged to all the gods and goddesses of the first rank.

darkness.[1] This prospect of a dreary and joyless eternity was not so terrifying to the Chaldæans as it was to the Egyptians. The few years of their earthly existence were of far more concern to them than the endless ages which were to begin their monotonous course on the morrow of their funeral. The sum of good and evil fortune assigned to them by destiny they preferred to spend continuously in the light of day on the fair plains of the Euphrates and Tigris: if they were to economize during this period with the view of laying up a posthumous treasure of felicity, their store would have no current value beyond the tomb, and would thus become so much waste. The gods, therefore, whom they served faithfully would recoup them, here in their native city, with present prosperity, with health, riches, power, glory, and a numerous offspring, for the offerings of their devotion; while, if they irritated the deities by their shortcomings, they had nothing to expect but overwhelming calamities and sufferings. The gods would "cut them down like a reed," [3] and their "names would be annihilated, their seed destroyed;—they would end their days in affliction and hunger,—their dead bodies would be at the mercy of chance, and would receive no sepulture." [4] They were content to resign themselves, therefore, to the dreary lot of eternal misery which awaited them after death, provided they enjoyed in this world a long and prosperous existence.[5] Some of them felt and rebelled against the injustice of the idea, which assigned one and the same fate, without discrimination, to the coward and the hero killed on the battle-field, to the tyrant and the mild ruler of his people, to the wicked and

DUMUZI REJUVENATED ON THE KNEES OF ISHTAR.[2]

[1] See pp. 588, 589 of the present work for the offerings and sacrifices which Gilgames had to make from temple to temple before receiving the favour of a momentary glimpse of the shade of Eabani; on necromancy, see BOSCAWEN, *Notes on the Religion and Mythology of the Assyrians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. pp. 271, 278–286; FR. LENORMANT, *La Divination et la Science des présages chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 151–167; A. JEREMIAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–103.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio in MÉNANT'S *Catalogue de la Collection de M. de Clercq*, vol. i. pl. ix. No. 83; cf. HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 93.

[3] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 3, col. i. l. 3.

[4] This is the end of an inscription of Nabubaladin, King of Babylon in the IXth century B.C., published by RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. v. pl. 61, col. iv. ll. 50–55; cf. F. V. SCHEIL, *Inscription de Nabu-abil-iddin*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. p. 334; J. JEREMIAS, *Die Cultustafel von Sippar*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 277.

[5] On the beliefs of the Chaldæans and Assyrians relative to temporal rewards bestowed by the gods upon the faithful, with no security as to their continuance in the other world, see A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 46–49.

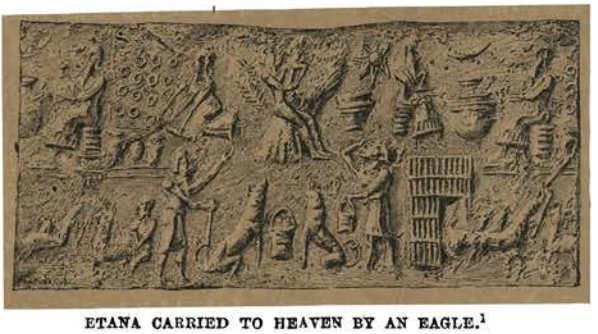
the righteous. These therefore supposed that the gods would make distinctions, that they would separate such heroes from the common herd, welcome them in a fertile, sunlit island, separated from the abode of men by the waters of death—the impassable river which leads to the house of Allat. The tree of life flourished there, the spring of life poured forth there its revivifying waters; thither Ea transferred Xisuthros after the Deluge; Gilgames saw the shores of this island and returned from it, strong and healthy as in the days of his youth. The site of this region of delights was at first placed in the centre of the marshes of the Euphrates, where this river flows into the sea; afterwards when the country became better known, it was transferred beyond the ocean.[1] In proportion as the limits of the Chaldæan horizon were thrust further and further away by mercantile or warlike expeditions, this mysterious island was placed more and more to the east, afterwards to the north, and at length at a distance so great that it tended to vanish altogether. As a final resource, the gods of heaven themselves became the hosts, and welcomed into their own kingdom the purified souls of the heroes.

These souls were not so securely isolated from humanity that the inhabitants of the world were not at times tempted to rejoin them before their last hour had come. Just as Gilgames had dared of old the dangers of the desert and the ocean in order to discover the island of Khasisadra, so Etana darted through the air in order to ascend to the sky of Anu, to become incorporated while still living in the choir of the blessed.[2] The legend gives an account of his friendship with the eagle of Shamash, and of the many favours he had obtained from and rendered to the bird. It happened at last, that his wife could not bring forth the son which lay in her womb; the hero, addressing himself to the eagle, asked from her the plant which alleviates the birth-pangs of women and facilitates their delivery. This was only to be found, however, in the heaven of Anu, and how could any one run the risk of mounting so high, without being destroyed on the way by the anger of the gods? The eagle takes pity upon the sorrow of his comrade, and resolves to attempt the enterprise with him. "'Friend,' she says, 'banish the cloud from thy face! Come, and I will carry thee to the heaven of the god Anu. Place thy breast against my breast—place thy two hands upon the pinions of my wings—place thy

[1] A. JEREMIAS, *Die Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstell. vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 81–99, and the criticisms of JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie*, pp. 212–214.

[2] The legend of Etana was discovered, and some fragments of it translated, by G. SMITH, *The Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, pp. 138–144. All that is known of it has been collected, published, translated, and commented upon by E. J. HARPER, *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana*, etc., in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 391–408, where will be found a summary of the analogies between this legend and others current in ancient and modern nations; then by MORRIS JASTROW, *A New Fragment of the Babylonian Etana Legend*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii., pp. 363–385, who disproved the arrangement of the fragments which had been adopted by Harper.

side against my side.' He places his breast against the breast of the eagle, he places his two hands upon the pinions of the wings, he places his side against her side;—he adjusts himself firmly, and his weight was great." The Chaldæan artists have more than once represented the departure of the hero. They exhibit him closely attached to the body of his ally, and holding her in a strong embrace. A first flight has already lifted them above the earth, and the shepherds scattered over the country are stupefied at the unaccustomed sight: one announces the prodigy to another, while their dogs seated at their feet extend their muzzles as if in the act of howling with terror. "For the space of a double hour the eagle bore him—then the eagle spake to him, to him Etana: 'Behold, my friend, the earth what it is; regard the sea which the ocean contains! See, the earth is no more than a mountain, and the sea is no more than a lake.' The space of a second double hour she bore him, then the eagle spake to him, to him Etana: 'Behold, my friend, the earth what it is; the sea appears as the girdle of the earth!' The space of a third double hour she bore him, then the eagle spake to him, to him Etana: 'See, my friend, the earth, what it is:—the sea is no more than the rivulet made by a gardener.'" They at length arrive at the heaven of Anu, and rest there for a moment. Etana sees around him nothing but empty space—no living thing within it—not even a bird: he is struck with terror, but the eagle reassures him, and tells him to proceed on his way to the heaven of Ishtar. "'Come, my friend, let me bear thee to Ishtar,—and I will place thee near Ishtar, the lady,—and at the feet of Ishtar, the lady, thou shalt throw thyself.—Place thy side against my side, place thy hands on the pinions of my wings.' The space of a double hour she bore him: 'Friend, behold the earth what it is.—The face of the earth stretches out quite flat—and the sea is no greater than a mere.' The space of a second double hour she bore him: 'Friend, behold the earth what it is,—the earth is no more than a square plot in a garden, and the great sea is not greater than a puddle of water.'" At the the third hour Etana lost courage, and cried, "Stop!" and the eagle immediately descended again; but, Etana's strength being exhausted, he let go his hold, and was dashed to pieces on the ground.



ETANA CARRIED TO HEAVEN BY AN EAGLE.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio, reproduced in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 30 *bis*, No. 13; cf. SCHEIL, *Note d'Epigraphie*, in the *Recueil*, vol. xix., p. 52.

The eagle escaped unhurt this time, but she soon suffered a more painful death than that of Etana. She was at war with the serpent, though the records which we as yet possess do not vouchsafe the reason, when she discovered in the roots of a tree the nest in which her enemy concealed its brood. She immediately proposed to her young ones to pounce down upon the growing snakes; one of her eaglets, wiser than the rest, reminded her that they were under the protection of Shamash, the great righter of wrongs, and cautioned her against any transgression of the divine laws. The old eagle felt herself wiser than her son, and rebuked him after the manner of wise mothers: she carried away the serpent's young, and gave them as food to her own brood. The hissing serpent crawled as far as Shamash, crying for vengeance: "The evil she has done me, Shamash—behold it! Come to my help, Shamash! thy net is as wide as the earth—thy snares reach to the distant mountain—who can escape thy net?—The criminal Zu,[1] Zu who was the first to act wickedly, did he escape it?" Shamash refused to interfere personally, but he pointed out to the serpent an artifice by which he might satisfy his vengeance as securely as if Shamash himself had accomplished it. "Set out upon the way, ascend the mountain,—and conceal thyself in a dead bull;—make an incision in his inside —tear open his belly,—take up thy abode—establish thyself in his belly. All the birds of the air will pounce upon it . . . —and the eagle herself will come with them, ignorant that thou art within it;—she will wish to possess herself of the flesh, she will come swiftly—she will think of nothing but the entrails within. As soon as she begins to attack the inside, seize her by her wings, beat down her wings, the pinions of her wings and her claws, tear her and throw her into a ravine of the mountain, that she may die there a death of hunger and thirst."

The serpent did as Shamash advised, and the birds of the air began to flock round the carcase in which she was hidden. The eagle came with the rest, and at first kept aloof, looking for what should happen. When she saw that the birds flew away unharmed all fear left her. In vain did the wise eaglet warn her of the danger that was lurking within the prey; she mocked at him and his predictions, dug her beak into the carrion, and the serpent leaping out seized her by the wing. Then "the eagle her mouth opened, and spake unto the snake, 'Have mercy upon me, and according to thy pleasure a gift I will lavish upon thee!' The snake opened her mouth and spake unto the eagle, 'Did I release thee, Shamash would take part against me; and the doom would fall upon me, which now I fulfil upon thee.'

[1] This is an allusion to the theft of the destiny tablets and the defeat of the bird Zu by Shamash; see p. 667 of the present work.

She tore out her wings, her feathers, her pinions; she tore her to pieces, she threw her into a cleft, and there she died a death of hunger and of thirst."

The gods allowed no living being to penetrate with impunity into their empire: he who was desirous of ascending thither, however brave he might be, could do so only by death. The mass of humanity had no pretensions to mount so high. Their religion gave them the choice between a perpetual abode in the tomb, or confinement in the prison of Allat; if at times they strove to escape from these alternatives, and to picture otherwise their condition in the world beyond, their ideas as to the other life continued to remain vague, and never approached the minute precision of the Egyptian conception. The cares of the present life were too absorbing to allow them leisure to speculate upon the conditions of a future existence.

CHALDÆAN CIVILIZATION.

ROYALTY—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY AND ITS PROPERTY—CHALDÆAN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

The kings not gods, but the vicegerents of the gods: their sacerdotal character—The queens and the women of the royal family: the sons and the order of succession to the throne—The royal palaces: description of the palace of Gudea at Lagash, the façades, the ziggurât, the private apartments, the furniture, the external decoration—Costume of the men and women: the employés of the palace and the method of royal administration; the military and the great lords.

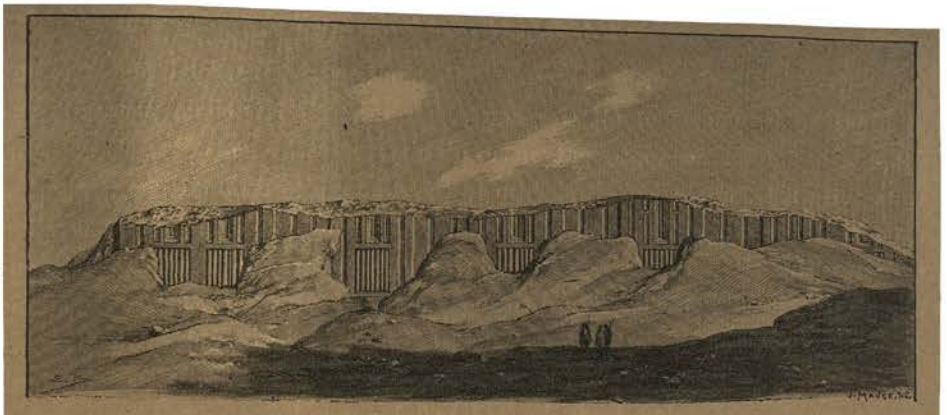
The scribe and the clay books.—Cuneiform writing: its hieroglyphic origin; the Protean character of the sounds which may be assigned to the ideograms, grammatical tablets, and dictionaries—Their contracts, and their numerous copies of them: the finger-nail mark, the seal.

The constitution of the family: the position held by the wife—Marriage, the contract, the religious ceremonies—Divorce: the rights of wealthy women; woman and marriage among the lower classes—Adopted children, their position in the family; ordinary motives for adoption —Slaves, their condition, their enfranchisement.

The Chaldœan towns: the aspect and distribution of the houses, domestic life—The family patrimony: division of the inheritance—Lending on usury, the rate of interest, commercial

intercourse by land and sea — Trade corporations: brick-making, industrial implements in stone and metal, goldsmiths, engravers of cylinders, weavers; the state of the working classes.

Farming and cultivation of the ground: landmarks, slaves, and agricultural labourers— Scenes of pastoral life: fishing, hunting—Archaic literature; positive sciences: arithmetic and geometry, astronomy and astrology, the science of foretelling the future—The physician; magic and its influence on neighbouring countries.

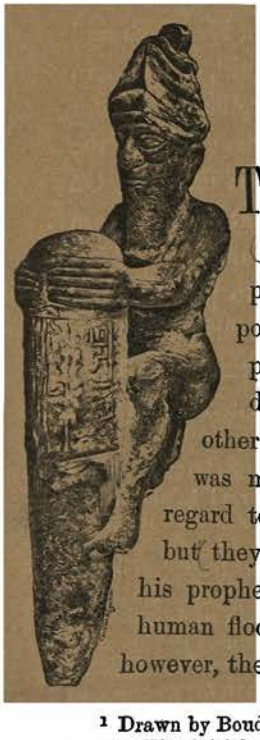


RUINS OF ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS OF URUK.[1]

CHAPTER IX.

CHALDÆAN CIVILIZATION.

Royalty—The constitution of the family and its property—Chaldæan commerce and industry.



THE Chaldæan kings, unlike their contemporaries the Pharaohs, rarely put forward any pretensions to divinity. They contented themselves with occupying an intermediate position between their subjects and the gods, and for the purpose of mediation they believed themselves to be endowed with powers not possessed by ordinary mortals. They sometimes designated themselves the sons of Ea,[2] or of Nînsun,[3] or some other deity, but this involved no belief in a divine parentage, and was merely pious hyperbole: they entertained no illusions with regard to any descent from a god or even from one of his doubles, but they desired to be recognized as his vicegerents here below, as his prophets, his well-beloved, his pastors, elected by him to rule his human flocks, or as priests devotedly attached to his service. While, however, the ordinary priest chose for himself a single master to whom he

[1] Drawn by Boudier, from the sketch by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 75. The initial vignette, which is by Faucher-Gudin, represents a royal figure kneeling and holding a large nail in both hands (cf. p. 757 of this volume). The nail serves to keep the figure fixed firmly in the earth. It is a reproduction of the bronze figurine in the Louvre, already published by HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 28, No. 4.

[2] This title is taken by the King Urbau of Lagash, in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 7, col. i. ll. 7, 8; cf. OPPERT, *Les Inscriptions de Gudéa*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1882, p. 39; AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 75; JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii¹. pp. 20, 21.

[3] Singashid, King of Uruk, proclaims himself the son of this goddess (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W.*

devoted himself, the priest-king exercised universal sacerdotal functions and claimed to be pontiff of all the national religions. His choice naturally was directed by preference to the patrons of his city, those who had raised his ancestors from the dust, and had exalted him to the supreme rank, but there were other divinities who claimed their share of his homage and expected of him a devotion suited to their importance.[1] If he had attempted to carry out these duties personally in detail, he would have had to spend his whole life at the foot of the altar; even when he had delegated as many of them as he could to the regular clergy, there still remained sufficient to occupy a large part of his time. Every month, every day, brought its inevitable round of sacrifices, prayers, and processions.[2] On the 1st of the second Elul, the King of Babylon had to present a gazelle without blemish to Sin; he then made an offering of his own choosing to Shamash, and cut the throats of his victims before the god. These ceremonies were repeated on the 2nd without any alteration, but from the 3rd to the 12th they took place during the night, before the statues of Merodach and Ishtar, in turn with those of Nebo and Tashmit, of Mullil and Ninlil, of Ramman and of Zirbanit; sometimes at the rising of a particular constellation—as, for instance, that of the Great Bear, or that of the sons of Ishtar; sometimes at the moment when the moon "raised above the earth her luminous crown." On such a date a penitential psalm or a litany was to be recited;[3] at another time it was forbidden to eat of meat either cooked or smoked, to change the body-linen, to wear white garments, to drink medicine, to sacrifice, to put forth an edict, or to drive out in a chariot.[4] Not only at Babylon, but everywhere else, obedience to the religious rites weighed heavily on the local princes; at Uru, at Lagash, at Nipur, and in the ruling cities of Upper and Lower Chaldæa.

As., vol. i. pl. 2, No. viii. 1, ll. 1, 2); cf. G. SMITH, *Early History of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 41 (where the name of the goddess, read Belatsunat, is taken for that of a queen); WINCKLER, *Inschriften von Königen von Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, pp. 82–85.

[1] Thus, only to mention one example, Khammurabi calls himself, in the second inscription of the Louvre, "Prophet of Anu, steward of Bel, favourite of Shamash, beloved shepherd of Merodach" (MÉNANT, *Une Nouvelle Inscription de Hammurabi, roi de Babylone*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 79; cf. FR. DELITZSCH, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 74). The preamble used by Gudea in the inscription of Statue D of the Louvre is more lengthy, but at present too obscure to be translated at length (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 9, cols. i., ii.; cf. OPPERT, *Les Inscriptions de Gudéa*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1882, pp. 28–40, 123–127; AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 89, 90, and in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pp. xvii., xviii.; JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, pp. 50, 51).

[2] All the details which follow are taken from the tablet in the British Museum (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pls. 32, 33), discovered and translated by SAYCE, *A Babylonian Saints' Calendar*, in the *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vii. pp. 157–168, and *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 69–76. Cf. the fragment cited by SAYCE, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 69, note 3

[3] Thus on the 6th, the 16th, and the 26th of the second month of Elul, in the document mentioned in the preceding note, and which has been entirely translated by Sayce at two different periods.

[4] Thus the 7th of the same month of Elul, then the 14th, the 21st, and the 28th.

The king, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, repaired to the temple to receive his solemn investiture, which differed in form according to the gods he worshipped: at Babylon, he addressed himself to the statue of Bel-Merodach in the first days of the month Nisan which followed his accession, and he "took him by the hands" to do homage to him.[1] From thenceforth, he officiated for Merodach here below, and the scrupulously minute devotions, which daily occupied hours of his time, were so many acts of allegiance which his fealty as a vassal constrained him to perform to his suzerain. They were, in fact, analogous to the daily audiences demanded of a great lord by his steward, for the purpose of rendering his accounts and of informing him of current business: any interruption not justified by a matter of supreme importance would be liable to be interpreted as a want of respect or as revealing an inclination to rebel. By neglecting the slightest ceremonial detail the king would arouse the suspicions of the gods, and excite their anger against himself and his subjects: the people had, therefore, a direct interest in his careful fulfilment of the priestly functions, and his piety was not the least of his virtues in their eyes.[2] All other virtues—bravery, equity, justice—depended on it, and were only valuable from the divine aid which piety obtained for them. The gods and heroes of the earliest ages had taken upon themselves the task of protecting the faithful from all their enemies, whether men or beasts. If a lion decimated their flocks, or a urus of gigantic size devastated their crops, it was the king's duty to follow the example of his fabulous predecessors and to set out and overcome them.[3] The enterprise demanded all the more courage and supernatural help, since these beasts were believed to be no mere ordinary animals, but were looked on as instruments of divine wrath the cause of which was often unknown, and whoever assailed these monsters, provoked not only them but the god who instigated them. Piety and confidence in the patron of the city alone sustained the king when he set forth to drive the animal back to its lair; he engaged in close combat with it, and no sooner had he pierced it with his arrows or his lance, or felled it with axe and

[1] The discovery of the meaning of this ceremony is due to Winckler, who, after having noticed it in a cursory manner at the end of his inaugural dissertation, *De Inscriptione Sargonis regis Assyriæ quæ vocatur Annalium*, th. 4, furnished proofs of his opinion in his *Studien und Beiträge zur babylonisch-assyrischen Geschichte* (in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 302–304); cf. the facts since brought together to confirm the hypothesis of Winckler, by LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin, König von Babylonien*, p. 44, et seq.

[2] The cylinder of Cyrus (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 35; cf. RAWLINSON, *Notes on a newly discovered Clay-cylinder of Cyrus the Great*, in the *Journ. of Royal As. Soc.*, new series, vol. xii. pp. 70–97) shows in the most striking manner the influence which this manner of regarding the religious *rôle* of the king exercised upon politics; the priests and the people mentioned in it considered Cyrus's triumph as a revenge of the Chaldæan gods whom Nabonidos had offended.

[3] Cf. the struggles of Gilgames with the bull and the lions on pp. 581–583 of this volume: the poem represents faithfully, in this and several other points, the Chaldæan ideas of a king's duties about three thousand years before our era.

dagger, than he hastened to pour a libation upon it, and to dedicate it as a trophy in one of the temples.[1] His exalted position entailed on him no less perils in time of war: if he did not personally direct the first attacking column, he placed himself at the head of the band composed of the flower of the army, whose charge at an opportune moment was wont to secure the victory. What would have been the use of his valour, if the dread of the gods had not preceded his march, and if the light of their countenances had not struck terror into the ranks of the enemy?[2] As soon as he had triumphed by their command, he sought before all else to reward them amply for the assistance they had given him. He poured a tithe of the spoil into the coffers of their treasury, he made over a part of the conquered country to their domain, he granted them a tale of the prisoners to cultivate their lands or to work at their buildings. Even the idols of the vanquished shared the fate of their people: the king tore them from the sanctuaries which had hitherto sheltered them, and took them as prisoners in his train to form a court of captive gods about his patron divinity.[3] Shamash, the great judge of heaven, inspired him with justice, and the prosperity which his good administration obtained for the people was less the work of the sovereign than that of the immortals.[4]

We know too little of the inner family life of the kings, to attempt to say how they were able to combine the strict sacerdotal obligations incumbent on them with the routine of daily life. We merely observe that on great days of festival or sacrifice, when they themselves officiated, they laid aside all the insignia of royalty during the ceremony and were clad as ordinary priests. We see them on such occasions represented with short-cut hair and naked

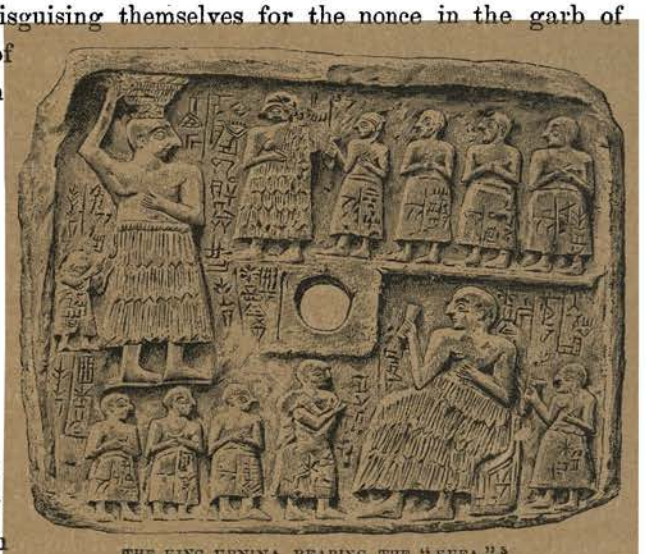
[1] Gilgames dedicates in this manner, within the temple of Shamash, the spoils of the urus of Ishtar which he had vanquished; see p. 582 of this volume.

[2] Indingiranagin, son of Akurgal and King of Lagash, like his father, attributes his victories to the protection of Ningirsu (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 31, 2; cf. OPPERT, *Inscriptions archaïques de trois briques chaldéennes*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 86, 87). Gudea is led to the attack by the god Ningishzida (*Statue B de Gudéa*, in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. xvi. col. iii. ll. 3–5; cf. AMIAUD, *The Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 77). The expressions used in the text are taken from Assyrian inscriptions.

[3] It was in the above manner that Marduknâdinakhe, King of Babylon, took the statues of Ramman and the goddess Shala from Tiglath-pileser, first King of Assyria (*Inscription of Bavian*, in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 14, ll. 48–50). On the other hand, Assurbanipal carried back to Uruk from Susa the statue of the goddess Nanâ, which Kudurnakhunti, King of Elam, had taken away 1535 or 1635 years before (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 38, No. 1, ll. 12–18, and vol. v. pl. 6, ll. 107–124); he carried away at the same time as prisoners to Assyria the Elamite gods and their priests (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 6, ll. 30–47).

[4] Cf. what is said above of the part played by Shamash as god of justice, p. 658 of this volume. A fragment of bilingual inscription of the time of Khammurabi, of which AMIAUD has at two different times made a special study, *Une inscription bilingue de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. i. pp. 181–190, and *Inscription bilingue de Hammourabi*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 4–19 (cf. JENSEN, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabi's*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii[1]. pp. 110–117), shows how the kings referred to the gods and took them as their models in everything relating to conduct. The sacerdotal character of the Assyro-Babylonian sovereigns has been strongly insisted on by TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 491, 492.

breast, the loin-cloth about their waist, advancing foremost in the rank, carrying the heavily laden "kufa," or reed basket, as if they were ordinary slaves; and, as a fact, they had for the moment put aside their sovereignty and were merely temple servants, or slaves appearing before their divine master to do his bidding, and disguising themselves for the nonce in the garb of servitors.[1] The wives of the sovereign do not seem to have been invested with that semi-sacred character which led the Egyptian women to be associated with the devotions of the man, and made them indispensable auxiliaries in all religious ceremonies;[2] they did not, moreover, occupy that important position side by side with the man which the Egyptian law assigned to the queens of the Pharaohs. Whereas the monuments on the banks of the Nile reveal to us princesses sharing the throne of their husbands, whom they embrace with a gesture of frank affection, in Chaldæa the wives of the prince, his mother, sisters, daughters, and even his slaves, remain invisible to posterity. The harem in which they were shut up by custom, rarely opened its doors: the people seldom caught sight of them, their relatives spoke of them as little as possible, those in power avoided associating them in any public acts of worship or government, and we could count on our fingers the number of those whom the inscriptions mention by name.[4] Some of them were drawn from the noble



THE KING URNINA BEARING THE "KUFA."[3]

[1] This is the attitude in which we observe Urnina on the tablets published by HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2 *bis*, or that of the bronze statuettes of Dungi (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Decouvertes*, etc., pl. 28, 1, 2) and of Kudur-Mabug (PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 530), which bear the inscriptions of these sovereigns, and are in the possession of the Louvre (HEUZEY, *Nouveaux Monuments du roi Ourninâ, découverts par M. de Sarzec*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 14, et seq.).

[2] See what has been said of Egyptian queens on pp. 270–272 of this volume.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2 *bis*, No. 1.

[4] Most of them are mentioned with their husbands or fathers on the votive offerings placed in the temples; for example, the wife of Gudea, Gendunpae (OPPERT, *L'Olive de Gudea*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 439, 440), or Ginumunpauddu (JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii¹. pp. 64, 65), upon the cylinder in the museum at the Hague, to which MÉNANT called attention and which he published (*Les Cylindres Orientaux du Musée de la Haye*, pl. vii., No. 35, pp. 59, 60), or Ganul, wife of Nammaghani, vice-gerent of Lagash (HEUZEY, *Généalogies de Sirpurla, d'après les découvertes de M. de Sarzec*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 79; cf. JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*,

families of the capital, others came from the kingdoms of Chaldæa or from foreign courts; a certain number never rose above the condition of mere concubines, many assumed the title of queen, while almost all served as living pledges of alliances made with rival states, or had been given as hostages at the concluding of a peace on the termination of a war.[1] As the kings, who put forward no pretensions to a divine origin, were not constrained, after the fashion of the Pharaohs, to marry their sisters in order to keep up the purity of their race,[2] it was rare to find one among their wives who possessed an equal right to the crown with themselves: such a case could be found only in troublous times, when an aspirant to the throne, of base extraction, legitimated his usurpation by marrying a sister or daughter of his predecessor.[3] The original status of the mother almost always determined that of her children, and the sons of a princess were born princes, even if their father were of obscure or unknown origin.[4] These princes exercised important functions at court, or they received possessions which they administered under the suzerainty of the head of the family;[5] the daughters were given to foreign kings, or to scions of the most distinguished families. The sovereign was under no obligation to hand down his crown to any particular member of his family; the eldest son usually succeeded him, but the king could, if he preferred, select his favourite child as his successor even if he happened to be the youngest, or the only

in the *Keilschriftliche Bibl.*, vol. iii[1]. pp. 74, 75, where the name of the lady is read Ninkandu). On the contrary, in another place, we find the wife of Rimsin, King of Larsam, whose name is unfortunately mutilated, dedicating a temple for her life and for that of her husband (WINCKLER, *Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Mitteilungen des Ak. Orientalischen Vereins*, vol. i. p. 17, and *Inschriften von Königen von Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibl.*, vol. iii[1]. pp. 96, 97). Some queens, however, appear to have had their names inscribed on a royal canon; for instance, Ellât-Gula (SMITH, *Early Hist. of Babylonia*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 52, 53), or Bau-ellit, in Sumerian Azag-Bau (*Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 32), but we know nothing further about her, nor when she reigned.

[1] Political marriage-alliances between Egypt and Chaldæa were of frequent occurrence, according to the Tel el-Amarna tablets (BEZOLD-BUDGE, *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, pp. xxv.–xxx., xxxii., xxxiii.), and at a later period between Chaldæa and Assyria (PEISER-WINCKLER, *Die sogenannte synchronistiche Geschichte*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibl.*, vol. i. pp. 194, 195, 198–201); among the few queens of the very earliest times, the wife of Nammaghani is the daughter of Urbau, vicegerent of Lagash, and consequently the cousin or niece of her husband (JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige und Statthalter von Lagasch*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibl.*, vol. iii[1]. pp. 74, 75), while the wife of Rimsin appears to be the daughter of a nobleman of the name of Rimnannar (WINCKLER, *Inschriften von Königen von Sumer und Akkad*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii[1]. pp. 96, 97).

[2] With regard to the marriages of the Pharaohs with their sisters, cf. what is said on p. 270, et seq., of this volume.

[3] Nammaghani, vicegerent of Lagash, probably owed his elevation to his marriage with the sister of the vicegerent Urbau (HEUZEY, *Généalogies de Sirpurla, d'après les découvertes de M. de Sarzec*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 78, 79).

[4] This fact is apparent from the introduction to the inscription in which Sargon I. is supposed to give an account of his life (cf. pp. 597, 598 of this volume): "My father was unknown, *my mother was a princess;*" and it was, indeed, from his mother that he inherited his rights to the crown of Agade.

[5] This is the conclusion arrived at after a study of the bas-reliefs of Lagash, where we find Akurgal, while still a prince, succeeding to the post of cupbearer, occupied previously by his brother Lidda (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2 *bis*, No. 1, and *Nouveaux Monuments*, etc., in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1852, p. 344, and in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 16).

one born of a slave.[1] As soon as the sovereign had made known his will, the custom of primogeniture was set aside, and his word became law. We can well imagine the secret intrigues formed both by mothers and sons to curry favour with the father and bias his choice; we can picture the jealousy with which they mutually watched each other, and the bitter hatred which any preference shown to one would arouse in the breasts of all the others. Often brothers who had been disappointed in their expectations would combine secretly against the chosen or supposed heir; a conspiracy would break out, and the people suddenly learn that their ruler of yesterday had died by the hand of an assassin and that a new one filled his place. Sometimes discontent spread beyond the confines of the palace, the army became divided into two hostile camps, the citizens took the side of one or other of the aspirants, and civil war raged for several years till some decisive action brought it to a close. Meantime tributary vassals took advantage of the consequent disorder to shake off the yoke, the Elamites and various neighbouring cities joined in the dispute and ranged themselves on the side of the party from which there was most to be gained: the victorious faction always had to pay dearly for this somewhat dubious help, and came out impoverished from the struggle. Such an internecine war often caused the downfall of a dynasty—at times, indeed, that of the entire state.[2]

The palaces of the Chaldæan kings, like those of the Egyptians, presented the appearance of an actual citadel: the walls had to be sufficiently thick to withstand an army for an indefinite period, and to protect the garrison from every emergency, except that of treason or famine. One of the statues found at Telloh holds in its lap the plan of one of these residences: the external outline alone is given, but by means of it we can easily picture to ourselves a fortified place, with its towers, its forts, and its gateways placed between two bastions.[3] It represents the ancient palace of Lagash, subsequently enlarged and altered by Gudea or one of the vicegerents who succeeded him, in which many a great lord of the place must have resided down to the time of the Christian era.[4] The site on which it was built in the

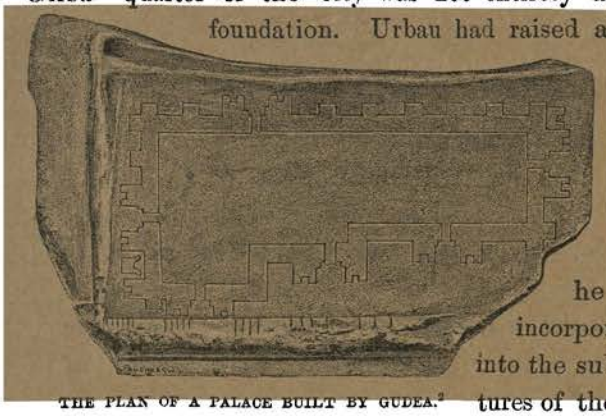
[1] Akurgal appears to have had an elder brother, Lidda, who did not come to the throne (HEUZEY, *Nouveaux Monuments*, etc., in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 15, 16).

[2] The above is perfectly true of the later Assyrian and Chaldæan periods: it is scarcely needful to recall to the reader the murders of Sargon II. and Sennacherib, or the revolt of Assurdaînpal against his father Shalmaneser III. With regard to the earliest period we have merely indications of what took place; the succession of King Urnina of Lagash appears to have been accompanied by troubles of this kind (HEUZEY, *Généalogies de Sirpurla*, etc., in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83), and it is certain that his successor Akurgal was not the eldest of his sons (HEUZEY, *Nouveaux Monuments*, etc., in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1892, p. 344, and in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 16, 18, 19), but we do not at present know to what events Akurgal owed his elevation.

[3] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 138, 139, who believes it to be a fortress rather than a palace (cf. *Un Palais chaldéen*, p. 15); in the East a palace is always more or less fortified.

[4] This palace was discovered by Mons. de Sarzec during his first excavations, and he has described it with great detail (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 13–54); an abstract of the description and an attempt to restore the edifice will be found in HEUZEY, *Un Palais chaldéen, d'après les décou-*

Girsu[1] quarter of the city was not entirely unoccupied at the time of its foundation. Urbau had raised a ziggurat on that very spot some centuries previously, and the walls which he had constructed were falling into ruin. Gudea did not destroy the work of his remote predecessor he merely incorporated it into the substructures of the new building, thus showing an indifference similar to that evinced by the Pharaohs for the monuments of a former dynasty.[3] The palaces, like the temples, never rose directly from the soil, but were invariably built on the top of an artificial mound of crude brick. At Lagash, this solid platform rises to the height of 40 feet above the plain, and the only means of access to the top is by a single narrow steep staircase, easily cut off or defended.[4] The palace which surmounts this artificial eminence describes a sort of irregular rectangle, 174 feet long by 69 feet wide, and had, contrary to the custom in Egypt, the four angles orientated to the four cardinal points. The two principal sides are not parallel, but swell out slightly towards the middle, and the flexion of the lines almost follows



THE PLAN OF A PALACE BUILT BY GUDEA.[2]

A TERRA-COTTA BARREL.[5]

vertes de M. de Sarzec, Paris, 1888. It was restored during the Parthian period by a small local kinglet named Hadadnadinakhe, a vassal of the kings of Mesena (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 17, 18, 32).

[1] This identification of the name of Girsu with the site on which the palace of Gudea is built was proposed from the very first by AMIAUD, *Sirpourla, d'après les inscriptions de la collection de Sarzec*, p. 8, and adopted by HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 53.

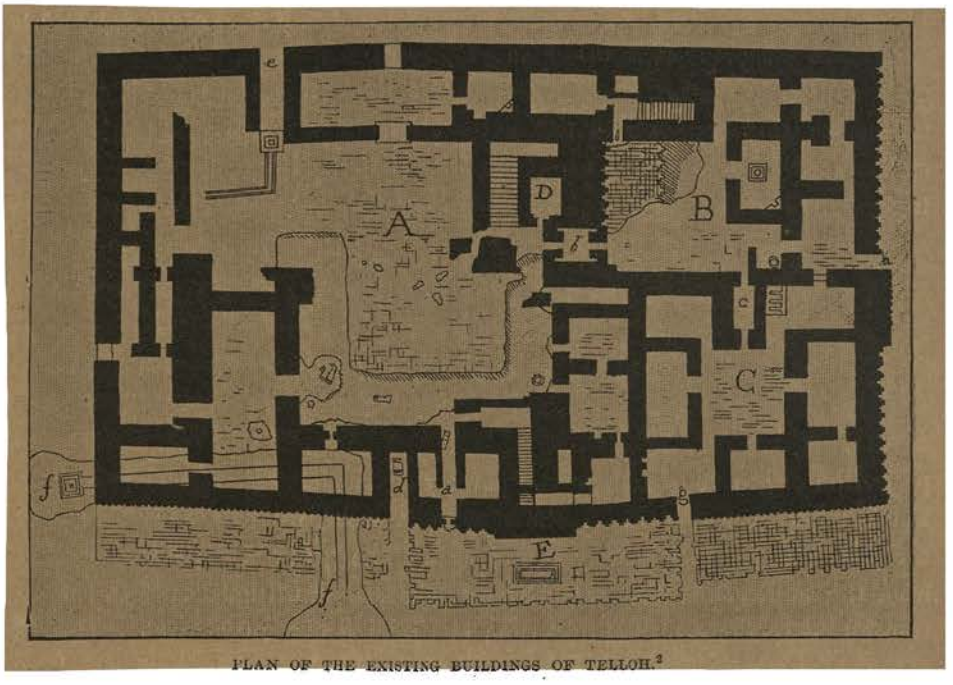
[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pl. 15, No. 1. The plan is traced upon the tablet held in the lap of Statue E in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pl. 16, et seq.). Below the plan can be seen the ruler marked with the divisions used by the architect for drawing his designs to the desired scale; the scribe's stylus is represented lying on the left of the plan. [Prof. Petrie has shown that the unit of measurement represented on this ruler is the cubit of the Pyramid-builders of Egypt.—TR.]

[3] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pp. 13, 14, 29, 30, 50–53; HEUZEY, *Un Palais chaldéen*, pp. 30–34. The small square construction, marked *f* in the plan on the opposite page, is one of the older portions buried under the more recent bricks of Gudea's platform.

[4] For the substructure, see HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pp. 13, 14. In one part of the mound, the platform constructed for Urbau's edifice appears to have reached the height of 33 feet (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., p. 53, note). The staircase is not mentioned in the account of the excavations by Mons. de Sarzec; perhaps it was destroyed in ancient times.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the facsimile by PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, pl. 78, No. 2.

the contour of one of those little clay cones upon which the kings were wont to inscribe their annals or dedications.[1] This flexure was probably not intentional on the part of the architect, but was owing to the difficulty of keeping a wall of such considerable extent in a straight line from one end to another; and all Eastern nations, whether Chaldæans or Egyptians, troubled themselves but little about correctness of alignment, since defects of this kind



PLAN OF THE EXISTING BUILDINGS OF TELLOH.[2]

were scarcely ever perceptible in the actual edifice, and are only clearly revealed in the plan drawn out to scale with modern precision.[3] The façade of the building faces south-east, and is divided into three blocks of unequal size. The centre of the middle block for a length of 18 feet projects some 3 feet from the main front, and, by directly facing the spectator, ingeniously masks the obtuse angle formed by the meeting of the two walls. This projection

[1] This is the very expression used by Mons. de Sarzec (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 15), and the resemblance is indeed striking the moment we look at the ground-plan of the building.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., plan A.

[3] Mons. Heuzey thinks that the outward deflection of the lines is owing "merely to a primitive method of obtaining greater solidity of construction, and of giving a better foundation to these long façades, which are placed upon artificial terraces of crude brick always subject to cracks and settlements" (HEUZEY, *Un Palais Chaldéen*, p. 25). I think that the explanation of the facts which I have given in the text is simpler than that ingeniously proposed by Mons. Heuzey: the masons, having begun to build the wall at one end, were unable to carry it on in a straight line until it reached the spot *f* denoted on the architect's plan, and therefore altered the direction of the wall when they detected their error; or, having begun to build the wall from both ends simultaneously, were not successful in making the two lines meet correctly, and they have frankly patched up the junction by a mass of projecting brickwork which conceals their unskilfulness.

is flanked right and left by rectangular grooves, similar to those which ornament the façades of the fortresses and brick houses of the Ancient Empire in Egypt:[1] the regular alternation of projections and hollows breaks the monotony of the facing by the play of light and shade. Beyond these, again, the wall surface is broken by semicircular pilasters some 17 inches in diameter, without bases, capitals, or even a moulding, but placed side by side like so many tree-trunks or posts forming a palisade.[2] Various schemes of decoration succeed each other in progressive sequence, less ornate and at greater distances apart, the further they recede from the central block and the nearer they approach to the extremities of the façade. They stop short at the southern angle, and the two sides of the edifice running from south to west, and again from west to north, are flat, bare surfaces, unbroken by

DECORATION OF COLOURED CONES ON THE FAÇADE AT URUK.[3]

projection or groove to relieve the poverty and monotony of their appearance. The decoration reappears on the north-east front, where the arrangement of the principal façade is partly reproduced. The grooved divisions here start from the angles, and the engaged columns are wanting, or rather they are transferred to the central projection, and from a distance have the effect of a row of gigantic organ-pipes.[4] We may well ask if this squat and heavy mass of building, which must have attracted the eye from all parts of the town, had nothing to relieve the dull and dismal colour of its component bricks. The idea might not have occurred to us, had we not found elsewhere an attempt to lessen the gloomy appearance of the architecture by coloured plastering. At Uruk, the walls of the palace are decorated by means of terra-cotta cones, fixed deep into the solid plaster and painted red, black, or yellow, forming interlaced or diaper patterns of chevrons, spirals, lozenges, and triangles, with a very fair result: this mosaic of coloured plaster covered all

[1] Cf. what is said of the Egyptian houses and fortresses on pp. 316, 450 of this volume.

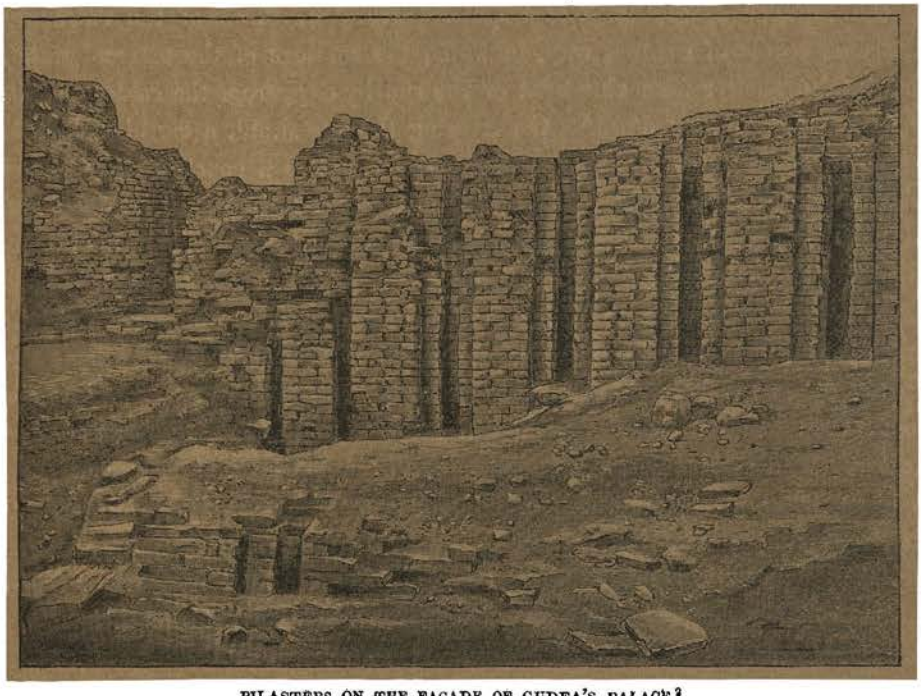
[2] The origin of this kind of decoration was pointed out at the very beginning by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 175; and again by PLACE, *Ninive and l'Assyrie*, vol. ii. pp. 50, 52. The headpiece of the present chapter (cf. p. 703 of this volume), which is taken from Loftus, affords a good example of the appearance presented at Uruk by buildings decorated in this fashion.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the sketch by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 188.

[4] The description of the façades is from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 14–17; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 257–263; and HEUZEY, *Un Palais chaldéen*, pp. 22–25.

the surfaces, both flat and curved, giving to the building a cheerful aspect entirely wanting in that of Lagash.[1]

A long narrow trough of yellowish limestone stood in front of the palace, and was raised on two steps: it was carved in relief on the outside with figures of women standing with outstretched hands, passing to each other



PILASTERS ON THE FAÇADE OF GUDEA'S PALACE.[2]

vases from which gushed forth two streams of water.[3] This trough formed a reservoir, which was filled every morning for the use of the men and beasts, and those whom some business or a command brought to the palace could refresh themselves there while waiting to be received by the master.[4] The gates which gave access to the interior were placed at somewhat irregular

[1] The decoration of the palace at Uruk, which was discovered and described by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches*, etc., pp. 188, 189, is found in several Chaldæan palaces of very ancient date, to judge from the number of coloured clay cones found in the ruins of Abu-Shahrein (TAYLOR, *Notes on Abu-Shahrein and Tel-el-Lahm*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 411) and in several other cities; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 493, 494. Mons. de Sarzec states that in the ruins of Telloh he was unable to find any traces of decoration of this kind on the external face of the enclosing wall, either in plastering or colour (HEUZEY, *Un Palais chaldéen*, pp. 17–20).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pl. 50, No. 1.

[3] For the probable signification of these female figures, and of the vase which they pass from hand to hand, and of the double stream of water coming from it, cf. the ingenious memoir by HEUZEY, *Le Bassin sculpté et le Symbole du vase jaillissant*, in the *Origines orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 149–171.

[4] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 16; HEUZEY, *Un Palais chaldéen*, p. 59, et seq.

intervals: two opened from the principal façade, but on each of the other sides there was only one entrance. They were arched and so low that admittance was not easily gained; they were closed with two-leaved doors of cedar or cypress, provided with bronze hinges, which turned upon two blackish stones firmly set in the masonry on either side, and usually inscribed with the name of the founder or that of the reigning sovereign. Two of the entrances possessed a sort of covered way, in which the soldiers of the external watch could take shelter from the heat of the sun by day, from the cold at night, and from the dews at dawn.[1] On crossing the threshold, a corridor, flanked with two small rooms for porters or warders, led into a courtyard surrounded with buildings of sufficient depth to take up nearly half of the area enclosed within the walls. This court was moreover a semi-public place, to which tradesmen, merchants, suppliants, and functionaries of all ranks had easy access. A suite of three rooms shut off in the north-east angle did duty for a magazine or arsenal. The southern portion of the building was occupied by the State apartments, the largest of which measures only 40 feet in length. In these rooms Gudea and his successors gave audience to their nobles and administered justice. The administrative officers and the staff who had charge of them were probably located in the remaining part of the building. The roof was flat, and ran all round the enclosing wall, forming a terrace, access to it being gained by a staircase built between the principal entrance and the arsenal.[2] At the northern angle rose a ziggurat. Custom demanded that the sovereign should possess a temple within his dwelling, where he could fulfil his religious duties without going into the town and mixing with the crowd. At Lagash the sacred tower was of older date than the palace, and possibly formed part of the ancient building of Urbau. It was originally composed of three stories, but the lower one was altered by Gudea, and disappeared entirely in the thickness of the basal platform. The second story thus became the bottom one; it was enlarged, slightly raised above the neighbouring roofs, and was probably crowned by a sanctuary dedicated to Ningirsu. It was, indeed, a monument of modest proportions, and most of the public temples soared far above it; but, small as it was, the whole town might be seen from the summit, with its separate quarters and its belt of gardens; and beyond, the open country intersected with streams, studded with isolated villages, patches

[1] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 18, 19; HEUZEY, *Un Palais chaldéen*, pp. 26, 27. The most important of these covered ways is marked d in the plan on p. 711 of the present work.

[2] The whole of this semi-public part of the palace is described at length in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., p. 30, et seq. In the course of the excavations it will no doubt be found necessary to modify some details in the attributions proposed; at all events, it is probable that we know at present the general arrangement of the principal divisions of the edifice and the uses to which they were put.

of wood, pools and weedy marshes left by the retiring inundation, and in the far distance the lines of trees and bushes which bordered the banks of the Euphrates and its confluents. Should a troop of enemies venture within the range of sight, or should a suspicious tumult arise within the city, the watchers posted on the highest terrace would immediately give the alarm, and through their warning the king would have time to close his gates, and take measures to resist the invading enemy or crush the revolt of his subjects.[1]

STONE SOCKET OF ONE OF THE DOORS IN THE PALACE OF GUDEA.[2]

The northern apartments of the palace were appropriated to Gudea and his family. They were placed with their back to the entrance court, and were divided into two groups; the sovereign, his male children and their attendants, inhabited the western one, while the women and their slaves were cloistered, so to speak, in the northern set. The royal dwelling had an external exit by means of a passage issuing on the north-west of the enclosure, and it also communicated with the great courtyard by a vaulted corridor which ran along one side of the base of the ziggurat: the doors which closed these two entrances opened wide enough to admit only one person at a time, and to the right and left were recesses in the wall which enabled the guards to examine all comers unobserved, and stab them promptly if there were anything suspicious in their behaviour. Eight chambers were lighted from the courtyard. In one of them were kept all the provisions for the day, while another served as a kitchen: the head cook carried on his work at a sort of rectangular dresser of moderate size, on which several fireplaces were marked out by little dividing walls of burnt bricks, to accommodate as many pots or pans of various sizes. A well sunk in the corner right down below the substructure provided the water needed for culinary purposes. The king and his belongings accommodated themselves in the remaining five or six rooms as best they could.[3] A corridor, guarded as carefully as the one previously described, led to his private apartments and to those of his wives: these comprised a yard, some half-dozen

[1] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 26–30; HEUZEY, *Un Palais chaldéen*, pp. 32–34.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pl. 27, No. 2.

[3] See the complete description of the part of the palace reserved for men, and the rooms contained in it, in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pp. 24–26.

cells varying in size, a kitchen, a well, and a door through which the servants could come and go, without passing through the men's quarters.[1] The whole description in no way corresponds with the marvellous ideal of an Oriental palace which we form for ourselves: the apartments are mean and dismal, imperfectly lighted by the door or by some small aperture timidly cut in the ceiling, arranged so as to protect the inmates from the heat and dust, but without a thought given to luxury or display. The walls were entirely void of any cedar woodwork inlaid with gold, or panels of mosaic such as we find in the temples, nor were they hung with dyed or embroidered draperies such as we moderns love to imagine, and which we spread about in profusion, when we attempt to reproduce the interior of an ancient house or palace.[2] The walls had to remain bare for the sake of coolness: at the most they were only covered with a coat of white plaster, on which were painted, in one or two colours, some scene of civil or religious life, or troops of fantastic monsters struggling with one another, or men each with a bird seated on his wrist.[3] The furniture was not less scanty than the decoration; there were mats on the ground, coffers in which were kept the linen and wearing apparel, low beds inlaid with ivory and metal and provided with coverings and a thin mattress, copper or wooden stands to support lamps or vases, square stools on four legs united by crossbars, arm-chairs with lions' claw feet, resembling the Egyptian armchairs in outline,[4] and making us ask if they were brought into Chaldæa by caravans, or made from models which had come from some other country. A few rare objects of artistic character might be found, which bore witness to a certain taste for elegance and refinement; as, for instance, a kind of circular trough of black

[1] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 22, 24.

[2] Mons. de Sarzec expressly states that he was unable to find anywhere in the palace of Gudea "the slightest trace of any coating on the walls, either of colour or glazed brick. The walls appear to have been left bare, without any decoration except the regular joining of the courses of brickwork" (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 20). The wood panelling was usually reserved for the temples or sacred edifices: Mons. de Sarzec found the remains of carbonized cedar panels in the ruins of a sanctuary dedicated to Ningirsu (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., p. 65, note, and *Un Palais chaldéen*, p. 53). According to Mons. Heuzey, the wall-hangings were probably covered with geometrical designs, similar to those formed by the terra-cotta cones on the walls of the palace at Uruk; the inscriptions, however, which are full of minute details with regard to the construction and ornamentation of the temples and palaces, have hitherto contained nothing which would lead us to infer that hangings were used for mural decoration in Chaldæa or Assyria (HEUZEY, *Un Palais chaldéen*, pp. 18–20).

[3] This was the case in the palace of Eridu, excavated by TAYLOR, *Notes on Abu-Shahrein and Tel-el-Lahm*, in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 408, 410; cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii. p. 449.

[4] A few fragments of tapestry cushions were found in the tombs of Mugheîr (TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 271). The other articles of furniture, seats, stools, and linen chests, figure upon the cylinders. The most marked example of an armchair of Egyptian style is given on the cylinder of Urbau, King of Uru (J. MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pl. iv. 2), on the antiquity of which, however, doubts have been raised (MÉNANT, *Le Cylindre de Urkham au Musée Britannique*, taken from the *Revue Archéologique*, p. 14, et seq.).

stone, probably used to support a vase. Three rows of imbricated scales surrounded the base of this, while seven small sitting figures lean back against the upper part with an air of satisfaction which is most cleverly rendered. The decoration of the larger chambers used for public receptions and official ceremonies, while never assuming the monumental character which we observe in contemporary Egyptian buildings, afforded more scope for richness and variety than was offered by the living-rooms. Small tablets of brownish limestone, let into the wall or affixed to its surface by terra-cotta pegs, and decorated with inscriptions,[1] represented in a more or less artless fashion the figure of the sovereign officiating before some divinity, while his children and servants took part in the ceremony by their chanting.[2] Inscribed bricks celebrating the king's exploits were placed here and there in conspicuous places. These were not embedded like the others in two layers of bitumen or lime, but were placed in full view upon bronze statues of divinities or priests, fixed into the ground or into some part of the masonry as magical nails destined to preserve the bricks from destruction, and consequently to keep the memory of the dedicator continually before posterity. Stelæ engraved on both sides recalled the wars of past times, the battle-field, the scenes of horror which took place there, and the return of the victor and his triumph.[4] Sitting or standing figures of diorite, silicious sandstone or hard limestone, bearing inscriptions on their robes or shoulders, perpetuated the features of the founder or of members of his family, and commemorated the pious donations which had obtained for him the favour of the gods: the palace of Lagash contained dozens of such

STAND OF BLACK STONE FROM THE PALACE OF TELLOH.[3]

[1] Mons. Koldewey, who has found several of these pegs, believes with Taylor that the shape represents the phallus, images of which have been found among them (R. KOLDEWEY, *Die Alibabylonischen Gräber in Surghul und El-Hiba*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 416, 417). A peg of this kind, found during Mons. de Sarzec's excavations at Telloh, is given as the tailpiece on p. 784 of this volume (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 38).

[2] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pp. 167–173; HEUZEY, *Monuments du roi Our-ninâ, découverts par M. de Sarzec*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1892, pp. 341, 342, 346, 347; two of these tablets are reproduced on pp. 608, 707 of this volume.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pl. 21, No. 5, and pp. 161, 162.

[4] For example, the stele of King Idingiranagin, called the "Stele of the Vultures;" cf. pp. 606–608 of this volume.

statues, several of which have come down to us almost intact—one of the ancient Urbau, and nine of Gudea.[1]

To judge by the space covered and the arrangement of the rooms, the vicegerents of Lagash and the chiefs of towns of minor importance must, as a rule, have been content with a comparatively small number of servants; their court probably resembled that of the Egyptian barons who lived much about the same period, such as Khnûmhotpû of the nome of the Gazelle, or Thothotpû of Hermopolis.[2] In great cities such as Babylon the palace occupied a much larger area, and the crowd of courtiers was doubtless as great as that which thronged about the Pharaohs. No exact enumeration of them has come down to us, but the titles which we come across show with what minuteness they defined the offices about the person of the sovereign.[3] His costume alone required almost as many persons as there were garments. The men wore the light loin-cloth or short-sleeved tunic which scarcely covered the knees; after the fashion of the Egyptians, they threw over the loin-cloth and the tunic a large "abayah," whose shape and material varied with the caprice of fashion. They often chose for this purpose a sort of shawl of a plain material, fringed or ornamented with a flat stripe round the edge; often they seem to have preferred it ribbed, or artificially kilted from top to bottom.[4] The favourite material in ancient times, however, seems to have been a hairy, shaggy cloth or woollen stuff, whose close fleecy thread hung sometimes straight, sometimes crimped or waved, in regular rows like flounces one above another.[5] This could be arranged squarely around the neck, like a mantle, but was more often draped crosswise over the left shoulder and brought under

[1] HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 77, et seq., where the description of these monuments is given in length: see the statues of Gudea on pp. 611, 613 of this volume.

[2] Cf. pp. 523–526 of this volume for these two princes in particular, and pp. 295–301 for the general condition of the Egyptian barons.

[3] The only document which could furnish us with information regarding the grades of Chaldæan functionaries similar to that contained in the *Hood Papyrus* on Egyptian offices (cf. p. 277, note 4, of this volume), is the list published in RAWLINSON'S *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. p. 31, No. 5, interpreted by FR. DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Studien*, vol. i. pp. 128–135; and by OPPERT-MÉNANT, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, pp. 71–78, with several lacunæ and doubtful readings. It was written under the Sargonids, but the orthography of the names contained in it points to a Chaldæan origin; several of the civil and religious offices at the Assyrian court were only reproductions of similar offices existing at the court of Babylon.

[4] The relatively modern costume was described by HERODOTUS, i. 114; it was almost identical with the ancient one, as proved by the representations on the cylinders and monuments of Telloh. The short-sleeved tunic is more rarely represented, and the loin-cloth is usually hidden under the abayah in the case of nobles and kings. We see the princes of Lagash wearing the simple loin-cloth, on the monuments of Urninâ, for example (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2, Nos. 1, 2; and HEUZEY, *Nouveaux Monuments du roi Our-ninâ*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1892, pp. 342–344). For the Egyptian abayah, and the manner of representing it, cf. pp. 55–57 of this volume.

[5] This is the material, as Mons. Heuzey has ingeniously shown (*Les Origines Orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 120–136), to which the Greeks subsequently gave the name of *kaunakês*.

the right arm-pit, so as to leave the upper part of the breast and the arm bare on that side. It made a convenient and useful garment—an excellent protection in summer from the sun, and from the icy north wind in the winter.[1] The feet were shod with sandals, a tight-fitting cap covered the head, and round it was rolled a thick strip of linen, forming a sort of rudimentary turban, which completed the costume.[2] It is questionable whether, as in Egypt, wigs and false beards formed part of the toilette. On some monuments we notice smooth faces and close-cropped heads; on others the men appear with long hair, either falling loose or twisted into a knot on the back of the neck.[3] While the Egyptians delighted in garments of thin white linen, but slightly plaited or crimped, the dwellers on the banks of the Euphrates preferred thick and heavy stuffs patterned and striped with many colours. The kings wore the same costume as their subjects, but composed of richer and finer materials, dyed red or blue, decorated with floral, animal, or geometrical designs;[4] a high tower-shaped tiara covered the forehead,[5] unless replaced by a diadem of Sin or some of the other gods, which was a conical mitre supporting a double pair of horns, and sometimes surmounted by a sort of diadem of feathers and mysterious figures, embroidered or painted on the cap.[6] Their arms were loaded with massive bracelets and their fingers with rings; they wore necklaces and ear-rings, and carried each a dagger in the belt.[7] The royal wardrobe, jewels, arms, and insignia formed so many distinct departments, and each was further divided

[1] One fashion of wearing the abayah is shown in the initial vignette to chap. viii., on p. 621 of this volume.

[2] Cf. the head belonging to one of the statues of Telloh, which is reproduced on p. 613 of this volume. We notice the same head-dress on several intaglios and monuments, and also on the terra-cotta plaque which will be found on p. 768 of this volume, and which represents a herdsman wrestling with a lion. Until we have further evidence, we cannot state, as G. RAWLINSON did (*The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 105), that this strip forming a turban was of camel's hair: the date of the introduction of the camel into Chaldæa still remains uncertain.

[3] Dignitaries went bareheaded and shaved the chin; see, for example, the two bas-reliefs given on pp. 608 and 707 of this volume; cf. the heads reproduced as tailpieces on pp. 536, 622. The knot of hair behind on the central figure is easily distinguished in the vignette on p. 723 of this volume Upon Egyptian wigs, see p. 54 of this volume.

[4] The details of colour and ornamentation, not furnished by the Chaldæan monuments, are given in the wall-painting at Beni-Hasan representing the arrival of Asiatics in Egypt (cf. pp. 468, 469 of this volume), which belongs to a period contemporary with or slightly anterior to the reign of Gudea. The resemblance of the stuffs in which they are clothed to those of the Chaldæan garments, and the identity of the patterns on them with the geometrical decoration of painted cones on the palace at Uruk (cf. p. 712 of this volume), have been pointed out with justice by H. G. TOMKINS, *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, p. 111, et seq.; and HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. pp. 27, 28 (cf. HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 82).

[5] The high tiara is represented among others on the head of Marduknadinakhe, King of Babylon: cf. what is said of the conical mitre, the head-dress of Sin, on pp. 545, 655 of this volume.

[6] As on the protecting divinity of Idingiranagin upon one of the fragments of the *Stele of the Vultures* (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Fouilles en Chaldée*, pl. 4, Nos. B, C; HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'Art*, pp. 71, 72); cf. p. 606 of this volume.

[7] G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 98, 99, 106, 107.

into minor sections for body-linen, washing, or for this or that kind of head-dress or sceptre. The dress of the women, which was singularly like that of the men, required no less a staff of attendants. The female servants, as well as the male, went about bare to the waist at all events while working indoors. When they went out, they wore the same sort of tunic or loin-cloth, but longer and more resembling a petticoat; they had the same "abayah" drawn round the shoulders or rolled about the body like a cloak, but with the women it nearly touched the ground; sometimes an actual dress seems to have been substituted for the "abayah," drawn in to the figure by a belt and cut out of the same hairy material as that of which the mantles were made.[1] The boots were of soft leather, laced, and without heels; the women's ornaments were more numerous than those of the men, and comprised necklaces, bracelets, ankle, finger, and ear rings; their hair was separated into bands and kept in place on the forehead by a fillet, falling in thick plaits or twisted into a coil on the nape of the neck.[2] A great deal of the work was performed by foreign or native slaves, generally under the command of eunuchs, to whom the king and royal princes entrusted most of the superintendence of their domestic arrangements; they guarded and looked after the sleeping apartments, they fanned and kept the flies from their master, and handed him his food and drink. Eunuchs in Egypt were either unknown or but little esteemed: they never seem to have been used, even in times when relations with Asia were of daily occurrence, and when they might have been supplied from the Babylonian slave-markets.

FEMALE SERVANT BARE TO THE WAIST.[3]

All these various officials closely attached to the person of the sovereign—heads of the wardrobe, chamberlains, cupbearers, bearers of the royal sword or of the flabella, commanders of the eunuchs or of the guards—had, by the nature of their duties, daily opportunities of gaining a direct influence over their master and his government, and from among them he often chose the generals of his army or the administrators of his domains.[4] Here, again, as far as the

[1] HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 125, et seq.

[2] For the head-dress of the women, see, besides the vignette on p. 721, the head which serves as frontispiece to this chapter, p. 701, and the intaglios reproduced on pp. 555, 655, 680, etc., of this volume.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the bronze figure in the Louvre, published by HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 14.

[4] All these officials are represented later on in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, as well as in BOTTA, *Le Monument de Ninive*, pl. 14, et seq., where we see officials passing before Sargon and bringing offerings; the official posts which they occupied were probably ancient ones, which had existed in

few monuments and the obscurity of the texts permit of our judging, we find indications of a civil and military organization analogous to that of Egypt: the divergencies which contemporaries may have been able to detect in the two national systems are effaced by the distance of time, and we are struck merely by the resemblances. As all business transactions were carried on by barter or by the exchange of merchandise for weighed quantities of the precious metals, the taxes were consequently paid in kind: the principal media being corn and other cereals, dates, fruits, stuffs, live animals and slaves, as well as gold, silver, lead, and copper, either in its native state or melted into bars fashioned into implements or ornamented vases. Hence we continually come across fiscal storehouses, both in town and country, which demanded the services of a whole troop of functionaries and workmen: administrators of corn, cattle, precious metals, wine and oil; in fine, as many administrators as there were cultures or industries in the country presided over the gathering of the products into the central depôts and regulated their redistribution.[1] A certain portion was reserved for the salaries of the employés and the pay of the workmen engaged in executing public works: the surplus accumulated in the treasury and formed a reserve, which was not drawn upon except in cases of extreme necessity. Every palace, in addition to its living-rooms, contained within its walls large store-chambers filled with provisions and weapons, which made it more or less a fortress, furnished with indispensable requisites for sustaining a prolonged siege either against an enemy's troops or the king's own subjects in revolt.[3] The king always kept about him bodies

COSTUME OF A CHALDÆAN LADY.[2]

early Chaldæan times, and several of their names figure on lists, the earliest forms of which go back, apparently, very far (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 31, No. 5, col. i. l. 11, and col. v. l. 29, the dagger-bearer, col. i. ll. 9, 10, the cup-bearers; cf. DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Studien*, vol. i. p. 132; OPPERT-MENANT, *Les Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie and de la Chaldée*, pp. 71, 74). For the same staff of functionaries at the court of Pharaoh, and about the Egyptian nobles, cf. what is said on pp. 277–280 of this volume.

[1] All these functions and the duties they represent are made known to us by RAWLINSON's list, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 31, No. 5, which has been mentioned in the preceding note; the "administrators of corn" (col. ii. l. 2) and of "precious metals" (col. ii. l. 3), the "chiefs of vines" (col. iii. l. 22), and "of herds of oxen" (col. vi. l. 4), or "of birds" (col. vii. l. 5).

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the alabaster statuette in the Louvre, published in HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. pl. v. She holds in her hand the jar full of water, analogous to the streaming vase mentioned above, p. 713 (cf. HEUZEY, *Les Origines orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 157, et seq.).

[3] For the military offices of Assyrian times, see the commentary by FR. DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Studien*, vol. i. pp. 128–139, on RAWLINSON's list, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 31, No. 5; the majority of them go back to Chaldæan times, as is shown by the forms of the names.

of soldiers who perhaps were foreign mercenaries, like the Mazaiû of the armies of the Pharaohs, and who formed his permanent body-guard in times of peace. When a war was imminent, a military levy was made upon his domains, but we are unable to find out whether the recruits thus raised were drawn indiscriminately from the population in general, or merely from a special class, analogous to that of the warriors which we find in Egypt, who were paid in the same way by grants of land. The equipment of these soldiers was of the rudest kind: they had no cuirass, but carried a rectangular shield, and, in the case of those of higher rank at all events, a conical metal helmet, probably of beaten copper, provided with a piece to protect the back of the neck; the heavy infantry were armed with a pike tipped with bronze or copper, an axe or sharp adze, a stone-headed mace, and a dagger; the light troops were provided only with the bow and sling.[1] As early as the third millennium B.C., the king went to battle in a chariot drawn by onagers, or perhaps horses; he had his own peculiar weapon, which was a curved bâton probably terminating in a metal point, and resembling the sceptre of the Pharaohs.[2] Considerable quantities of all these arms were stored in the arsenals, which contained depôts for bows, maces, and pikes, and even the stones needed for the slings had their special department for storage.[3] At the beginning of each campaign, a distribution of weapons to the newly levied troops took place; but as soon as the war was at an end, the men brought back their accoutrements, which were stored till they were again required. The valour of the soldiers and their chiefs was then rewarded; the share of the spoil for some consisted of cattle, gold, corn, a female slave, and vessels of value; for others, lands or towns in the conquered country, regulated by the rank of the recipients or the extent of the services they had rendered. Property thus given was hereditary, and privileges were often added to it which raised the holder to the rank of a petty prince: for instance, no royal official was permitted to impose a tax upon such lands, or take the cattle off them, or levy provisions upon them; no troop of soldiers might enter them, not even for the purpose of arresting a fugitive.[4] Most of the noble

[1] See the cylinder reproduced on p. 723, on which soldiers are represented leading a band of men and women prisoners; see also the remains of the "Stele of the Vultures," p. 606 of this History.

[2] This is nearly the same as the "hûqû" of the Egyptians (cf. p. 60, note 3, of this volume), known best under the form which it took in later times, but of which several variants are exactly like the Chaldæan weapon. Mons. Heuzey believes it to be a weapon for throwing, perhaps analogous to the boomerang.

[3] RAWLINSON'S list, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 31, No. 5, gives for example "overseer of the bows" (col. vi. l. 6) and "keeper of the stones for slings" (col. vi. l. 7; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Les Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, p. 75), and other similar chiefs of the arsenal, the meaning of whose titles is at present uncertain. Place found at Khorsabad large stores of iron and copper weapons (PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. i. pp. 84–90), which show what these depôts of arms must have been like.

[4] All these particulars are taken from the inscription in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v.

families possessed domains of this kind, and constituted in each kingdom a powerful and wealthy feudal aristocracy, whose relations to their sovereign were probably much the same as those which bound the nomarchs to the Pharaoh. The position of these nobles was not more stable than that of the dynasties under which they lived: while some among them gained power by marriages or by continued acquisitions of land, others fell into disgrace and were ruined. As the soil belonged to the gods,[1] it is possible that these nobles were supposed, in theory, to depend upon the gods; but as the kings were the vicegerents of the gods upon earth, it was to the king, as a matter of fact, that they owed their elevation. Every state, therefore, comprised two parts, each subject to a distinct *régime:* one being the personal domain of the suzerain, which he managed himself, and from which he drew the revenues; the other was composed of fiefs, whose lords paid tribute and owed certain obligations to the king, the nature of which we are as yet unable to define.

A SOLDIER BRINGING PRISONERS AND SPOIL.[2]

The Chaldæan, like the Egyptian scribe, was the pivot on which the machinery of this double royal and seignorial administration turned. He does not appear to have enjoyed as much consideration as his fellow-official in the Nile Valley: the Chaldæan princes, nobles, priests, soldiers, and temple or royal officials, did not covet the title of scribe, or pride themselves upon holding that office side by side with their other dignities, as we see was the case with their Egyptian contemporaries.[3] The position

pls. 55–57, translated by HILPRECHT, *Freibrief Nebukadnezar's I. Königs von Babylonien*, 1883, and by PINCHES-BUDGE, *On an Edict of Nebuchadnezzar I.*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1883–84, vol. vi. pp. 144–170; cf. PEISER, *Inschriften Nebukadnezar's I.*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii¹. pp. 164–171. Another charter of the same king, treating of a similar donation, has been published by ALDEN-SMITH, *Assyrian Letters*, iv. pls. viii., ix., and translated by BRUNO MEISSNER, *Ein Freibrief Nebukadnezar's II.*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. pp. 250–267 (where it is by a mistake attributed to Nebuchadrezzar II.), and by PEISER, *Inschriften Nabukadnezar's I.*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, pp. 172, 173. Donations of the same kind, but apparently not so extensive, are engraved on stone, and take us back to the time of Marduknadinakhe (OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 98, et seq.).

[1] Cf. what is briefly said on this subject on pp. 678, 679 of this volume.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the Chaldæan intaglio in the British Museum (MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pl. iii., No. 1, and pp. 104, 105).

[3] The scribe's name of "dubshar," Assyrianized into "tipshar," signifies, properly speaking, "writer of tablets," and the word passed into the Hebrew language at the time of the intimate connection between Judæa and Assyria, towards the VIIIth century before our era. Schrader was the first to give its real signification; it had been previously translated "military chief," "captain," "satrap" (OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 361).

of a scribe, nevertheless, was an important one. We continually meet with it in all grades of society—in the palace, in the temples, in the store-houses, in private dwellings; in fine, the scribe was ubiquitous, at court, in the town, in the country, in the army, managing affairs both small and great, and seeing that they were carried on regularly. His education differed but little from that given to the Egyptian scribe; he learned the routine of administrative or judicial affairs, the formularies for correspondence either with nobles or with ordinary people, the art of writing, of calculating quickly, and of making out bills correctly. We may well ask whether he ever employed papyrus or prepared skins for these purposes. It would, indeed, seem strange that, after centuries of intercourse, no caravan should have brought into Chaldæa any of those materials which were in such constant use for literary purposes in Africa;[1] yet the same clay which furnished the architect with such an abundant building material appears to have been the only medium for transmitting the language which the scribes possessed. They were always provided with slabs of a fine plastic clay, carefully mixed and kept sufficiently moist to take easily the impression of an object, but at the same time sufficiently firm to prevent the marks once made from becoming either blurred or effaced. When a scribe had a text to copy or a document to draw up, he chose out one of his slabs, which he placed flat upon his left palm, and taking in the right hand a triangular stylus of flint, copper, bronze, or bone,[2] he at once set to work. The instrument, in early times, terminated in a fine point, and the marks made by it when it was gently pressed upon the clay were slender and of uniform thickness; in later times, the extremity of the stylus was cut with a bevel, and the impression then took the shape of a metal nail or a wedge. They wrote from left to right along the upper part of the tablet, and covered both sides of it with closely written lines, which sometimes ran over on to the edges.[3] When the writing was finished, the scribe sent his work to the potter, who put it in the kiln and baked it, or the writer may have had a small oven at his

[1] On the Assyrian monuments we frequently see scribes taking a list of the spoil, or writing letters on tablets and some other soft material, either papyrus or prepared skin (cf. LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pls. 19, 26, 29, 35, 37, etc.). Sayce has given good reasons for believing that the Chaldæans of the early dynasties knew of the papyrus, and either made it themselves, or had it brought from Egypt (SAYCE, *The Use of Papyrus as a writing material among the Accadians*, in the *Transactions of the Biblical Archæological Society*, vol. i. pp. 343–345).

[2] See the triangular stylus of copper or bronze reproduced by the side of the measuring-rule, and the plan on the tablet of Gudea, p. 710 of this volume. The Assyrian Museum in the Louvre possesses several large, flat styli of bone, cut to a point at one end, which appear to have belonged to the Assyrian scribes (A. DE LONGPÉRIER, *Notice des Antiquités Assyriens*, 3rd edit., p. 82, Nos. 414–417; cf. OPPERT, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 63). Taylor discovered in a tomb at Eridu a flint tool, which may have served for the same purpose as the metal or bone styli (*Notes on Abu-Shahrein and Tel-el-Lahm*, in the *Journ. of the As. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 410, and *m* of plate ii.).

[3] MÉNANT, *La Bibliothèque du Palais de Ninive*, pp. 25–27.

own disposition, as a clerk with us would have his table or desk. The shape of these documents varied, and sometimes strikes us as being peculiar: besides the tablets and the bricks, we find small solid cones, or hollow cylinders of considerable size, on which the kings related their exploits or recorded the history of their wars or the dedication of their buildings. This method had a few inconveniences, but many advantages. These clay books were heavy to hold and clumsy to handle, while the characters did not stand out well from the brown, yellow, and whitish background of the material; but, on the other hand, a poem, baked and incorporated into the page itself, ran less danger of destruction than if scribbled in ink on sheets of papyrus. Fire could make no impression on it; it could withstand water for a considerable length of time; even if broken, the pieces were still of use: as long as it was not pulverized, the entire document could be restored, with the exception, perhaps, of a few signs, or some scraps of a sentence. The inscriptions which have been saved from the foundations of the most ancient temples, several of which date back forty or fifty centuries, are for the most part as clear and legible as when they left the hands of the writer who engraved them or of the workmen who baked them. It is owing to the material to which they were committed that we possess the principal works of Chaldæan literature which have come down to us—poems, annals, hymns, magical incantations; how few fragments of these would ever have reached us had their authors confided them to parchment or paper, after the manner of the Egyptian scribes! The greatest danger that they ran was that of being left forgotten in the corner of the chamber in which they had been kept, or buried under the rubbish of a building after a fire or some violent catastrophe; even then the *débris* were the means of preserving them, by falling over them and covering them up. Protected under the ruins, they would lie there for centuries, till the fortunate explorer should bring them to light and deliver them over to the patient study of the learned.[1]

The cuneiform character in itself is neither picturesque nor decorative. It does not offer that delightful assemblage of birds and snakes, of men and quadrupeds, of heads and limbs, of tools, weapons, stars, trees, and boats, which succeed each other in perplexing order on the Egyptian monuments, to give permanence to the glory of Pharaoh and the greatness of his gods. Cuneiform writing is essentially composed of thin short lines, placed in juxtaposition or crossing each other in a somewhat clumsy fashion; it has the appearance of numbers of nails scattered about at haphazard, and its angular

[1] The Assyrians and later Babylonians subsequently sought after these ancient documents in order to copy them afresh; see, for examples of recopied texts, pp. 594, note 1, and 597 of this volume.

configuration, and its stiff and spiny appearance, gives the inscriptions a dull and forbidding aspect which no artifice of the engraver can overcome. Yet, in spite of their seemingly arbitrary character, this mass of strokes had its source in actual hieroglyphs.[1] As in the origin of the Egyptian script the earliest writers had begun by drawing on stone or clay the outline of the object of which they desired to convey the idea. But, whereas in Egypt the artistic temperament of the race, and the increasing skill of their sculptors, had by degrees brought the drawing of each sign to such perfection that it became a miniature portrait of the being or object to be reproduced, in Chaldæa, on the contrary, the signs became degraded from their original forms on account of the difficulty experienced in copying them with the stylus on the clay tablets: they lost their original vertical position, and were placed horizontally,[2] retaining finally but the very faintest resemblance to the original model. For instance, the Chaldæan conception of the sky was that of a vault divided into eight segments by diameters running from the four cardinal points and from their principal subdivisions ; the external circle was soon omitted, the transverse lines alone remaining , which again was simplified into a kind of irregular cross .[3] The figure of a man standing, indicated by the lines resembling his contour, was placed on its side , and reduced little by little till it came to be merely a series of ill-balanced lines or .[4] We may still recognize in , the five fingers and palm of a human hand ; but who would guess at the first glance that stands for the human foot ? In later times lists were made, in which the scribes strove to place beside each character the special hieroglyph from which it had been derived. Several fragments of these still exist, a study of which seems to show that the Assyrian scribes of a more recent period were at times as much puzzled as we are ourselves when they strove to get at the principles of their own script:[5] they had come to look on it as

[1] The hieroglyphic origin of the cuneiform characters was pointed out by the earlier Assyriologists, and particularly by OPPERT, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. pp. 63–69. It has been established anew by DELITZSCH, *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftssystem*, 1897.

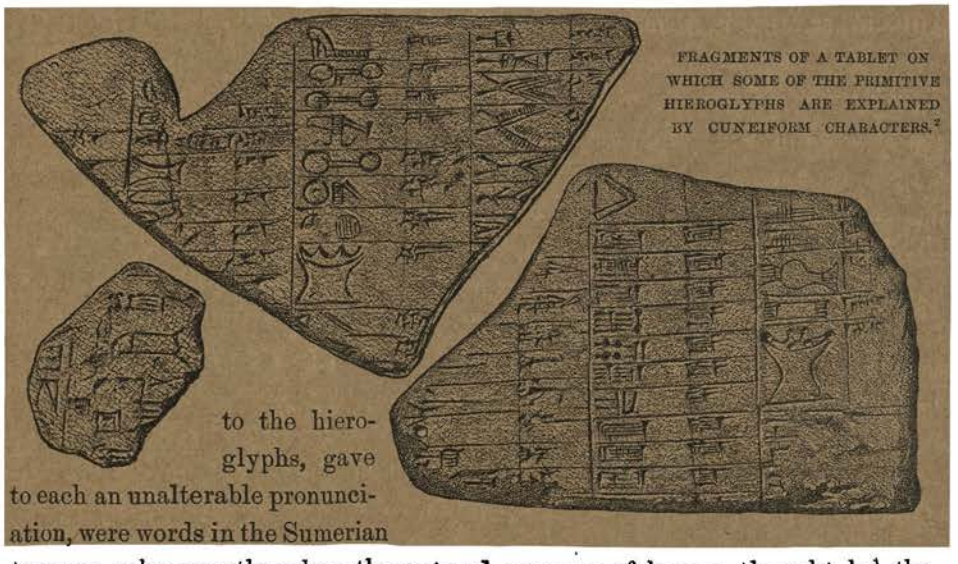
[2] This fact, which had been suspected by Oppert, was placed beyond doubt by the discovery of the inscriptions at Lagash (OPPERT, *Die Französischen Ausgrabungen in Chaldæa*, in the *Abhandlungen des 5ten Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses, 2ter Theil*, i. pp. 230–241; cf. HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, pp. 270–273, and *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 35–37).

[3] This sign is generally supposed to be derived from that representing a *star*. Oppert, who at first admitted this derivation, has since thought that it was meant to be a conventional image of the Chaldæan heaven, and his opinion is confirmed by JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 4.

[4] HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 35, 36. This sign is taken from Statue B of Gudea (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. xvi. col. vii. ll. 59, 61).

[5] The fragment which furnishes us with these facts has been noticed and partly translated by OPPERT, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 65. It comes from Kouyunjik, and is preserved in the British Museum. It has been published by MÉNANT, *Leçons d'épigraphie assyrienne*,

nothing more than a system of arbitrary combinations, whose original form had passed all the more readily into oblivion, because it had been borrowed from a foreign race, who, as far as they were concerned, had ceased to have a separate existence. The script had been invented by the Sumerians in the very earliest times, and even they may have brought it in an elemental condition from their distant fatherland.[1] The first articulate sounds which, being attached to the hieroglyphs, gave to each an unalterable pronunciation, were words in the Sumerian



FRAGMENTS OF A TABLET ON WHICH SOME OF THE PRIMITIVE HIEROGLYPHS ARE EXPLAINED BY CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS.[2]

tongue; subsequently, when the natural progress of human thought led the Chaldæans to replace, as in Egypt, the majority of the signs representing ideas by those representing sounds, the syllabic values which were developed side by side with the ideographic values were purely Sumerian. The group , throughout all its forms, designates in the first place the sky, then the god of the sky, and finally the concept of divinity in general. In its first two senses it is read *ana*, but in the last it becomes *dingir*, *dimir*; and though it never lost its double force, it was soon separated from the ideas which it evoked, to be used merely to denote the syllable *an* wherever it occurred, even in cases

pp. 51, 52; and since by W. HOUGHTON, *On the Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the Characters of the Assyrian Syllabary*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi., plate facing p. 454. Collections of archaic characters, entirely defaced, but nevertheless translated into the more recent cuneiform, have been discovered and commented on by PINCHES, *Archaic Forms of Babylonian Characters*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 149–156.

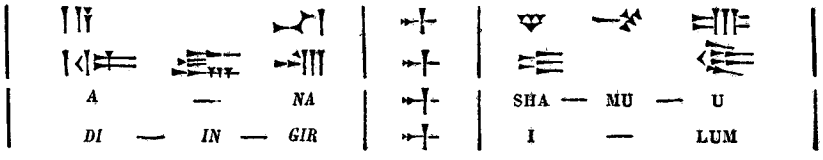
[1] The foreign origin of the cuneiform syllabary was pointed out for the first time by OPPERT, *Sur l'Origine des Inscriptions cunéiformes*, in the *Athenæum Français*, for the 20th of October, 1854; *Rapport adressé à Son Exc. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes*, p. 71, et seq. (cf. *Archives des Missions scientifiques*, 1st series, vol. v. p. 186, et seq.); *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. pp. 77–86. Oppert attributed the honour of its invention to the Scythians of the ancients.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph published by HOUGHTON, *On the Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the Characters of the Assyrian Syllabary*, in the *Transactions*, vol. vi. p. 454.

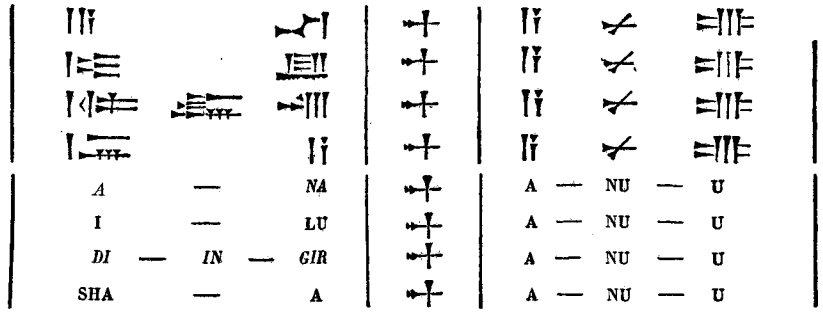
where it had no connection with the sky or heavenly things. The same process was applied to other signs with similar results: after having merely denoted ideas, they came to stand for the sounds corresponding to them, and then passed on to be mere syllables—complex syllables in which several consonants may be distinguished, or simple syllables composed of only one consonant and one vowel, or *vice versâ*. The Egyptians had carried this system still further, and in many cases had kept only one part of the syllable, namely, a mute consonant: they detached, for example, the final *u* from *pu* and *bu*, and gave only the values *b* and *p* to the human leg and the mat . The peoples of the Euphrates stopped halfway, and admitted actual letters for the vowel-sounds *a*, *i*, and *u* only. Their system remained a syllabary interspersed with ideograms, but excluded an alphabet.

It was eminently wanting in simplicity, but, taken as a whole, it would not have presented as many difficulties as the script of the Egyptians, had it not been forced, at a very early period, to adapt itself to the exigencies of a language for which it had not been made. When it came to be appropriated by the Semites, the ideographs, which up till then had been read in Sumerian, did not lose the sounds which they possessed in that tongue, but borrowed others from the new language. For example, "god" was called *ilu*, and "heaven" called *shami*: and , when encountered in inscriptions by the Semites, were read *ilu* when the context showed the sense to be "god," and *shami* when the character evidently meant "heaven." They added these two vocables to the preceding *ana*, *an*, *dingir*, *dimir*; but they did not stop there: they confounded the picture of the star with that of the sky, and sometimes attributed to , , the pronunciation *kakkabu*, and the meaning of *star*. The same process was applied to all the groups, and the Semitic values being added to the Sumerian, the scribes soon found themselves in possession of a double set of syllables both simple and compound. This multiplicity of sounds, this *polyphonous* character attached to their signs, became a cause of embarrassment even to them. For instance, , when found in the body of a word, stood for the syllables *bi* or *bat*, *mid*, *mit*, *til*, *ziz*; as an ideogram it was used for a score of different concepts: that of lord or master, *inu*, *bilu*; that of blood, *damû*; for a corpse, *pagru*, *shalamtu*; for the feeble or oppressed, *kabtu*, *nagpu*; as the hollow and the spring, *nakbu*; for the state of old age, *labaru*; of dying, *mâtu*; of killing, *mîtu*; of opening, *pîtu*; besides other meanings. Several phonetic complements were added to it; it was preceded by ideograms which determined the sense in which it was to be read, but which, like the Egyptian determinatives, were not pronounced, and in this manner they succeeded in limiting the number of mistakes which it

was possible to make. With a final it would always mean *bilu*, the master, but with an initial (thus) it denoted the gods Bel or Ea; with , which indicates a man , it would be the corpse, *pagru* and *shalamtu*; with prefixed, it meant *mutanu*, the plague or death and so on. In spite of these restrictions and explanations, the obscurity of the meaning was so great, that in many cases the scribes ran the risk of being unable to make out certain words and understand certain passages; many of the values occurred but rarely, and remained unknown to those who did not take the trouble to make a careful study of the syllabary and its history. It became necessary to draw up tables for their use, in which all the signs were classified and arranged, with their meanings and phonetic transcriptions. These signs occupied one column, and in three or four corresponding columns would be found, first, the name assigned to it; secondly, the spelling, in syllables, of the phonetic values which the signs expressed; thirdly, the Sumerian and Assyrian words which they served to render, and sometimes glosses which completed the explanation. If it were desired, for instance, to verify the possible equivalents of the sign , a syllabary would furnish—



in which is interpreted by "heaven" (ana = shamu) and by "god" (dingir = ilum) only,[1] but another syllabary would give the series more completely:



Even this is far from exhausting the matter.[2] Several of these dictionaries went back to a very early date, and tradition ascribes to Sargon of Agade the merit of having them drawn up or of having collected them in his palace. The number of them naturally increased in the course of centuries; in the

[1] LENORMANT, *Les Syllabaires*, p. 76; DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2nd edit., p. 46, col. i. ll. 1, 2.
[2] LENORMANT, *Les Syllabaires*, pp. 113, 114; DELITZSCH, *Ass. Lesestücke*, p. 37, col. ii. ll. 14-16.

later times of the Assyrian empire they were so numerous as to form nearly one-fourth of the works in the library at Nineveh under Assurbanipal. Other tablets contained dictionaries of archaic or obsolete terms, grammatical paradigms, extracts from laws or ancient hymns analyzed sentence by sentence and often word by word, interlinear glosses, collections of Sumerian formulas translated into Semitic speech—a child's guide, in fact, which the savants of those times consulted with as much advantage as those of our own day have done, and which must have saved them from many a blunder.[1]

When once accustomed to the difficulties and intricacies of their calling, the scribes were never at a standstill. The stylus was plied in Chaldæa no less assiduously than was the calamus in Egypt, and the indestructible clay, which the Chaldæans were as a rule content to use, proved a better medium in the long run than the more refined material employed by their rivals: the baked or merely dried clay tablets have withstood the assaults of time in surprising quantities, while the majority of papyri have disappeared without leaving a trace behind. If at Babylon we rarely meet with those representations, which we find everywhere in the tombs of Saqqara or Gîzeh, of the people themselves and their families, their occupations, amusements, and daily intercourse, we possess, on the other hand, that of which the ruins of Memphis have furnished us but scanty instances up to the present time, namely, judicial documents, regulating the mutual relations of the people and conferring a legal sanction on the various events of their life. Whether it were a question of buying lands or contracting a marriage, of a loan on interest, or the sale of slaves, the scribe was called in with his soft tablets to engross the necessary agreement. In this he would insert as many details as possible—the day of the month, the year of the reigning sovereign, and at times, to be still more precise, an allusion to some important event which had just taken place, and a memorial of which was inserted in official annals, such as the taking of a town,[2] the defeat of a neighbouring king,[3]

[1] The expression "child's guide" was applied to the grammatical and lexicographical tablets of the Assyrian libraries for the first time by FR. LENORMANT, *Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet phenicien*, vol. i. p. 48. These texts have formed the subject matter of an immense number of publications and detailed memoirs, of which an almost complete bibliography up to 1886 will be found in BEZOLD, *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, p. 197, et seq. Since that time the number of works has been considerably augmented.

[2] Contract of "the year of the taking of Ishin" (MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 33); another of the "6th Shebat of the year in which the wall of Maîr was destroyed" (ID., *ibid.*, p. 85).

[3] Contract dated "the 10th Kislev of the year in which the King Rimsin smote the wicked, his enemies" (MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 17); another which was sealed on the date "of the 23rd Shebat of the year in which the King Khammurabi, in the strength of Anu and Bel, established his right, and in which his hand struck to the ground the ruler of the country of Iamutbal, the King Rimsin" (JENSEN, *Inschriften aus der Regierungszeit Hammurabis*, in the *Keilschriftlische Bibliothek*, vol. iii. 1st part, pp. 126, 127).

the dedication of a temple,[1] the building of a wall or fortress,[2] the opening of a canal,[3] or the ravages of an inundation:[4] the names of the witnesses and magistrates before whom the act was confirmed were also added to those of the contracting parties.[5] The method of sanctioning it was curious. An indentation was made with the finger-nail on one of the sides of the tablet, and this mark, followed or preceded by the mention of a name, "Nail of Zabudamik," "Nail of Abzii," took the place of our more or less complicated sign-manuals.[6] In later times, only the buyer and witnesses approved by a nail-mark, while the seller appended his seal; an inscription incised above the impress indicating the position of the signatory.[7] Every one of any importance possessed a seal,[8] which he wore attached to his wrist or hung round his neck by a cord; he scarcely ever allowed it to be separated from his person during his lifetime, and after death it was placed with him in the tomb in order to prevent any improper use being made of it.[9] It was usually a cylinder, sometimes a truncated cone with a convex base, either of marble, red or green jasper, agate, cornelian, onyx or rock crystal, but rarely of metal. Engraved upon it in intaglio was an emblem or subject chosen by the owner, such as the single figure of a god or goddess, an act of adoration, a sacrifice, or an episode in the story of Gilgames, followed sometimes by the inscription of a name and title.[10]

[1] Contract dated in the "month of Adar in which Khammurabi restored for Ishtar and Nanâ the temple of Eîturkalama" (MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 88, 89).

[2] Contract of the "10th Marcheswân of the year in which Ammiditana, the king, raised the wall of Ammiditana, near to the canal of Sîn ..." (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 27, cf. p. 28); another of "the 2nd Marcheswân, the year of the restoration of the foundations of the wall of Sippara" (ID., *ibid.*, p. 32).

[3] Contract of "the year of the canal of Khammurabi" (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 23, cf. pp. 48, 86); again "of the year of the canal *Tutu-khegal*" (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 24, 25, 112, 83, 84); another of "the year in which they dug for the Tigris, the river of the gods, a bed towards the Ocean" (ID., *ibid.*, p. 44).

[4] Contract dated in the "month of Tishri in the year in which the flood ravaged the country of Umliyash" (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 30, cf. pp. 48, 69).

[5] These contracts, and all the legal texts in general, remained for a long time a sealed book for savants. Oppert was the first to attack them resolutely in spite of their difficulties, and he gave tentative translations of some of them (*Un traité babylonien sur brique conservé dans la collection de M. Louis de Clercq*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, vol. xiv. pp. 164–177; *Les Inscriptions commerciales en caractères cunéiformes*, in the *Revue Orientale et Americaine*, vol. vi. p. 333, et seq., etc.); he published a great number in collaboration with Ménant (*Les Documents juridiques*, etc., 1877). Since then he has devoted a large number of notes and small memoirs to the explanation and correction of points which he had left doubtful in his earlier translations (*Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. ix. pp. 89–108; *Journ. Asiat.*, 1880, vol. xv. p. 543, etc.). The publication of the contracts by Dr. Strassmayer has largely helped us to understand these precious documents more fully; the results deduced from them up to the present time have been systematised in Germany principally by Peiser and Meissner.

[6] The meaning of this local custom, and the reading of the word signifying *finger-nail*, were discovered by Coxe of the British Museum (OPPERT, *Un traité babylonien sur brique*, p. 16).

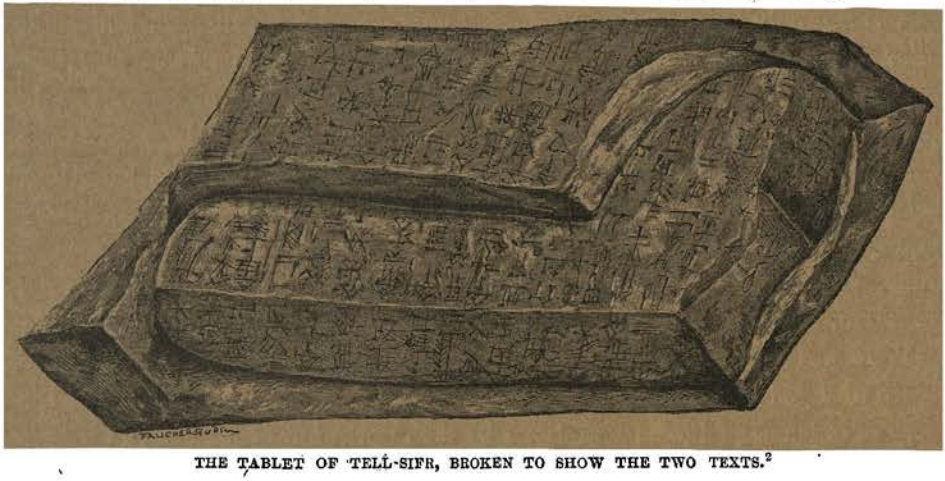
[7] The technical and archæological questions relating to these seals have been elucidated by Ménant in several memoirs, which he has finally completed and incorporated in his great work on *Les Pierres Gravées de la Haute-Asie: Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale*, 2 vols., 1883–86.

[8] HERODOTUS, i. 195: σφρηγῖδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει. For the expressions used on the application of the seal, see a passage in OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 67–70.

[9] Taylor found at Mughêîr a skeleton having his seal still attached to his wrist (*Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the As. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 270). For the manner of wearing the seal, cf. MÉNANT, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux du Cabinet royal des Médailles de la Haye*, pp. 3, 4.

[10] The impressions left by the cylinders and seals on the cuneiform tablets have been collected

The cylinder was rolled, or, in the case of the cone, merely pressed on the clay, in the space reserved for it. In several localities[1] the contracting parties had recourse to a very ingenious procedure to prevent the agreements being altered or added to by unscrupulous persons. When the document had been impressed on the tablet, it was enveloped in a second coating of clay, upon which an exact copy of the original was made, the latter thus becoming inaccessible to forgers: if by chance, in course of time, any disagreement



THE TABLET OF TELL-SIFR, BROKEN TO SHOW THE TWO TEXTS.[2]

should take place, and an alteration of the visible text should be suspected, the outer envelope was broken in the presence of witnesses, and a comparison was made to see if the exterior corresponded exactly with the interior version. Families thus had their private archives, to which additions were rapidly made by every generation; every household thus accumulated not only the evidences of its own history, but to some extent that of other families with whom they had formed alliances, or had business or friendly relations.[3]

The constitution of the family was of a complex character. It would appear that the people of each city were divided into clans, all of whose members claimed to be descended from a common ancestor, who had flourished at a more or less remote period.[4] The members of each clan were by no means

and made a special study of by MÉNANT, *Empreintes de cachets assyro-chaldéens relevés au Musée Britannique sur des contrats d'intérêt privé*, in the *Archives des Missions scientifiques*, 3rd series, vol. ix.

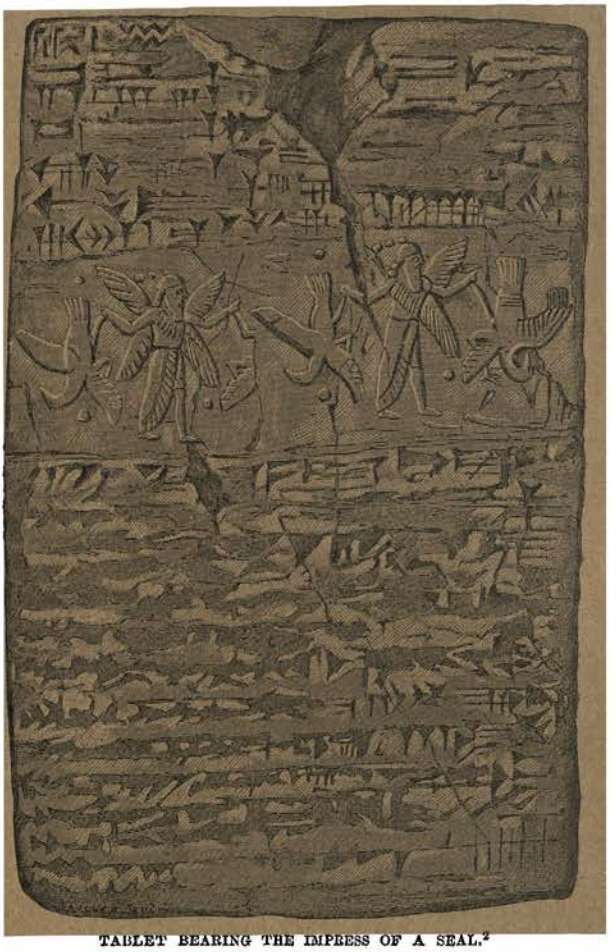
[1] For example, at Tell-Sifr, LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches*, etc.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches*, etc., p. 269.

[3] The tablets of Tell-Sifr come from one of these family collections. They all, in number about one hundred, rested on three enormous bricks, and they had been covered with a mat of which the half-decayed remains were still visible: three other crude bricks covered the heap (LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches*, etc., p. 268, et seq.). The documents contained in them relate for the most part to the families of Sininana and Amililâni, and form part of their archives.

[4] The most celebrated of these families, under the New Chaldæan Empire and the Persian Dominion, appears to have been that of Egibi, in whom Mr. Boscawen wishes to recognize an agency for financial affairs, and a bank carrying on business under the name of Egibi and Sons (*Babylonian*

all in the same social position, some having gone down in the world, others having raised themselves; and amongst them we find many different callings—from agricultural labourers to scribes, and from merchants to artisans. No mutual tie existed among the majority of these members except the remembrance of their common origin, perhaps also a common religion, and eventual rights of succession or claims upon what belonged to each one individually.[1] The branches which had become gradually separated from the parent stock, and which, taken all together, formed the clan, possessed each, on the contrary, a very strict organization. It is possible that, at the outset, the woman occupied the more important position, but at an early date the man became the head of the family,[3] and around him were ranged the wives,



TABLET BEARING THE IMPRESS OF A SEAL.[2]

dated Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi. p. 6). M. Oppert was the first to show that the people in question were a tribe, an actual clan, and indicated the division of the Chaldæan population into clans (*Les Tablettes juridiques de Babylone*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, vol. xv. p. 543, et seq., and the *Condition des esclaves à Babylone*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Insc.*, 1888, pp. 120, 121). This system of division appears to date back to the most ancient times, in spite of our having found up to the present time but few traces of it on the monuments of the First Chaldæan Empire. It is possible, however, that allusion was made to it in passages analogous to that in which Gudea is proclaimed to be the faithful shepherd, whose power Ningirsu has established among the tribes of men (*Statue D in the Louvre*, col. iii. ll. 10, 11, in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 16); but the translation of this text is not quite certain.

[1] OPPERT, *Les Tablettes juridiques de Babylone*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, vol. xv. p. 549, note 7; and *Un Acte de vente conservé en deux exemplaires*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. iii. pp. 61, 62. It is a question whether the god and goddess who watched over each man, and of whom he was the son (cf. pp. 682, 683 of the present work), were not originally the god and goddess of the clan.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by LAYARD, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 609.

[3] The change in the condition of women would be due to the influence of Semitic ideas and customs in Chaldæa (HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprache*, pp. 416–418; PINCHES, *Notes upon*

children, servants, and slaves, all of whom had their various duties and privileges. He offered the household worship to the gods of his race, in accordance with special rites which had come down to him from his father; he made at the tombs of his ancestors, at such times as were customary, the offerings and prayers which assured their repose in the other world, and his powers were as extensive in civil as in religious matters.[1] He had absolute authority over all the members of his household, and anything undertaken by them without his consent was held invalid in the eyes of the law; his sons could not marry unless he had duly authorized them to do so. For this purpose he appeared before the magistrate with the future couple, and the projected union could not be held as an actual marriage, until he had affixed his seal or made his nail-mark on the contract tablet.[2] It amounted, in fact, to a formal deed of sale, and the parents of the girl parted with her only in exchange for a proportionate gift from the bridegroom.[3] One girl would be valued at a silver shekel by weight, while another was worth a mina, another much less;[4] the handing over of the price was accompanied with a certain solemnity.[5] When the young man possessed no property as yet of his own, his family advanced him the sum needed for the purchase.[6] On her side, the maiden did not enter upon her new life empty handed; her father, or, in the case of his death, the head of the family at the time being, provided her with a dowry suited to her social position, which was often augmented by considerable presents from her grandmother, aunts, and cousins.[7] The dowry

some Recent Discoveries in the Realm of Assyriology, with special Reference to the Private Life of the Babylonians, in the *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, vol. xxvi. pp. 138, 139, 181).

[1] The unlimited authority with which the father of the family was invested, has been admitted, at least with regard to the period of early Chaldæan history, by all Assyriologists; cf. OPPERT, in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1879, pp. 1604–1606; HOMMEL, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, p. 416; MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 14, 15.

[2] MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 13. This right remained unaltered down to the latest times, and we possess a document of the VIIIth year of Cyrus (STRASSMAYER, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon*, No. 312), where the judge annuls a marriage which had been celebrated without the consent of the bridegroom's father (KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. ii. pp. 6–10). The necessity for the bridegroom's obtaining the paternal consent is also indicated in the fragments of Sumerian legal texts, translated into Assyrian, which have been published by RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 9, col. iv. l. 4, et seq. (cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 44).

[3] MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 13, 14.

[4] Shamashnazir receives, as the price of his daughter, ten shekels of silver (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 69, 70), which appears to have been an average price in the class of life to which he belonged.

[5] A passage in the old Sumerian texts relating to marriage (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 24, ll. 48–52) seems to say expressly that the bridegroom "placed the price of the woman upon a dish and brought it to the father" (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 14, note 3).

[6] MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 14.

[7] The nature of the dowry in ancient times is clear from the Sumero-Assyrian tablets in which the old legal texts are explained (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 9, col. iii. ll. 5–8), and again from the contents of the contracts of Tell-Sifr, and the documents on stone, such as the *Michaux stone* (OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 85, et seq.), in which we see women bringing their possessions into the community by marriage, and yet retaining the entire disposition of them. For questions relating to the nature of the dowry among the Chaldæans of later periods, cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 85, et seq.; E. and V. RÉVILLOUT, *Les Obligations en*

would consist of a carefully marked out field of corn, a grove of date-palms, a house in the town, a trousseau, furniture, slaves, or ready money; the whole would be committed to clay, of which there would be three copies at least, two being given by the scribe to the contracting parties, while the third would be deposited in the hands of the magistrate.[1] When the bride and bridegroom both belonged to the same class, or were possessed of equal fortunes, the relatives of the woman could exact an oath from the man that he would abstain from taking a second wife during her lifetime; a special article of the marriage agreement permitted the woman to go free should the husband break his faith, and bound him to pay an indemnity as a compensation for the insult he had offered her.[2] This engagement on the part of the man, however, did not affect his relations with his female servants. In Chaldæa, as in Egypt, and indeed in the whole of the ancient world, they were always completely at the mercy of their purchaser,[3] and the permission to treat them as he would had become so much of a custom that the begetting of children by their master was desired rather than otherwise: the complaints of the despised slave, who had not been taken into her master's favour, formed one of the themes of popular poetry at a very early period.[4] When the contract tablet was finally sealed, one of the witnesses, who was required to be a free man, joined the hands of the young couple;[5] nothing then remained to be done but to invite the blessing of the gods, and to end the day by a feast, which would unite both families

droit égyptien, p. 329, et seq.; KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. ii. pp. 10–15, which give us an idea of the difficulties caused by the payment of the dowry in instalments, and of restoring it in cases of divorce.

[1] In more modern times, notices inscribed on several tablets prove that the two parties received each a copy (PEISER, *Babylonischen Verträge des Berliner Museums*, pp. 156, 157, 291). We possess three copies of the same deed of sale in the museums of Europe—for example, in the British Museum and the Louvre; of others we possess but two copies (BEZOLD, *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, pp. 154, 155; STRASSMAYER, *Die Babylonische Inschriften im Museum zu Liverpool*, in the *Actes du Ve Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leyde*, 2nd part, sect. 1, p. 580, No. 67, p. 583, No. 89).

[2] The existence of this clause is known of at present in the times of the New Chaldæan Empire, and perhaps is applicable to a marriage with a woman of inferior position to that of the man (PEISER, *Studien zum Babylonischen Rechtswesen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 78–80; KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus. dem Babyl. Rechtsleben*, vol. i. p. 7; OPPERT, *Les Documents juridiques cunéiformes*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyr.*, vol. iii. pp. 182, 183, and *Jugement approbatif d'un contrat*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1886, vol. iii. pp. 555, 556; BOISSIER, *Recherches sur quelques contrats babyloniens*, pp. 40, 42).

[3] The care which was taken, in the Achemenian contracts, in cases where a slave was hired or given as a security, to forbid the hirer or the creditor using her improperly, shows that the right of the master over the female slave remained absolute down to the latest periods.

[4] This Sumero-Assyrian text, published in RAWLINSON'S *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 35, No. 4, ll. 61–76, and previously translated by OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 64–67, has been completely elucidated by FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 168, 169. The slave thus disdained might in time become a malevolent being, against whom precautions were taken by magical conjurations (FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 77, 78).

[5] OPPERT, *Les Inscriptions juridiques*, etc., in the *Actes du VIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu à Vienne*, 2nd sect., pp. 178, 179, 181; the custom to which the document pointed out by Oppert alludes, goes back to the very earliest times. [Traces of it may be noted in Gen. xvi. 2, and xxx. 4, 9.—TR.]

and their guests. The evil spirits, however, always in quest of an easy prey, were liable to find their way into the nuptial chamber, favoured by the confusion inseparable from all household rejoicing: prudence demanded that their attempts should be frustrated, and that the newly married couple should be protected from their attacks. The companions of the bridegroom took possession of him, and, hand to hand and foot to foot, formed as it were a rampart round him with their bodies, and carried him off solemnly to his expectant bride. He then again repeated the words which he had said in the morning: "I am the son of a prince, gold and silver shall fill thy bosom; thou, even thou shalt be my wife, I myself will be thy husband;" and he continued: "As the fruits borne by an orchard, so great shall be the abundance which I shall pour out upon this woman."[1] The priest then called down upon him benedictions from on high: "Therefore, O ye (gods), all that is bad and that is not good in this man, drive it far from him and give him strength. As for thee, O man, exhibit thy manhood, that this woman may be thy wife; thou, O woman, give that which makes thy womanhood, that this man may be thy husband." On the following morning, a thanksgiving sacrifice celebrated the completion of the marriage, and by purifying the new household drove from it the host of evil spirits.[2]

The woman, once bound, could only escape from the sovereign power of her husband by death or divorce; but divorce for her was rather a trial to which she submitted than a right of which she could freely make use. Her husband could repudiate her at will without any complicated ceremonies. It was enough for him to say: "Thou art not my wife!" and to restore to her a sum of money equalling in value the dowry he had received with her;[3] he then sent her back to her father, with a letter informing him of the

[1] This part of the ceremony is described on a Sumero-Assyrian tablet, of which two copies exist, discovered and translated by PINCHES, *Notes upon some of the Recent Discoveries in the Realm of Assyriology, with special Reference to the Private Life of the Babylonians*, in the *Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, vol. xxvi. pp. 143, 145, 159, 160, 169, 170. The interpretation appears to me to result from the fact that mention is made, at the commencement of the column, of impious beings without gods, who might approach the man; in other places magical exorcisms indicate how much those spirits were dreaded "who deprived the bride of the embraces of the man" (FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 79, 80). As Pinches remarks (*op. cit.*, pp. 144, 145), the formula is also found in the part of the poem of Gilgames, where Ishtar wishes to marry the hero (cf. p. 580 of this volume), which shows that the rite and its accompanying words belong to a remote past.

[2] The text that describes these ceremonies was discovered and published by PINCHES, *Glimpses of Babylonian and Assyrian Life, III. A Babylonian Wedding Ceremony*, in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. i. pp. 145-147. As far as I can judge, it contained an exorcism against the "knotting of the tag," and the mention of this subject called up that of the marriage rites. The ceremony commanded on the day following the marriage was probably a purification: as late as the time of Herodotus, the union of man and woman rendered both impure, and they had to perform an ablution before recommencing their occupations (i. 198).

[3] The sum is fixed at half a mina by the text of the Sumerian laws (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 25, l. 12); but it was sometimes less, *e.g.* ten shekels, and sometimes more, *e.g.* a whole mina (MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 149).

dissolution of the conjugal tie.[1] But if in a moment of weariness or anger she hurled the fatal formula at him: "Thou art not my husband!" her fate was sealed: she was thrown into the river and drowned.[2] The adulteress was also punished with death, but with death by the sword; and when the use of iron became widespread, the blade was to be of that metal.[3] Another ancient custom only spared the criminal to devote her to a life of infamy: the outraged husband stripped her of her fleecy garments, giving her merely the loin-cloth in its place, which left her half naked, and then turned her out of the house into the street, where she was at the mercy of the first passer-by.[4] Women of noble or wealthy families found in their fortune a certain protection from the abuse of marital authority. The property which they brought with them by their marriage contract, remained at their own disposal.[5] They had the entire management of it, they farmed it out, they sold it, they spent the income from it as they liked, without interference from any one:

[1] Repudiation of a wife, and the ceremonial connected with it, are summarized, as far as ancient times are concerned, by a passage in the Sumero-Assyrian tablet, published by RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pls. 24, 25, who follows LENORMANT, *Choix de Textes cunéiformes*, p. 35, ll. 47–52, and translated by OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 54. Bertin (*Akkadian Precepts for the Conduct of Man in his Private Life*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii. pp. 236, 237, 252, 253), on the contrary, takes the same text to be a description of the principal marriage-rites, and from it he draws the conclusion that the possibility of divorce was not admitted in Chaldæa between persons of noble family. Meissner (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 14) very rightly returns to Oppert's interpretation, a few details in which he corrects.

[2] This fact was evident from the text of the so-called *Sumerian Laws concerning the Organization of the Family* (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 10, col. i. ll. 1–7; cf. vol. v. pl. 25, col. i.), according to the generally received interpretation: according to that proposed by OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 57, 58, 60–62, it was the woman who had the right of causing the husband who had wronged her to be thrown into the river (cf. OPPERT, in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1879, p. 1610). The publication of the contracts of Iltani and of Bashtum appear to have shown conclusively the correctness of the ordinary translation (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 70–72): uncertainty with regard to one word prevents us from knowing whether the guilty wife were strangled before being thrown into the water, or if she were committed to the river alive.

[3] OPPERT, *Jugement approbatif d'un contrat*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1886, vol. vii. p. 556, and *Les Documents juridiques cunéiformes*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. p. 183. Perhaps the mention of the iron sword is introduced to show that the woman was beheaded, and did not have her throat cut.

[4] This is indicated by the Sumero-Assyrian tablet, in which are given the expressions relating to things concerning marriage (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 10, col. ii. ll. 1–21; and LENORMANT, *Choix de textes cunéiformes*, pp. 35, 36): the passage has been translated by OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 55, 56, with some corrections by Oppert, in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1879, pp. 1613, 1614. Here, again, Bertin (*Akkadian Precepts*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii. pp. 237–240, 252, 253) believes that it treats of marriage and of the education to be given to the eldest son, and that it is a question of repudiation or divorce.

[5] MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 14. In the documents of the New Chaldæan Empire we find instances of married women selling their property themselves, and even of their being present, seated, at the conclusion of the sale (OPPERT, *Un Acte de vente conservé en deux exemplaires*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. i. pp. 52, 53), or of their ceding to a married daughter some property in their own possession, thus renouncing the power of disposing of it, and keeping merely the income from it (OPPERT, *Liberté de la femme à Babylone*, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 89, 90); we have also instances of women reclaiming valuables of gold which their husbands had given away without their authorisation, and also obtaining an indemnity for the wrong they had suffered (PEISER, *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums*, pp. 12–15, 230, 231); also of their lending money to the mother-in-law of their brother (PEISER, *Babylonische Verträge*, etc., pp. 18–21, 233, 234); in fine, empowered to deal with their own property in every respect like an ordinary proprietor (cf. KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. iii. pp. 8, 9).

the man enjoyed the comforts which it procured, but he could not touch it, and his hold upon it was so slight that his creditors could not lay their hands on it.[1] If by his own act he divorced his wife, he not only lost all benefit from her property, but he was obliged to make her an allowance or to pay her an indemnity;[2] at his death, the widow succeeded to these, without prejudice to what she was entitled to by her marriage contract or the will of the deceased.[3] The woman with a dowry, therefore, became more or less emancipated by virtue of her money. As her departure deprived the household of as much as, and sometimes more than, she had brought into it, every care was taken that she should have no cause to retire from it, and that no pretext should be given to her parents for her recall to her old home; her wealth thus obtained for her the consideration and fair treatment which the law had, at the outset, denied to her. When, however, the wife was poor, she had to bear without complaint the whole burden of her inferior position. Her parents had no other resource than to ask the highest possible price for her, according to the rank in which they lived, or in virtue of the personal qualities she was supposed to possess, and this amount, paid into their hands when they delivered her over to the husband, formed, if not an actual dowry for her, at least a provision for her in case of repudiation or widowhood: she was not, however, any less the slave of her husband—a privileged slave, it is true, and one whom he could not sell like his other slaves,[4] but of whom he could easily rid himself when her first youth was passed, or when she ceased to please him.[5] In many cases the fiction of purchase was set aside, and mutual consent took the place of all other formalities, marriage then becoming merely cohabitation, terminating at will. The consent of the father was not required for this irregular union, and many a son contracted a marriage after this fashion, unknown to his

[1] E. and V. RÉVILLOUT, *Les Obligations en droit égyptien comparées aux autres droits de l'Antiquité*, p. 344, et seq.

[2] The restitution of the dowry after divorce is ascertained, as far as later times are concerned, from documents similar to that published by KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. ii. pp. 13–15, in which we see the second husband of a divorced wife claiming the dowry from the first husband. The indemnity was fixed beforehand at six silver minæ, in the marriage contract published by OPPERT, *Jugement approbatif d'un contrat*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1886, vol. vii. pp. 555, 556.

[3] On this point, cf. PEISER, *Jurisprudentiæ Babylonicæ quæ supersunt*, p. 27; KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babyl. Rechtsleben*, vol. i. p. 45.

[4] It appears, however, in certain cases not clearly specified, that the husband could sell his wife, if she were a shrew, as a slave (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 6, 70, 71).

[5] This form of marriage, which was of frequent occurrence in ancient times, fell into disuse among the upper classes, at least, of Babylonian society. A few examples, however, are found in late times (OPPERT, *Jugement approbatif*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1886, vol. vii. pp. 555, 556, and *Les Documents juridiques cunéiformes*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 182, 183; PEISER, *Studien zum Babyl. Rechtswesen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 77–80; KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babyl. Rechtsleben*, vol. i. pp. 7–9). It continued in use among the lower classes, and Herodotus affirms that in his time marriage markets were held regularly (i. 196), as in our own time fairs are held for hiring male and female servants.

relatives, with some young girl either in his own or in an inferior station: but the law refused to allow her any title except that of concubine, and forced her to wear a distinctive mark, perhaps that of servitude, namely, the representation of an olive in some valuable stone or in terra-cotta, bearing her own and her husband's name, with the date of their union, which she kept hung round her neck by a cord.[1] Whether they were legitimate wives or not, the women of the lower and middle classes enjoyed as much independence as did the Egyptian women of a similar rank. As all the household cares fell to their share, it was necessary that they should be free to go about at all hours of the day: and they could be seen in the streets and the markets, with bare feet, their head and face uncovered, wearing their linen loin-cloth or their long draped garments of hairy texture.[2] Their whole life was expended in a ceaseless toil for their husbands and children: night and morning they went to fetch water from the public well or the river, they bruised the corn, made the bread, spun, wove, and clothed the entire household in spite of the frequent demands of maternity.[3] The Chaldæan women of wealth or noble birth, whose civil status gave them a higher position, did not enjoy so much freedom. They were scarcely affected by the cares of daily life, and if they did any work within their houses, it was more from a natural instinct, a sense of duty, or to relieve the tedium of their existence, than from constraint or necessity; but the exigencies of their rank reduced them to the state of prisoners. All the luxuries and comforts which money could procure were lavished on them, or they obtained them for themselves, but all the while they were obliged to remain shut in the harem within their own houses; when they went out, it was only to visit their female friends or their relatives, to go to some temple or festival, and on such occasions they were surrounded with servants, eunuchs, and pages, whose serried ranks shut out the external world.[4]

[1] See the example quoted by KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. i. pp. 7-9; mention is made of the mark given publicly by the magistrate to women who accepted this kind of free union. Terra-cotta olives, belonging to Babylonian women, and discovered at Khorsabad by Place (OPPERT, *Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan*, in PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. ii. pp. 307, 308), probably furnish us with examples of their shape, and enable us to give their approximate tenor.

[2] For the long garment of the women, see the statue represented on p. 721 of the present work; for the loin-cloth, which left the shoulders and bust exposed, see the bronze figure on p. 720. The latter was no doubt the garment worn at home by respectable women; we see by the punishment inflicted on adulteresses that it was an outdoor garment for courtesans, and also, doubtless, for slaves and women of the lower classes.

[3] Women's occupations are mentioned in several texts and on several ancient monuments. On the seal, an impress of which is given on p. 699 of this volume, we see above, on the left, a woman kneeling and crushing the corn, and before her a row of little disks, representing, no doubt, the loaves prepared for baking. The length of time for suckling a child is fixed at three years by the Sumero-Assyrian tablet relating the history of the foundling (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 9, col. ii. ll. 45-50; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 43); protracted suckling was customary also in Egypt (CHABAS, *L'Égyptologie*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45).

[4] For the numerous suite attending on noble ladies, cf. what is said by Herodotus of the Chaldæan women of his time, when they repaired to the temple of Mylitta to comply with her rites (i. 199; cf. pp. 639, 640).

There was no lack of children in these houses when the man had several mistresses, either simultaneously or successively. Maternity was before all things a woman's first duty: should she delay in bearing children, or should anything happen to them, she was considered as accursed or possessed, and she was banished from the family lest her presence should be a source of danger to it.[1] In spite of this many households remained childless, either because a clause inserted in the contract prevented the dismissal of the wife if barren, or because the children had died when the father was stricken in years, and there was little hope of further offspring.[2] In such places adoption filled the gaps left by nature, and furnished the family with desired heirs. For this purpose some chance orphan might be brought into the household—one of those poor little creatures consigned by their mothers to the river, as in the case of Shargani, according to the ancient legend;[3] or who had been exposed at the cross-roads to excite the pity of passers-by,[4] like the foundling whose story is given us in an old ballad. "He who had neither father nor mother,—he who knew not his father or mother, but whose earliest memory is of a well—whose entry into the world was in the street," his benefactor "snatched him from the jaws of dogs—and took him from the beaks of ravens.—He seized the seal before witnesses—and he marked him on the sole of the foot with the seal of the witness,—then he entrusted him to a nurse,—and for three years he provided the nurse with flour, oil, and clothing." When the weaning was accomplished, "he appointed him to be his child,—he brought him up to be his child,—he inscribed him as his child,—and he gave him the education of a scribe."[5] The rites of adoption in these cases did not differ from those attendant upon birth. On both occasions the newly born infant was shown to witnesses, and it was marked on the soles of its feet to establish its identity;[6] its registration in the family archives did not take place until these precautions had been observed, and children adopted in this manner were regarded thenceforward in the eyes

[1] Divorce for sterility was customary in very early times. Complete sterility or miscarriage was thought to be occasioned by evil spirits; a woman thus possessed with a devil came to be looked on as a dangerous being whom it was necessary to exorcise (Fr. Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 57, 68).

[2] Several documents of various periods furnish examples of women who, having had children by a first husband, had none by the second, but were not on that account divorced.

[3] Cf. pp. 597, 598 of the present volume for the legend of Sargon the Elder, King of Agade.

[4] Many of these children were those of courtesans or women who had been repudiated, as we learn from the Sumero-Assyrian tablet of Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. v. pl. 24, ll. 11–15 (cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Choix de Textes cunéiformes*, p. 36): "She will expose her child alone in the street, where the serpents in the road may bite it, and its father and mother will know it no more."

[5] Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 9, col. ii. ll. 28–66. This curious story was first translated into French by Oppert-Menant, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 24–44; and more fully by Fr. Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 164–168.

[6] Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 15.

of the world as the legitimate heirs of the family. People desiring to adopt a child usually made inquiries among their acquaintances, or poor friends, or cousins who might consent to give up one of their sons, in the hope of securing a better future for him. When he happened to be a minor, the real father and mother, or, in the case of the death of one, the surviving parent, appeared before the scribe, and relinquished all their rights in favour of the adopting parents; the latter, in accepting this act of renunciation, promised henceforth to treat the child as if he were of their own flesh and blood, and often settled upon him, at the same time, a certain sum chargeable on their own patrimony.[1] When the adopted son was of age, his consent to the agreement was required, in addition to that of his parents. The adoption was sometimes prompted by an interested motive, and not merely by the desire for posterity or its semblance. Labour was expensive, slaves were scarce, and children, by working for their father, took the place of hired servants, and were content, like them, with food and clothing.[2] The adoption of adults was, therefore, most frequent in ancient times. The introduction of a person into a fresh household severed the ties which bound him to the old one; he became a stranger to those who had borne him; he had no filial obligations to discharge to them, nor had he any right to whatever property they might possess, unless, indeed, any unforeseen circumstance prevented the carrying out of the agreement, and legally obliged him to return to the status of his birth.[3] In return, he undertook all the duties and enjoyed the privileges of his new position; he owed to his adopted parents the same amount of work, obedience, and respect that he would have given to his natural parents; he shared in their condition, whether for good or ill, and he inherited their possessions.[4] Provision was made for him in case of his repudiation by those who had adopted him, and they had to make him compensation: he received the portion which would have accrued to him after their death, and he then left them.[5] Families appear to have been fairly united, in spite of the elasticity of the laws which governed them, and of the divers elements of which they were sometimes composed. No doubt polygamy and frequently divorce exercised here as elsewhere a deleterious influence; the harems of Babylon were constantly the scenes of endless intrigues and quarrels among the women and children of varied condition and different

[1] Cf. for a more recent period a document of the reign of Cyrus, King of Babylon, certifying the adoption of a little boy of three years old, and determining the amount settled on him by the adopting father (KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. i. pp. 9, 10).

[2] MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 16, 151, et seq.

[3] MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 15.

[4] The above facts are gleaned, as regards early times, from documents 97, 98, published and commented on by MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 77, 78, 153.

[5] For more recent times, cf. KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. ii. pp. 15–18.

parentage who filled them. Among the people of the middle classes, where restricted means necessarily prevented a man having many wives, the course of family life appears to have been as calm and affectionate as in Egypt, under the unquestioned supremacy of the father: and in the event of his early death, the widow, and later the son or son-in-law, took the direction of affairs.[1] Should quarrels arise and reach the point of bringing about a complete rupture between parents and children, the law intervened, not to reconcile them, but to repress any violence of which either side might be guilty towards the other. It was reckoned as a misdemeanour for any father or mother to disown a child, and they were punished by being kept shut up in their own house, as long, doubtless, as they persisted in disowning it; but it was a crime in a son, even if he were an adopted son, to renounce his parents, and he was punished severely. If he had said to his father, "Thou art not my father!" the latter marked him with a conspicuous sign and sold him in the market. If he had said to his mother, "As for thee, thou art not my mother!" he was similarly branded, and led through the streets or along the roads, where with hue and cry he was driven from the town and province.[2]

The slaves were numerous, but distributed in unequal proportion among the various classes of the population: whilst in the palace they might be found literally in crowds, it was rare among the middle classes to meet with any family possessing more than two or three at a time.[3] They were drawn partly from foreign races; prisoners who had been wounded and carried from the field of battle, or fugitives who had fallen into the hands of the victors after a defeat, or Elamites or Gutis who had been surprised in their own villages during some expedition; not to mention people of every category carried off by the Bedouin during their raids in distant parts, such as Syria or Egypt,

[1] For the respect shown to the eldest son, cf. V. and E. RÉVILLOUT, *Sur le droit de la Chaldée*, in E. RÉVILLOUT, *Les Obligations en Droit Égyptien*, p. 356, et seq.

[2] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 10, col. i. ll. 22–45; cf. vol. v. pl. 25, l. 23, et seq. I have adopted the generally received meaning of this document as a whole, but I am obliged to state that OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, pp. 56, 57, 60, 61, admit quite a different interpretation. According to them, it would appear to be a sweeping renunciation of children by parents, and of parents by children, at the close of a judicial condemnation. Oppert has upheld this interpretation against Haupt, in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1879, p. 1604, et seq., and still keeps to his opinion. The documents published by MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 73–78, 152, show that the text of the ancient Sumerian laws applied equally to adopted children, but made no distinction between the insult offered to the father and that offered to the mother: the same penalty was applicable in both cases.

[3] For information on slavery in Chaldæa, see particularly the memoir by OPPERT, *La Condition des Esclaves à Babylone*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1888, p. 120, et seq.; and the special memoir by MEISSNER, *De Servitute Babyloniaca*; and scattered notices in KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. i. pp. 1–7, vol. ii. 6, 40–50, 52–56, etc.

whom they were continually bringing for sale to Babylon and Uru, and, indeed, to all those cities to which they had easy access. The kings, the vicegerents, the temple administration, and the feudal lords, provided employment for vast numbers in the construction of their buildings or in the cultivation of their domains; the work was hard and the mortality great, but gaps were soon filled up by the influx of fresh gangs. The survivors intermarried, and their children, brought up to speak the Chaldæan tongue and conforming to the customs of the country, became assimilated to the ruling race; they formed, beneath the superior native Semite and Sumerian population, an inferior servile class, spread alike throughout the towns and country, who were continually reinforced by individuals of the native race, such as foundlings, women and children sold by husband or father, debtors deprived by creditors of their liberty, and criminals judicially condemned.[1] The law took no individual account of them, but counted them by heads, as so many cattle: they belonged to their respective masters in the same fashion as did the beasts of his flock or the trees of his garden, and their life or death was dependent upon his will,[2] though the exercise of his rights was naturally restrained by interest and custom. He could use them as pledges or for payment of debt, could exchange them or sell them in the market. The price of a slave never rose very high: a woman might be bought for four and a half shekels of silver by weight, and the value of a male adult fluctuated between ten shekels and the third of a mina. The bill of sale was inscribed on clay, and given to the purchaser at the time of payment: the tablets which were the vouchers of the rights of the former proprietor were then broken, and the transfer was completed.[3] The master seldom ill-treated his slaves, except in cases of reiterated disobedience, rebellion, or flight;[4] he could arrest his runaway slaves wherever he could lay his hands on them; he could shackle their ankles, fetter their wrists, and whip

[1] MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 6, 7. For example, sons condemned to servitude by their father, according to the laws above mentioned, p. 742 of the present work; or the wife, whom the husband is entitled, by a clause in the marriage contract, to sell for disobedience (document 86 in MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 70, 71). A story of a fugitive slave, preserved in a tablet published by RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 13, col. ii. l. 6, refers, perhaps, to a son sold in this way (FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 232, 233).

[2] The murder of a slave by a person other than the master was punished by a fine paid to the latter (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 10, col. ii. ll. 13–22; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 58, 59, 61; V. and E. RÉVILLOUT, *Sur le Droit de la Chaldée*, in E. RÉVILLOUT, *Les Obligations en Droit Égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'Antiquité*, pp. 371, 372; KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33). See the rape of a female slave prosecuted in KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. iii. pp. 49, 50.

[3] MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 6, 7.

[4] Runaway slaves are mentioned in one of the Sumero-Assyrian tablets published by RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 13, col. ii. ll. 6–14, and translated by OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 14, and by FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 232, 233; cf. for the purchase or sale of runaway slaves at the time of the Second Chaldæan Empire, KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. i. pp. 5–7.

them mercilessly. As a rule, he permitted them to marry and bring up a family;[1] he apprenticed their children, and as soon as they knew a trade, he set them up in business in his own name, allowing them a share in the profits.[2] The more intelligent among them were trained to be clerks or stewards; they were taught to read, write, and calculate, the essential accomplishments of a skilful scribe; they were appointed as superintendents over their former comrades, or overseers of the administration of property, and they ended by becoming confidential servants in the household. The savings which they had accumulated in their earlier years furnished them with the means of procuring some few consolations: they could hire themselves out for wages, and could even acquire slaves who would go out to work for them, in the same way as they themselves had been a source of income to their proprietors.[3] If they followed a lucrative profession and were successful in it, their savings sometimes permitted them to buy their own freedom, and, if they were married, to pay the ransom of their wife and children.[4] At times, their master, desirous of rewarding long and faithful service, liberated them of his own accord, without waiting till they had saved up the necessary money or goods for their enfranchisement: in such cases they remained his dependants, and continued in his service as freemen to perform the services they had formerly rendered as slaves.[5] They then enjoyed the same rights and advantages as the old native race; they could leave legacies, inherit property, claim legal rights, and acquire and possess houses and lands. Their sons could make good matches among the daughters of the middle classes, according to their education and fortune; when they were intelligent, active, and industrious, there was nothing to prevent them from rising to the highest offices about the person of the sovereign. If we knew more of the internal history of the great Chaldæan cities, we should no doubt come to see what an important part the servile element played in them; and could we trace it back for a few generations, we

[1] The documents cited by OPPERT, *La Condition des esclaves à Babylone*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1888, pp. 125–127, give us information concerning these families of slaves; from these it would appear that care was taken to sell them all together, and that they avoided as much as possible separating children from their father and mother.

[2] For the apprenticing of slaves in the time of the Second Chaldæan Empire, cf. KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. ii. pp. 52–56.

[3] We find two good examples of a slave hiring himself out to a third person, and of another receiving as a pledge a slave like himself, in OPPERT, *La Condition des esclaves à Babylone* (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1888, pp. 127–129).

[4] MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 7. The existence of the right to purchase their own freedom in the times of the Ancient Chaldæan Empire is proved by expressions in the Sumero-Assyrian legal tablet published in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 43, col. ii. ll. 15–88; cf. OPPERT-MENANT *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 14.

[5] For these slaves capable of being enfranchised, see what is said by OPPERT, *La Condition des esclaves à Babylone*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1888, p. 122.

should probably discover that there were few great families who did not reckon a slave or a freedman among their ancestors.

It would be interesting to follow this people, made up of such complex elements, in all their daily work and recreation, as we are able to do in the case of contemporary Egyptians; but the monuments which might furnish us with the necessary materials are scarce, and the positive information to be gleaned from them amounts to but little. We are tolerably safe, however, in supposing the more wealthy cities to have been, as a whole, very similar in appearance to those existing at the present day in the regions which as yet have been scarcely touched by the advent of European civilization.[1] Sinuous, narrow, muddy streets, littered with domestic refuse and organic detritus, in which flocks of ravens and wandering packs of dogs perform with more or less efficiency the duties of sanitary officers;[2] whole quarters of the town composed of huts made of reeds and puddled clay, low houses of crude brick, surmounted perhaps even in those times with the conical domes we find later on the Assyrian bas-reliefs; crowded and noisy bazaars, where each trade is located in its special lanes and blind alleys; silent and desolate spaces occupied by palaces and gardens, in which the private life of the wealthy was concealed from public gaze; and looking down upon this medley of individual dwellings, the palaces and temples with their ziggurats crowned with gilded and painted sanctuaries. In the ruins of Uru, Eridu, and Uruk, the remains of houses belonging doubtless to well-to-do families have been brought to light.[3] They are built of fine bricks, whose courses are cemented together with a thin layer of bitumen, but they are only lighted internally by small apertures pierced at irregular distances in the upper part of the walls: the low arched doorway, closed by a heavy two-leaved door, leads into a blind passage, which opens as a rule on the courtyard in the centre of the building. In the interior may still be distinguished the small oblong rooms, sometimes vaulted,

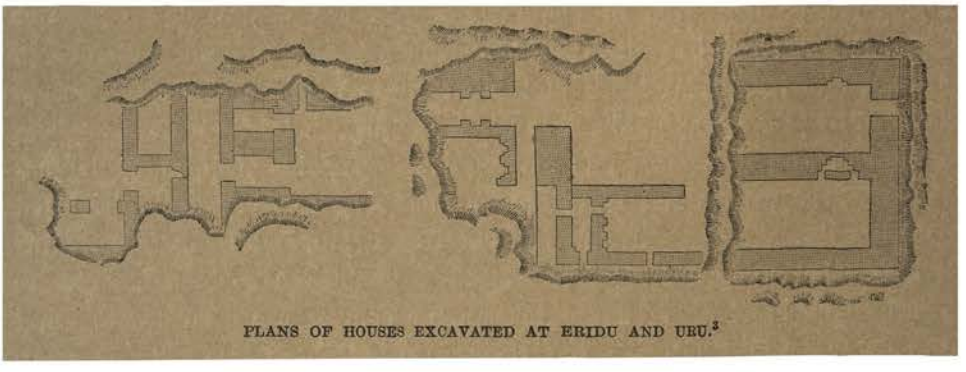
[1] For information on this subject reference can be made to the descriptions given of Mosul by the traveller Olivier (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman* vol. ii. pp. 356, 357), of Bagdad (*id.*, vol. ii. pp. 331, 382), and of those which Niebuhr has given of Bassorah (*Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. p. 172) towards the end of the last century, and which have been confirmed, as far as the beginning and middle of the present century are concerned, by the accounts of KEPPEL, *Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England, by Bassorah, Bagdad, the Ruins of Babylon*, etc., vol. i. p. 69.

[2] Cf. on p. 740 of the present volume, the account of the child exposed by the side of the well whence the woman came to draw water, and of the adopting parents rescuing it from the jaws of dogs and from the beaks of crows.

[3] Excavations have been carried on at Uru and at Uruk by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana;* and by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XV. pp. 260-276; at Eridu by TAYLOR, *Notes on Tel-el-Lahm and Abou-Shahrein*, in the *Journ. of the As. Soc.*, vol. XV. pp. 404-415. For an appreciative account of the ruins discovered by these two explorers, see PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 448, 449.

sometimes roofed with a flat ceiling supported by trunks of palm trees;[1] the walls are often of a considerable thickness, in which are found narrow niches here and there. The majority of the rooms were merely store-chambers, and contained the family provisions and treasures; others served as living-rooms, and were provided with furniture. The latter, in the houses of the richer citizens no less than in those of the people, was of a very simple kind, and was mostly composed of chairs and stools, similar to those in the royal palaces; the bedrooms contained the linen chests and the beds with their thin mattresses, coverings, and cushions, and perhaps wooden head-rests, resembling

CHALDÆAN HOUSES AT URU.[2]



PLANS OF HOUSES EXCAVATED AT ERIDU AND URU.[3]

those found in Africa,[4] but the Chaldæans slept mostly on mats spread on the ground. An oven for baking occupied a corner of the courtyard, side by side with the stones for grinding the corn; the ashes on the hearth were always aglow, and if by chance the fire went out, the fire-stick was always at hand to

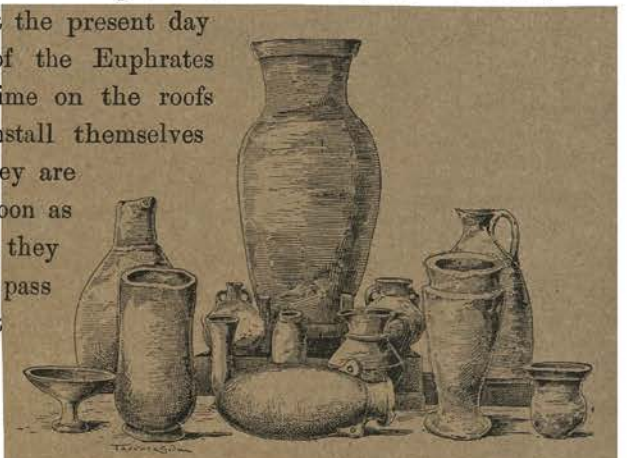
[1] TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the Royal As. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 266, found the remains of the palm-tree beams which formed the terrace still existing. He thinks (*Notes on Tel-el-Lahm*, etc., in the *Journ. of the Royal As. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 411) with Loftus that some of the chambers were vaulted. Cf. upon the custom of vaulting in Chaldæan houses, PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii. p. 163, et seq.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the sketch by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the Royal As. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 266.

[3] These plans were drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from sketches by TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the Royal As. Soc.*, vol. xv. pl. iii. The houses reproduced to the left of the plan were those uncovered in the ruins of Uru; those on the right belong to the ruins of Eridu. On the latter, the niches mentioned in the text will be found indicated.

[4] The dressing of the hair in coils and elaborate erections, as seen in the various figures engraved upon Chaldæan intaglios (cf. what is said of the different ways of arranging the hair on p. 719 of this volume), appears to have necessitated the use of these articles of furniture; such complicated erections of hair must have lasted several days at least, and would not have kept in condition so long except for the use of the head-rest.

relight it, as in Egypt.[1] The kitchen utensils and household pottery comprised a few large copper pans and earthenware pots rounded at the base, dishes, water and wine jars, and heavy plates of coarse ware;[2] metal had not as yet superseded stone, and in the same house we meet with bronze axes and hammers side by side with the same implements in cut flint, besides knives, scrapers, and mace-heads.[3] At the present day the women of the country of the Euphrates spend a great part of their time on the roofs of their dwellings.[4] They install themselves there in the morning, till they are driven away by the heat; as soon as the sun gets low in the heavens, they return to their post, and either pass the night there, or do not quit it till very late in the evening. They perform all their household duties there, gossipping with their friends on neighbouring roofs whilst they bake, cook, wash and dry the linen; or, if they have slaves to attend to such menial occupations, they sew and embroider in the open air. They came down into the interior of the house during the hottest hours of the day. In most of the wealthy houses, the coolest room is one below the level of the courtyard, into which but little light can penetrate. It is paved with plaques of polished gypsum, which resembles our finest grey-



CHALDÆAN HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS IN TERRA-COTTA.[5]

[1] The use of the fire-stick among the Chaldæans was pointed out almost simultaneously by BOSCAWEN, *On some Early Babylonian or Akkadian Inscriptions*, in the *Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vi. pp. 279–281; and by HOUGHTON, *On the Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the Characters of the Assyrian Syllabary, ibid.*, pp. 466–468; cf. for Egypt, p. 318 of this volume.

[2] These pans are represented in the scenes reproduced on p. 684, et seq., of this volume. The pottery discovered by Loftus in the course of his excavations, and by Taylor (*Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. of the Royal As. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 274, et seq.) among the ruins and tombs of Mugheîr and Warka (cf. the tombs reproduced on pp. 684, 685, 687 of this volume), is now in the British Museum (cf. PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 709–711); specimens of that found at Telloh are in the Louvre (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 42). Copper utensils are more rarely found; a few specimens, however, have been brought from the tombs at Uru (TAYLOR, *Notes on Abu-Shahrein*, etc., p. 415) and in the remains of the palace of Telloh (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pp. 26, 35, 61, etc.).

[3] Implements in flint and other kinds of stone have been discovered by TAYLOR, *Notes on Abu-Shahrein*, etc., in the *Journ. of the As. Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 410, 411, and pl. ii., and are now in the British Museum. The bronze implements come partly from the tombs at Mugheîr, and partly from the ruins explored by Loftus at Tell-Sifr—that is to say, the ancient cities of Uru and Larsam: the name of Tell-Sifr, the "mound of copper," comes from the quantity of objects in copper which have been discovered there.

[4] OLIVIER, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, vol. ii. pp. 356, 357, 381, 382, 392, 393.

[5] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the sketch by G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 91, and the heliogravure in HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, etc., pl. 42.

and-white marble, and the walls are covered with a coat of delicate plastering, smooth to the touch and agreeable to the eye. This is watered several times during the day in hot weather, and the evaporation from it cools the air. The few ruined habitations which have as yet been explored seem to bear witness to a considerable similarity between the requirements and customs of ancient times and those of to-day. Like the modern women of Bagdad and Mosul, the Chaldæan women of old preferred an existence in the open air, in spite of its publicity, to a seclusion within stuffy rooms or narrow courts. The heat of the sun, cold, rain, and illness obliged them at times to seek a refuge within four walls, but as soon as they could conveniently escape from them, they climbed up on to their roof to pass the greater part of their time there.

Many families of the lower and middle classes owned the houses which they occupied.[1] They constituted a patrimony which the owners made every effort to preserve intact through all reverses of fortune.[2] The head of the family bequeathed it to his widow or his eldest son,[3] or left it undivided to his heirs, in the assurance, no doubt, that one of them would buy up the rights of the others. The remainder of his goods, farms, gardens, corn-lands, slaves, furniture, and jewels, were divided among the brothers or natural descendants, "from the mouth to the gold;" that is to say, from the moment of announcing the beginning of the business, to that when each one received his share.[4] In order to invest this act with greater solemnity, it took place usually in the presence of a priest. Those interested repaired to the temple, "to the gate of the god;" they placed the whole of the inheritance in the hands of the chosen arbitrator, and demanded of him to divide it justly; or the eldest brother perhaps anticipated the apportionment, and the priest had merely to sanction the result, or settle the differences which might arise among the lawful recipients in the course of the operation. When this was accomplished, the legatees had to declare themselves satisfied; and when no further claims arose, they had to sign an engagement before the priestly arbitrator that they

[1] This fact is established by the relatively large number of documents, in which we find people of the middle class either mortgaging or selling their houses, or giving them as bail.

[2] A house could be let for various lengths of time—for three months (PEISER, *Babl. Verträge*, pp. 56, 57, 254, 255), for a year (*id.*, pp. 60-63, 256), for five years (*id.*, pp. 194–197, 300, 301), for an indefinite term (*id.*, pp. 196–199, 301), but with a minimum of six months, since the rent is payable at the beginning and in the middle of each year. For the liabilities and rights of the tenant and the landlord, see for later times, the memoir of Kohler, in KOHLER-PEISER, *Babyl. Verträge*, pp. 44, 45.

[3] It is no doubt this "duty of the elder brother" which is alluded to in an obscure passage of the text of the so-called Sumerian laws (RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 9, col. iii. ll. 7–9; FR. LENORMANT, *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes*, p. 13); for a case of property left undivided after the death of the father during the time of the New Chaldæan Empire, cf. KOHLER-PEISER, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, vol. iii. pp. 11, 899.

[4] This is, at least in the main, the interpretation which MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 146, has proposed of this original expression.

would henceforth refrain from all quarrelling on the subject, and that they would never make a complaint one against the other.[1] By dint of these continual redistributions from one generation to another, the largest fortunes soon became dispersed: the individual shares became smaller and smaller, and scarcely sufficed to keep a family, so that the slightest reverse obliged the possessor to have recourse to usurers. The Chaldæans, like the Egyptians, were unacquainted with the use of money, but from the earliest times the employment of precious metals for purposes of exchange was practised among them to an enormous extent.[2] Though copper and gold were both used, silver was the principal medium in these transactions, and formed the standard value of all purchaseable objects. It was never cut into flat rings or twists of wire, as was the case with the Egyptian "tabnu;"[3] it was melted into small unstamped ingots, which were passed from hand to hand by weight, being tested in the scales at each transaction.[4] "To weigh" was in the ordinary language the equivalent for "payment in metal," whereas "to measure" denoted that the payment was in grain.[5] The ingots for exchange were, therefore, designated by the name of the weights to which they corresponded. The lowest unit was a shekel, weighing on an average nearly half an ounce, sixty shekels making a mina, and sixty minas a talent. It is a question whether the Chaldæans possessed in early times, as did the Assyrians of a later period, two kinds of shekels and minas, one heavy and the other light.[6] Whether the loan were in metal, grain, or any other substance, the interest was very high.[7] A very ancient law fixed it in certain cases at twelve drachmas

[1] MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 16; cf. Acts, Nos. 101–111, where the whole procedure followed in such a case is illustrated by the examples themselves which have come down to us.

[2] Questions relating to this use of precious metals have been summarized by FR. LENORMANT, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 110–122. See RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 41, ll. 15–30, where the equivalent of a field is given in various objects, *e.g.* chariots, asses, bulls, stuffs, etc., whose value in silver is inscribed in front of each article (OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 116–119, 122, 124–134; BELSER, *Babylonische Kudurru-Inschriften*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 124–127, 151, 152).

[3] See what is said of these Egyptian metal "tabnu" on pp. 323–326 of this volume.

[4] If the primitive meaning of the ideogram by which the shekel is represented in the inscriptions is indeed that of the "mace-head"—"globe," as Lenormant believes, we may conclude that the ingots used by the Chaldæans were usually of the ovoid, slightly flattened shape of the early Lydian coins (FR. LENORMANT, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. pp. 112, 113).

[5] "He weighs silver, he measures grain" (RAWLINSON, *Cuns. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 13, col. ii. ll. 44, 45; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 12; FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. p. 2).

[6] Cf. for all the questions raised by the double system of weights in use by the Assyrians, and the weights in general, with their equivalents, in our own money, OPPERT, *L'Étalon des mesures Assyriennes fixé par les textes cunéiformes*, p. 69, et seq., and the observations of Lehmann in MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 95–101.

[7] We find several different examples, during the Second Chaldæan Empire, of an exchange of corn for provisions and liquids (PEISER, *Babylonische Verträge*, pp. 76–79), or of beams for dates (*id.*, 206, 207, 305, 306). As a fact, exchange has never completely died out in these regions, and at the

per mina, per annum—that is to say, at twenty per cent.[1]—and more recent texts show us that, when raised to twenty-five per cent., it did not appear to them abnormal.[2]

The commerce of the chief cities was almost entirely concentrated in the temples. The large quantities of metals and cereals constantly brought to the god, either as part of the fixed temple revenue, or as daily offerings, accumulated so rapidly, that they would have overflowed the storehouses, had not a means been devised of utilizing them quickly: the priests treated them as articles of commerce and made a profit out of them.[3] Every bargain necessitated the calling in of a public scribe.[4] The bill, drawn up before witnesses on a clay tablet, enumerated the sums paid out, the names of the parties, the rate per cent., the date of repayment, and sometimes a penal clause in the event of fraud or insolvency: the tablet remained in the possession of the creditor until the debt had been completely discharged. The borrower often gave as a pledge either slaves, a field, or a house,[5] or certain of his friends would pledge on his behalf their own personal fortune;[6] at times he would pay by the labour of his own hands the interest which he would otherwise have been unable to meet, and the stipulation was previously made in the contract of the number of days of corvée which he should periodically fulfil for his creditor.[7] If, in spite of all this, the debtor was unable to procure the necessary funds to meet his engagements, the principal became augmented by a fixed sum—for instance, one-third—and continued to increase

present day, in Chaldæa, as in Egypt, corn is used in many cases either to pay Government taxes or to discharge commercial debts.

[1] The old Sumero-Assyrian text published in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 12, col. i. ll. 20, 21; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 19, 23; PEISER, *Babyl. Verträge*, etc., p. 227. On the bills published by MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., 21–29, mention is made of the interest to be paid with the capital without specifying the amount.

[2] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iii. pl. 47, No. 9; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., 193–195. The documents are Assyrian, and belong to the reign of Assurbanipal.

[3] MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 819. It was to the god himself—Shamash, for example—that the loan was supposed to be made, and it is to him that the contracts stipulate that the capital and interest shall be paid. It is curious to find among the most successful money-lenders several princesses consecrated to the sun-god (MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 8). Cf. pp. 678, 679 of the present vol.

[4] The documents relating to these transactions were first studied by OPPERT, *Les Inscriptions commerciales en caractères cunéiformes*, in the *Revue Orientale et Americaine*, 1st series, vol. vi. pp. 334–337; the different kinds of notes relating to these transactions are summarized by FR. LENORMANT, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 113, et seq.

[5] RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. ii. pl. 13, col. i. ll. 27–29; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 15; FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. p. 42; MEISSNER, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 9. Easy credit was allowed on the security of slaves (PEISER, *Babyl. Verträge*, pp. 114–117), on fields (OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, pp. 155–157, 184, 185, 234–236; PEISER, *Babyl. Verträge*, pp. 110–113, 164, 165), on a house (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 4–7, 10–13, 42, 43, 72–75); in other cases jewels of gold (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 130, 131, 280, 281), or a charge on the temple revenues (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 158–161, 292, 293), served as a pledge to a creditor.

[6] We see, for example, a father going bail for his son (OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 260–262).

[7] We find in a document of a recent period a clause imposing two days of work on the debtor (OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., pp. 266–268).

at this rate until the total value of the amount reached that of the security:[1] the slave, the field, or the house then ceased to belong to their former master, subject to a right of redemption, of which he was rarely able to avail himself for lack of means.[2] The small tradesman or free workman, who by some accident had become involved in debt, seldom escaped this progressive impoverishment except by strenuous efforts and incessant labour. Foreign commerce, it is true, entailed considerable risk, but the chances of acquiring wealth were so great that many individuals launched upon it in preference to more sure but less lucrative undertakings. They would set off alone or in companies for Elam or the northern regions, for Syria, or even for so distant a country as Egypt,[3] and they would bring back in their caravans all that was accounted precious in those lands. Overland routes were not free from dangers; not only were nomad tribes and professional bandits constantly hovering round the traveller, and obliging him to exercise ceaseless vigilance, but the inhabitants of the villages through which he passed, the local lords and the kings of the countries which he traversed, had no scruple in levying blackmail upon him in obliging him to pay dearly for right of way through their marches or territory.[4] There were less risks in choosing a sea route: the Euphrates on one side, the Tigris, the Ulaî, and the Uknu on the other, ran through a country peopled with a rich industrial population, among whom Chaldæan merchandise was easily and profitably sold or exchanged for commodities which would command a good price at the end of the voyage.[5] The vessels generally were keleks or "kufas," but the latter were of immense size. Several

[1] It is easy to foresee, from the contracts of the New Assyrian or Babylonian Empire, how in this manner the original sum lent became doubled (OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, pp. 186, 187) and trebled (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 162, et seq., 187, 188); generally the interest accumulated till it was quadrupled (ID., *ibid.*, pp. 181, 182, 226-228, 232-234, 239, 240, 247, 248), after which, no doubt, the security was taken by the creditor. They probably calculated that the capital and compound interest was by then equal in value to the person or object given as a security.

[2] The creditors protected themselves against this right of redemption by a maledictory formula inserted at the end of the contracts against those who should avail themselves of it; it is generally inscribed on the boundary stones of the First Chaldæan Empire (OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, etc., p. 85, et seq.; BELSER, *Babylonische Kudurru-Inschriften*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 118-125; cf. the observations of Kohler in KOHLER-PEISER, *Babyl. Verträge*, pp. 40, 41).

[3] Cf. what is said of the commerce of Uru, pp. 613-616 of the present work. A proper name, Shamisri, found on a contract of the time of the first Babylonian dynasty, shows that there were relations between Egypt and Chaldæa, if it is correct to translate it by "The Egyptian," as Meissner believes (*Beiträge*, etc., pp. 21, 107).

[4] We have no information from Babylonian sources relating to the state of the roads, and the dangers which merchants encountered in foreign lands: the Egyptian documents partly supply what is here lacking. The "instructions" contained in the *Sallier Papyrus*, No. ii., show what were the miseries of the traveller (pl. vii. ll. 6-8), and the *Adventures of Sinuhit* (ll. 96-98; cf. MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd edit., pp. 105, 106) allude to the insecurity of the roads in Syria, by the very care with which the hero relates all the precautions which he took for his protection. These two documents are of the XIIth or XIIIth dynasty—that is to say, contemporaneous with the kings of Uru and with Gudea.

[5] For the maritime commerce of the Chaldæan cities, cf. what is said on pp. 615, 616 of the present volume.

individuals, as a rule, would club together to hire one of these boats and freight it with a suitable cargo.[1] The body of the boat was very light, being made of osier or willow covered with skins sewn together; a layer of straw was spread on the bottom, on which were piled the bales or chests, which were again protected by a rough thatch of straw. The crew was composed of two oarsmen at least, and sometimes a few donkeys: the merchants then pursued their way up stream till they had disposed of their cargo, and taken in a sufficient freight for their return voyage.[2] The dangers, though apparently not so great as those by the land route, were not the less real. The boat was liable to sink or run aground near the bank, the dwellers in the neighbourhood of the river might intercept it and pillage its contents, a war might break out between two contiguous kingdoms and suspend all commerce: the merchants' career continually vacillated between servitude, death, and fortune.

Business carried on at home in the towns was seldom the means of enriching a man, and sometimes scarcely afforded him a means of livelihood. Rent was high for those who had not a house of their own; the least they could expect to pay was half a silver shekel per annum, but the average price was a whole shekel. On taking possession they paid a deposit which sometimes amounted to one-third of the whole sum, the remainder being due at the end of the year. The leases lasted, as a rule, merely a twelvemonth, though sometimes they were extended for terms of greater length, such as two, three, or even eight years. The cost of repairs and of keeping the house in good condition fell usually upon the lessee, who was also allowed to build upon the land he had leased, in which case it was declared free of all charges for a period of about ten years, but the house, and, as a rule, all he had built, then reverted to the landlord.[3] Most possessors of shops made their own goods for sale, assisted by slaves or free apprentices. Every workman taught his own trade to his children, and these in their turn would instruct theirs; families which had an hereditary profession, or from generation to generation had gathered bands of workmen about them, formed themselves into various guilds, or, to use the customary term, into tribes, governed by chiefs and following specified customs. A workman belonged to the tribe of the weavers, or of the blacksmiths, or of the corn-merchants, and the description of an individual would not

[1] We find in STRASSMAIER, *Die Babylonischen Inschriften in Museum zu Liverpool* (in the *Actes du VIe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 2nd part, sect. i. p. 575, No. 28, and pls. xxvii., xxviii.), a list of people who had hired a boat. The payment demanded was something considerable: the only contract which I know of existing for such a transaction is of the time of Darius I., and exacts a silver shekel per day for the hire of boat and crew (PEISER, *Babyl. Verträge*, pp. 108–111, 273).

[2] These are the vessels seen and described by Herodotus (i. 194). Very similar ones are still in use on the Tigris (LAYARD, *Nineveh and its Remains*, I. ch. xiii., and II. ch. v.).

[3] MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 71, 72.

have been considered as sufficiently exact, if the designation of his tribe were not inserted after his name in addition to his paternal affiliation.[1] The organization was like that of Egypt, but more fully developed.[2] The various trades, moreover, were almost the same among the two peoples, the exceptions being such as are readily accounted for by the differences in the nature of the soil and physical constitution of the respective countries. We do not meet on the banks of the Euphrates with those corporations of stone-cutters and marble workers which were so numerous in the valley of the Nile. The vast Chaldæan plain, in the absence of mountains or accessible quarries, would have furnished no occupation for them: the Chaldæans had to go a long way in quest of the small quantities of limestone, alabaster, or diorite which they required, and which they reserved only for details of architectural decoration for which a small number of artisans and sculptors were amply sufficient. The manufacture of bricks, on the other hand, made great progress; the crude bricks were larger than those of Egypt, and they were more enduring, composed of finer clay and better executed; the manufacture of burnt brick too was carried to a degree of perfection to which Memphis or Thebes never attained. An ancient legend ascribes the invention of the bricks, and consequently the construction of the earliest cities, jointly to Sin, the eldest son of Bel, and Ninib his brother:[3] this event was said to have taken place in May-June, and from that time forward the third month of the year, over which the twins presided, was called, Murga in Sumerian, Simanu in the Semitic speech, the month of brick.[4] This was the season which was especially devoted to the processes of their manufacture: the flood in the rivers, which was very great in the preceding months, then began to subside, and the clay which was deposited by the waters during the weeks of overflow, washed and refined as it was, lent itself readily to the operation. The sun, moreover, gave forth sufficient heat to dry the clay blocks in a uniform and gradual manner: later, in July and August, they would crack under the ardour of his rays, and become converted externally

[1] The existence of these corporations or *tribes* is proved, at Babylon, for instance, by the documents of the Second Chaldæan Empire, which almost always furnish the name of the tribe together with the affiliation of the individuals engaged in any legal claims. This fact was pointed out by OPPERT, *Babylone et les Babyloniens* (in the *Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 658), in which the meaning "caste" was suggested; cf. *Les Tablettes juridiques de Babylone*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. xv. 1880, pp. 543, 544.

[2] On the corporations and handicraftsmen in Egypt, see pp. 310, 311 of the present work.

[3] The legendary origin and the manufacture of bricks have been fully treated by FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. p. 141, et seq.

[4] These names have been taken from a tablet in the British Museum, which was first published by EDWIN NORRIS, *Assyrian Dictionary*, part 1, p. 50; afterwards by DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2nd edit., p. 70, No. 3. The proof that Simanu, the Siwân of the Jews, was the month devoted to the manufacture of bricks, was first met with in the inscription called "the Barrels" or "Cones" of Sargon, which was first examined by OPPERT, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. pp. 355, 356, and *Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan*, in PLACE, *Ninive*, vol. ii. p. 290.

into a friable mass, while their interior would remain too moist to allow them to be prudently used in carefully built structures. The work of brick-making was inaugurated with festivals and sacrifices to Sin, Merodach, Nebo, and all the deities who were concerned in the art of building: further religious ceremonies were observed at intervals during the month to sanctify the progress of the work. The manufacture did not cease on the last day of the month, but was continued with more or less activity, according to the heat of the sun, and the importance of the orders received, until the return of the inundation: but the bricks intended for public buildings, temples, or palaces, could not be made outside a prescribed limit of time.[1] The shades of colour produced naturally in the process of burning—red or yellow, grey or brown—were not pleasant to the eye, and they were accustomed, therefore, to coat the bricks with an attractive enamel which preserved them from the disintegrating effects of sun and rain.[2] The paste was laid on the edges or sides while the brick was in a crude state, and was incorporated with it by vitrification in the heat of the kiln. The process was known from an early date in Egypt, but was rarely employed there in the decoration of buildings,[3] while in Chaldæa the use of such enamelled plaques was common. The substructures of palaces and the exterior walls of temples were left unadorned, but the shrines which crowned the "ziggurat," the reception-halls, and the headings of doors were covered with these many-coloured tiles. Fragments of them are found to-day in the ruins of the cities, and the analysis of these pieces shows the marvellous skill of the ancient workers in enamel; the shades of colour are pure and pleasant to the eye, while the material is so evenly put on and so solid, that neither centuries of burial in a sodden soil, nor the wear and tear of transport, nor the exposure to the damp of our museums, have succeeded in diminishing their brilliance and freshness.[4]

To get a clear idea of the industrial operations of the country, it would be necessary to see the various corporations at their work, as we are able to do, in the case of Egypt in the scenes of the mastabas of Saqqâra, or of the rock-chambers of Beni-Hasan. The manufacture of stone implements gave

[1] These facts are deduced from the passage in the "Barrel Inscription," ll. 57–61, in which Sargon, King of Assyria, gives an account of the founding of the city of Dur-Sharrukîn.

[2] In regard to enamelled brick, and the part it played in Chaldæan decoration, see PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 295, et seq.

[3] The only ancient example known would be the sepulchral chamber of the step-pyramid of Saqqâra, if, as I believe, the enamelled bricks which case it date back, in part, at least, to the Memphite empire; see p. 243, note 1, of the present work.

[4] Taylor found numerous fragments of these, most of them blue in colour, at Mugheîr, in the ruins of Uru (*Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 262); Loftus (*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 185) brought to light as many in the ruins of Uruk. It is possible that these fragments are to be attributed, not to the early structures, but to the works of restoration undertaken in these temples by the kings of the Second Chaldæan Empire.

considerable employment, and the equipment of the dead in the tombs of Uru would have been a matter of small moment, if we were to exclude its flint implements, its knives, cleavers, scrapers, adzes, axes, and hammers.[1] The cutting of these objects is bold, and the final touches show skill, but we rarely meet with that purity of contour and intensity of polish which distinguish similar objects among Western peoples. A few examples, it is true, are of fairly artistic shape, and bear engraved inscriptions: one of these, a flint hammer of beautiful form, belonged to a god, probably Ramman, and seems to have come from a temple in which one of its owners had deposited it.[3] It is an exception, and a remarkable ex-

CHALDÆAN STONE IMPLEMENTS.[2]

CHALDÆAN STONE HAMMER BEARING AN INSCRIPTION.[4]

ception. Stone was the material of the implements of the poor—implements which were coarse in shape, and cost little: if much care were given to their execution, they would come to be so costly that no one would buy them, or, if sold for a moderate sum, the seller would obtain no profit from the transaction. Beyond a certain price, it was more advantageous to purchase metal implements,

[1] The British Museum possesses a very interesting collection made by TAYLOR, *Notes on Abu-Shahrein*, etc., in the *Journ. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. pl. ii. *b*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *m*, *n*; and by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*. Some of these objects have been reproduced by G. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 95–98.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the sketches published by TAYLOR and by G. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 95, 96. On the left a scraper and two knives one above the other, an axe in the middle, on the right an axe and a hammer. All these objects were found in Taylor's excavations (*Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. pl. ii. *b*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *m*, *n*), and are now in the British Museum.

[3] It was found in the ancient collection of Cardinal Borgia, and belonged some years ago to Count Ettore Borgia. An engraving of it was given in STEVENS, *Flint Chips*, p. 115, and a facsimile of it by FR. LENORMANT, *Tre Monumenti Caldei*, etc., 1879, pp. 4–9, and pl. vi. 1; CARTAILHAC, *L'age de la pierre en Asie*, in the *Troisième Congrès provincial des Orientalistes, tenu à Lyon*, vol. i. pp. 321, 322, has reproduced Lenormant's notes on it.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin from the illustration published by FR. LENORMANT, *Tre Monumenti Caldei*, etc., pl. vi., No. 1.

of copper in the early ages, afterwards of bronze, and lastly of iron.[1] Among the metal-founders and smiths all kinds of examples of these were to be found —axes of an elegant and graceful design, hammers and knives, as well as culinary and domestic utensils, cups, cauldrons, dishes, mountings of doors and coffers, statuettes of men, bulls, monsters, and gods—which could be turned promptly into amulets by inscribing on them, or pronouncing over them, some prayer or formula; ornaments, rings, earrings, bracelets, and ankle-rings; and lastly, weapons of all descriptions—arrow and lance heads, swords, daggers, and rounded helmets with neck-piece or visor.[3] Some of the metal objects manufactured by the Chaldæans attained large dimensions; for instance, the "brazen seas" which were set up before each sanctuary, either for the purpose of receiving the libations, or for the prescribed rites of purification.[4] As is often the case among half-civilized peoples, the goldsmiths worked in the precious metals with much facility and skill. We have not succeeded up to the present in finding any of those golden images which the kings were accustomed to dedicate in the temples out of their own possessions, or the spoil obtained from the enemy; but a silver vase dedicated to Ningirsu by Entena, vicegerent

CHALDÆAN IMPLEMENTS OF BRONZE.[2]

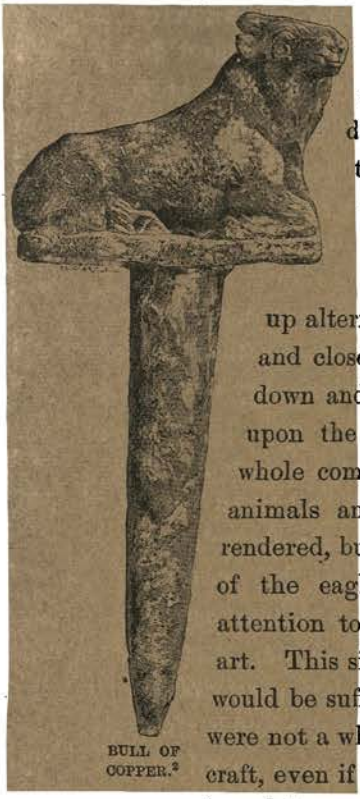
[1] It was at first thought that all the objects found in the tombs of Uru were of bronze; Berthelot's analyses (*Introduction à l'Étude de la Chimie des Anciens et du Moyen Age*, p. 225) have demonstrated that some at least are of pure copper.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from RAWLINSON'S *Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 97. On the right two axes, in the middle a hammer, on the left a knife, and below the head of a lance.

[3] The axes, adze-heads, hammers, and knives come from the tombs of Uru, as well as part of the cups and domestic vessels (TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, pp. 271, 273). The mountings and the statuettes were found almost everywhere in the ruins at Lagash (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Fouilles en Chaldée*, pp. 28, 29), or in the modern town of Afaji, near Bagdad (A. DE LONGPÉRIER, *Le Musée Napoléon*, vol. iii. pl. ii.), or at Kalwadha (inscription in *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. iv., No. 15). The ornaments and weapons come from either Uru or Uruk (TAYLOR, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer*, in the *Journ. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. pp. 272, 273; *Notes on Abu-Shahrein*, *ibid.*, p. 415), or from Lagash and its neighbourhood (HEUZEY, *La Lance colossale d'Izdoubar*, etc., in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres*, 1893, vol. xxi. pp. 305-310). Helmets are seen on the remains of the "Vulture Stele" (see p. 606 of the present work): the Louvre possesses one of the same shape (A. DE LONGPÉRIER, *Notices des Antiquités Assyriennes*, 3rd edit., p. 53, No. 223), which belonged to the Assyrian epoch, and came from Khorsabad. The bronze or copper lance discovered by Sarzec at Telloh shows that the Chaldæan smiths were not afraid to undertake colossal objects; it is decorated with engraved designs of a remarkable clearness.

[4] King Urninâ of Lagash set up a "Great" and "Little Sea," and the word which he used, "zuab," "abzu," is that which designates the celestial Ocean (see p. 537 of the present work), in whose bosom the world rests (HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 2, No. 2, col. iii. ll. 5, 6, col. iv. ll. 6, 7; OPPERT, *Deux Textes très anciens*, in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xi., 1883, p. 75, et seq.; AMIAUD, *Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 66). The comparison of these "abzu," so common in ancient Chaldæan temples, with the "brazen sea" of the temple of Solomon, was made Sayce by in a note to the translation of Amiaud (*Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 65, note 1).

of Lagash, gives us some idea of this department of the temple furniture.[1] It stands upright on a small square bronze pedestal with four feet. A piously expressed inscription runs round the neck, and the bowl of the vase is divided horizontally into two divisions, framed above and below by twisted cord-work. Four two-headed eagles, with outspread wings and tail, occupy the lower division; they are in the act of seizing with their claws two animals, placed back to back, represented in the act of walking: the intervals between the eagles are filled up alternatively by two lions, two wild goats, and two stags. Above, and close to the rise of the neck, are disposed seven heifers lying down and all looking in the same direction: they are all engraved upon the flat metal, and are without relief or incrustation. The whole composition is harmoniously put together, the posture of the animals and their general form are well conceived and boldly rendered, but the details of the mane of the lions and the feathers of the eagles are reproduced with a realism and attention to minutiæ which belong to the infancy of art. This single example of ancient goldsmiths' work would be sufficient to prove that the early Chaldæans were not a whit behind the Egyptians in this handicraft, even if we had not the golden ornaments, the bracelets, ear and finger rings to judge from, with which the tombs have furnished us in considerable numbers.[3] Alongside the goldsmiths there must have been a whole army of lapidaries and gem-cutters occupied in the engraving of cylinders. Numerous and delicate operations were required to metamorphose a scrap of crude rock, marble, granite, agate, onyx, green and red jasper, crystal or lapis-lazuli, into one of those marvellous seals which are now found by the hundred scattered throughout the museums of Europe. They had to be rounded, reduced to the proper proportions, and polished, before the subject or legend could be engraved upon them with the burin. To drill a hole through them required great dexterity,



BULL OF COPPER.[2]

VASE OF SILVER.[4]

[1] HEUZEY, *Le Vase du patési Enténa*, in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1893, vol. xxi. pp. 169–171; and *Le patési Entémena, d'après les decouvertes de M. de Sarzec*, *ibid.*, pp. 318, 319.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 28, No. 6. The initial vignette of the present chapter (p. 703) gives a good idea of this kind of amulet.

[3] TAYLOR, *Notes on Abu-Shahrein*, in the *Journ. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xv. p. 415.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 43.

and some of the lapidaries, from a dread of breaking the cylinder, either did not pierce it at all, or merely bored a shallow hole into each extremity to allow it to roll freely in its metallic mounting. The tools used in engraving were similar to those employed at the present day, but of a rougher kind. The burin, which was often nothing more than a flint point, marked out the area of the design, and sketched out the figures; the saw was largely employed to cut away the depressions when these required no detailed handling; and lastly, the drill, either worked with the hand or in a kind of lathe, was made to indicate the joints and muscles of the individual by a series of round holes. The object thus summarily dealt with might be regarded as sufficiently worked for ordinary clients; but those who were willing to pay for them could obtain cylinders from which every mark of the tool had been adroitly removed, and where the beauty of the workmanship vied with the costliness of the material.[1] The seal of Shargani, King of Agade, that of Bingani-shar-ali,[2] and many others which have been picked up by chance in the excavations, are true bas-reliefs, reduced and condensed, so to speak, to the space of something like a square inch of surface, but conceived with an artistic ingenuity and executed with a boldness which modern engravers have rarely equalled and never surpassed. There are traces on them, it is true, of some of the defects which disfigured the latter work of the Assyrians—heaviness of form, exaggerated prominence of muscles and hardness of outline—but there are also all the qualities which distinguish an original and forcible art.

The countries of the Euphrates were renowned in classic times for the beauty of the embroidered and painted stuffs which they manufactured.[3] Nothing has come down to us of these Babylonian tissues of which the Greek and Latin writers extolled the magnificence, but we may form some idea, from the statues and the figures engraved on cylinders, of what the weavers and embroiderers of this ancient time were capable. The loom which they made use of differed but slightly from the horizontal loom commonly employed in the Nile Valley, and everything tends to show that their plain linen cloths were of the kind represented in the swathings and fragments of clothing still to be found in the sepulchral chambers of Memphis and Thebes. The manufacture of fleecy woollen garments so much affected by men and women alike indicates a great

[1] The numerous operations required in the manufacture of cylinders have been treated by MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. p. 45, et seq.

[2] The Shargani cylinder is reproduced on p. 601, that of Bingani on p. 582 of the present work.

[3] PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, viii. 74: "Colores diversos picturæ intexere Babylon maxime celebravit, et nomen imposuit." Most modern writers understand by tapestry what the ancients were accustomed to call needle embroidery or painting on stuffs: I can find no indication on the most ancient monuments of Chaldæa or Egypt of the manufacturing of real tapestry.

dexterity. When once the threads of the woof had been stretched, those of the warp were attached to them by knots in as many parallel lines—at regular intervals—as there were rows of fringe to be displayed on the surface of the cloth, the loops thus formed being allowed to hang down in their respective places: sometimes these loops were retained just as they stood, sometimes they were cut and the ends frayed out so as to give the appearance of a shaggy texture.[1] Most of these stuffs preserved their original white or creamy colour—especially those woven at home by the women for the requirements of their own toilet, and for the ordinary uses of the household. The Chaldæans, however, like many other Asiatic peoples, had a strong preference for lively colours, and the outdoor garments and gala attire of the rich were distinguished by a profusion of blue patterns on a red ground, or red upon blue, arranged in stripes, zigzags, checks, and dots or circles.[3] There must, therefore, have been as much occupation for dyers as there was for weavers; and it is possible that the two operations were carried out by the same hands. We know nothing of the bakers, butchers, carriers, masons, and other artisans who supplied the necessities of the cities: they were doubtless able to make two ends meet and nothing more, and if we should succeed some day in obtaining information about them, we shall probably find that their condition was as miserable as that of their Egyptian contemporaries.[4] The course of their lives was monotonous enough, except when it was broken at prescribed intervals by the ordinary festivals in honour

CHALDÆAN CYLINDER EXHIBITING TRACES OF THE DIFFERENT TOOLS USED BY THE ENGRAVER.[2]

[1] With regard to the stuffs called "kaunakes" by the Greeks, and the methods employed in their manufacture, see HEUZEY, *Les Origines Orientales de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 120, et seq.; cf. pp. 718–720 of the present work for the various modes of wearing the mantle.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a heliogravure in MÉNANT'S *Catalogue de la collection de M. de Clercq*, vol. i. pl. 1, No. 1.

[3] Egyptian monuments give us an idea of the colours of Asiatic stuffs, in the absence of any information from Chaldæan sources. The most ancient example is furnished by the scene in the tomb of Khnûmhotpû, where we see an Asiatic tribe bearing a present of Kohl to the prince of Beni-Hasan (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, etc., pls. cccLxi., cccLxii., and vol. ii. pp. 410–412; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. xxvi.–xxviii.; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, x. 131–133; GRIFFITH-NEWBERRY, *Beni-Hasan*, vol. i. pls. xxx., xxxi.; cf. pp. 468, 469 of the present work. This scene belongs to the XIIth dynasty—that is to say, a little earlier than the period of Gudea at Lagash. [For the esteem in which these "goodly Babylonish garments" were held by other nations, cf. *Joshua* vii. 21.—TR.]

[4] See pp. 311–315 of the present work for an account of the miseries of artisans in Egypt. This is taken from a source belonging to the XIIth or possibly the XIIIth dynasty. We may assume, from the fact that the two civilizations were about on the same level, that the information supplied in this respect by the Egyptian monuments is generally applicable to the condition of Chaldæan workmen of the same period.

of the gods of the city, or by the casual suspensions of work occasioned by the triumphant return of the king from some warlike expedition, or by his inauguration of a new temple. The gaiety of the people on such occasions was the more exuberant in proportion to the undisturbed monotony or misery of the days which preceded them. As soon, for instance, as Gudea had brought to completion Ininnu, the house of his patron Ningirsu, "he felt relieved from the strain and washed his hands. For seven days, no grain was bruised in the quern, the maid was the equal of her mistress, the servant walked in the same rank as his master, the strong and the weak rested side by side in the city."[1] The world seemed topsy-turvy as during the Roman Saturnalia; the classes mingled together, and the inferiors were probably accustomed to abuse the unusual licence which they momentarily enjoyed: when the festival was over, social distinctions reasserted themselves, and each one fell back into his accustomed position. Life was not so pleasant in Chaldæa as in Egypt. The innumerable promissory notes, the receipted accounts, the contracts of sale and purchase—these cunningly drawn up deeds which have been deciphered by the hundred—reveal to us a people greedy of gain, exacting, litigious, and almost exclusively absorbed by material concerns. The climate, too, variable and oppressive in summer and winter alike, imposed upon the Chaldæan painful exactions, and obliged him to work with an energy of which the majority of Egyptians would not have felt themselves capable. The Chaldæan, suffering greater and more prolonged hardships, earned more doubtless, but was not on this account the happier. However lucrative his calling might be, it was not sufficiently so to supply him always with domestic necessities, and both tradespeople and operatives were obliged to run into debt to supplement their straitened means. When they had once fallen into the hands of the usurer, the exorbitant interest which they had to pay kept them a long time in his power. If when the bill fell due there was nothing to meet it, it had to be renewed under still more disastrous conditions; as the pledge given was usually the homestead, or the slave who assisted in the trade, or the garden which supplied food for the family, the mortgagor was reduced to the extreme of misery if he could not satisfy his creditors. This plague of usury was not, moreover, confined to the towns; it raged with equal violence in the country, and the farmers also became its victims.[2]

[1] Statue B of Gudea, col. vii. ll. 26-34; cf. HEUZEY-SARZEC, *Découvertes*, pls. 17, 18; AMIAUD, *Inscriptions of Telloh*, in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 83, 84 (cf. HEUZEY-SARZEC, *op. cit.*, p. xii.); JENSEN, *Inschriften der Könige*, in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii[1]. pp. 41, 42; cf. p. 322 of the present work for a description of the *Feast of Drunkenness* in Egypt, as it was celebrated at Denderah.

[2] On the increase of the debt consequent upon failure to meet a bill, see pp. 750, 751 of the present work.

If, theoretically, the earth belonged to the gods, and under them to the kings, the latter had made, and continued daily to make, such large concessions of it to their vassals, that the greater part of their domains were always in the hands of the nobles or private individuals. These could dispose of their landed property at pleasure, farm it out, sell it or distribute it among their heirs and friends. They paid on account of it a tax which varied at different epochs, but which was always burthensome; but when they had once satisfied this exaction, and paid the dues which the temples might claim on behalf of the gods, neither the State nor any individual had the right to interfere in their administration of it, or put any restrictions upon them. Some proprietors cultivated their lands themselves—the poor by their own labour, the rich by the aid of some trustworthy slave whom they interested in the success of his farming by assigning him a certain percentage on the net return. Sometimes the lands were leased out in whole or in part to free peasants who relieved the proprietors of all the worry and risks of managing it themselves. A survey of the area of each state had been made at an early age, and the lots into which it had been divided were registered on clay tablets containing the name of the proprietor as well as those of his neighbours, together with such indications of the features of the land, dykes, canals, rivers, and buildings as would serve to define its boundaries: rough plans accompanied the description, and in the most complicated instances interpreted it to the eye.[1] This survey was frequently repeated, and enabled the sovereign to arrange his scheme of taxation on a solid basis, and to calculate the product of it without material error. Gardens and groves of date-palms, together with large regions devoted to rough attempts at vegetable culture, were often to be met with, especially in the neighbourhood of towns; these paid their contributions to the State, as well as the owners' rent, in kind—in fruit, vegetables, and fresh or dried dates. The best soil was reserved for the growth of wheat and other cereals, and its extent was measured in terms of corn; corn was also the standard in which the revenue was reckoned both in public and private contracts.[2] Such and such a field required about fifty litres of seed to the arura.[3] Another needed sixty-two or seventy-five according to the fertility of the land and its locality. Landed property was placed under the guardianship of the gods, and its

[1] See the survey map of a vast property published by Father SCHEIL, *Notes d'Épigraphie*, etc., in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvi. pp. 36, 37.

[2] With regard to this mode of measuring the value of a field, which was also employed in Egypt (MASPERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 235-238), see OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldee*, p. 94: it is called in question by Delitzsch and his school (see, for the latest opinions, BELSER, *Babylonische Kudurru-Inschriften*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 130, 131).

[3] [For the "arura," see p. 306, note 5, of the present work.—TR.]

transfer or cession was accompanied by formalities of a half-religious, half-magical character: the party giving delivery of it called down upon the head of any one who would dare in the future to dispute the validity of the deed, imprecations of which the text was inserted on a portion of the surface of an egg-shaped nodule of flint, basalt, or other hard stone.[1] These little monuments display on their cone-shaped end a series of figures, sometimes arranged in two parallel divisions, sometimes scattered over the surface, which represent the deities invoked to watch over the sanctity of the contract. It was a kind of representation in miniature of the aspect which the heavens presented to the Chaldæans. The disks of the sun and moon, together with Venus-Ashtar, are the prominent elements in the scene: the zodiacal figures, or the symbols employed to represent them, are arranged in an apparent orbit around these—such as the Scorpion, the Bird, the Dog, the Thunderbolt of Ramman, the mace, the horned monsters, half hidden by the temples they guard, and the enormous Dragon who embraces in his folds half the entire firmament. "If ever, in the course of days, any one of the brothers, children, family, men or women, slaves or servants of the house, or any governor or functionary whatsoever, arises and intends to steal this field, and remove this landmark, either to make a gift of it to a god, or to assign it to a competitor, or to appropriate it to himself; if he modifies the area of it, the limits and the landmark; if he divides it into portions, and if he says: 'The field has no owner, since there has been no donation of it;'—if, from dread of the terrible imprecations which protect this stele and this field, he sends a fool, a deaf or blind person, a wicked wretch, an idiot, a stranger, or an ignorant one, and should cause this stele to be taken

THE MICHAUX STONE.[2]

[1] The most ancient specimen of these landmarks is the "Michaux Stone," of which Oppert was the first to recognize the nature and value (*Les Mesures de longueur chez les Chaldéens*, in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athenæum Français*, 1856, pp. 33–36); the generic name was "kudurru," "kuturru," which may be translated "raised stone." The number of them at the present time is considerable. The translation of several will be found in OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, pp. 81–138; and in BELSER, *Babylonische Kudurru-Inschriften*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 111–203.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin; cf. MILLIN, *Monuments inédits*, vol. i. pls. vii., ix. The original is in the medal cabinet of the Bibliothèque Nationale (CHABOUILLET, *Catalogue général*, p. 109, No. 702).

away,[1] and should throw it into the water, cover it with dust, mutilate it by scratching it with a stone, burn it in the fire and destroy it, or write anything else upon it, or carry it away to a place where it will be no longer seen,—this man, may Anu, Bel, Ea, the exalted lady, the great gods, cast upon him looks of wrath, may they destroy his strength, may they exterminate his race."[2] All the immortals are associated in this excommunication, and each one promises in his turn the aid of his power. Merodach, by whose spells the sick are restored, will inflict upon the guilty one a dropsy which no incantation can cure. Shamas, the supreme judge, will send forth against him one of his inexorable judgments. Sin, the inhabitant of the brilliant heavens, will cover him with leprosy as with a garment. Adar, the warrior, will break his weapons; and Zamama, the king of strifes, will not stand by him on the field of battle. Ramman will let loose his tempest upon his fields, and will overwhelm them. The whole band of the invisibles hold themselves ready to defend the rights of the proprietor against all attacks. In no part of the ancient world was the sacred character of property so forcibly laid down, or the possession of the soil more firmly secured by religion.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MICHAUX STONE.

In instruments of agriculture and modes of cultivation Chaldæa was no better off than Egypt. The rapidity with which the river rose in the spring, and its variable subsidence from year to year, furnished little inducement to the Chaldæans to entrust to it the work of watering their lands; on the contrary, they were compelled to protect themselves from it, and to keep at a distance the volume of waters it brought down. Each property, whether of square, triangular, or any other shape, was surrounded with a continuous earth-built barrier which bounded it on every side, and served at the same time

[1] All the people enumerated in this passage might, in ignorance of what they were doing, be induced to tear up the stone, and unconsciously commit a sacrilege from which every Chaldæan in his senses would have shrunk back. The formula provides for such cases, and it secures that the curse shall fall not only on the irresponsible instruments, but reach the instigator of the crime, even when he had taken no actual part in the deed.

[2] *Caillou Michaux*, col. ii. l. 1, col. iii. l. 12, in RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. i. pl. 60; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, pp. 88-90; A. BOISSER, *Recherches sur quelques contrats Babyloniens*, pp. 26, 27, 31-33.

as a rampart against the inundation. Rows of shadufs installed along the banks of the canals or streams provided for the irrigation of the lands.[1] The fields were laid out like a chess-board, and the squares, separated from each other by earthen ridges, formed as it were so many basins: when the elevation of the ground arrested the flow of the waters, these were collected into reservoirs, whence by the use of other shadufs they were raised to a higher level.[2] The plough was nothing more than an obliquely placed mattock, whose handle was lengthened in order to harness oxen to it. Whilst the ploughman pressed heavily on the handle, two attendants kept incessantly goading the beasts, or urging them forward with voice and whip, and a third

TWO ROWS OF SHADUFS ON THE BANK OF A RIVER.[3]

scattered the seed in the furrow. A considerable capital was needed to ensure success in agricultural undertakings: contracts were made for three years, and stipulated that payments should be made partly in metal and partly in the products of the soil. The farmer paid a small sum when entering into possession, and the remainder of the debt was gradually liquidated at the end of each twelve months, the payment being in silver one year, and in corn the two following. The rent varied according to the quality of the soil and the facilities which it afforded for cultivation: a field, for instance, of three bushels was made to pay nine hundred measures, while another of ten bushels had only eighteen hundred to pay.[4] In many instances the peasant preferred to take the proprietor into partnership, the

[1] In Mesopotamia and Chaldæa there may still be seen "everywhere ruins of ancient canals; and there are also to be met with, in many places, ridges of earth, which stretch for considerable distances in a straight line, and surround lands perfectly level" (OLIVIER, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, vol. ii p. 423).

[2] HERODOTUS, i. 193, indicates evidently the "shaduf" under the name κηλωνήϊον; it is still employed, together with the "sakieh" (CHESNEY, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 653; LAYARD, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 109). See p. 340 of the present work for an illustration of the Egyptian shaduf.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from an Assyrian bas-relief from Koyunjik (LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 15).

[4] MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 12, 13.

latter in such case providing all the expenses of cultivation, on the understanding that he should receive two-thirds of the gross product. The tenant was obliged to administer the estate as a careful householder during the term of his lease: he was to maintain the buildings and implements in good repair, to see that the hedges were kept up, to keep the shadufs in working order, and to secure the good condition of the watercourses.[1] He had rarely enough slaves to manage the business with profit: those he had purchased were sufficient, with the aid of his wives and children, to carry on ordinary operations,

CHALDÆAN FARMING OPERATIONS.[2]

but when any pressure arose, especially at harvest-time, he had to seek elsewhere the additional labourers he required. The temples were the chief sources for the supply of these. The majority of the supplementary labourers were free men, who were hired out by their family, or engaged themselves for a fixed term, during which they were subject to a sort of slavery, the conditions of which were determined by law. The workman renounced his liberty for fifteen days, or a month, or for a whole year; he disposed, so to speak, of a portion of his life to the provisional master of his choice, and if he did not enter upon his work at the day agreed upon, or if he showed himself inactive in the duties assigned to him, he was liable to severe punishment. He received in exchange for his labour his food, lodging, and clothing; and if an accident should occur to him during the term of his service, the law granted him an

[1] RAWLINSON, *Cun. W. A. Insc.*, vol. ii. pl. 14, ll. 29, 30, col. ii. ll. 9–19, and FR. LENORMANT, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45, vol. iii. p. 17; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, pp. 26–28.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio reproduced in LAJARD, *Introduction à l'histoire du culte public et des Mystères de Mithra en Occident et en Orient*, pl. XXXIV. No. 5. The original is in the cabinet of medals in the Bibliothèque Nationale (CHABOUILLET, *Catalogue general*, No. 931).

indemnity in proportion to the injury he had sustained.[1] His average wage was from four to six shekels of silver per annum. He was also entitled by custom to another shekel in the form of a retaining fee, and he could claim his pay, which was given to him mostly in corn, in monthly instalments, if his agreement were for a considerable time, and daily if it were for a short period.

The mercenary never fell into the condition of the ordinary serf: he retained his rights as a man, and possessed in the person of the patron for whom he laboured, or whom he himself had selected, a defender of his interests.[2] When he came to the end of his engagement, he returned to his family, and resumed his ordinary occupation until the next occasion. Many of the farmers in a small way earned thus, in a few weeks, sufficient means to supplement their own modest personal income. Others sought out more permanent occupations, and hired themselves out as regular farm-servants.

THE FARM OXEN.[3]

The lands which neither the rise of the river nor the irrigation system could reach so as to render fit for agriculture, were reserved for the pasture of the flocks in the springtime, when they were covered with rich grass. The presence of lions in the neighbourhood, however, obliged the husbandmen to take precautions for the safety of their flocks. They constructed provisional enclosures into which the animals were driven every evening, when the pastures were too far off to allow of the flocks being brought back to the sheepfold. The chase was a favourite pastime among them, and few days passed without the hunter's bringing back with him a young gazelle caught in a trap, or a hare killed by an arrow. These formed substantial additions to the larder, for the Chaldæans do not seem to have kept about them, as the Egyptians did, such tamed animals as cranes or herons, gazelles or deer:[4] they contented themselves with the useful species, oxen, asses, sheep, and goats. Some of the ancient monuments, cylinders, and clay tablets reproduce

[1] *Cun. W. A. Inse.*, vol. ii. pl. 10, col. iv. ll. 13-22; cf. OPPERT-MENANT, *Documents juridiques*, pp. 58, 59.

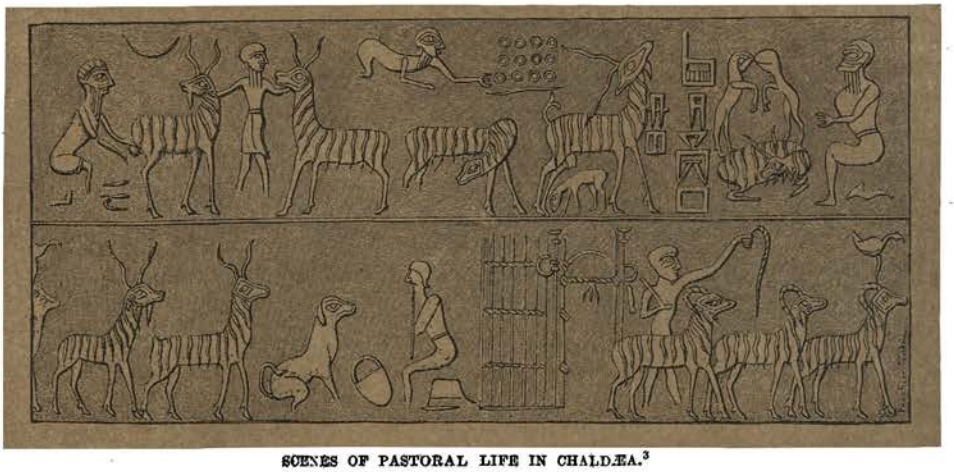
[2] MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 10, 11.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a green marble cylinder in the Louvre (A. DE LONGPÉRIER, *Notes des antiquités Assyriennes*, 2nd edit., p. 101, No. 481).

[4] See pp. 61-64 of the present work for an account of the flocks of gazelles owned by the Egyptians. Cf. W. HOUGHTON, *On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures*, in the *Transactions* of the *Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. p. 42, et seq.

in a rough manner scenes from pastoral life.[1] The door of the fold opens, and we see a flock of goats sallying forth to the cracking of the herdsman's whip: when they reach the pasture they scatter over the meadows, and while the shepherd keeps his eye upon them, he plays upon his reed to the delight of his dog. In the mean time the farm-people are engaged in the careful preparation of the evening meal: two individuals on opposite sides of the hearth watch the pot boiling between them, while a baker makes his dough into round cakes. Sometimes a quarrel breaks out among the comrades, and leads to a stand-

COOKING: A QUARREL.[2]



SCENES OF PASTORAL LIFE IN CHALDÆA.[3]

up fight with the fists; or a lion, perhaps, in quest of a meal surprises and kills one of the bulls:[4] the shepherd runs up, his axe in his hand,

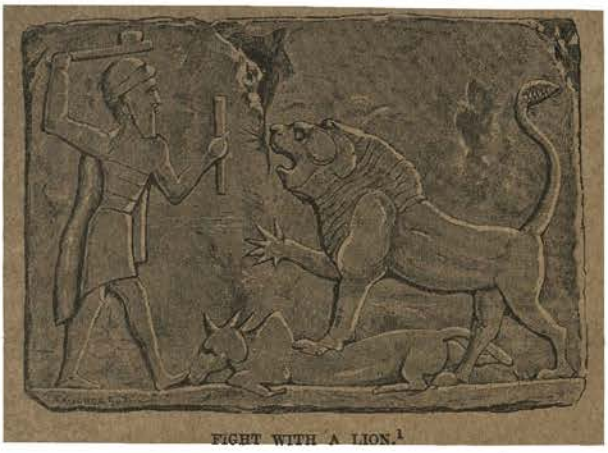
[1] MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. pp. 205–210.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the terra-cotta plaques discovered by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 257.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Chaldæan intaglio reproduced in LAJARD, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mystères de Mithra*, pl. xli., No. 5; cf. MÉNANT, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 205, 206. Another cylinder of the same kind is reproduced at p. 699 of the present work; it represents Etana arising to heaven by the aid of his friend the eagle, while the pastoral scene below resembles in nearly all particulars that given above.

[4] See MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*, vol. i. p. 207, where will be found the reproduction of a cylinder from the Luynes collection, containing a representation of a bull attacked by a lion.

to contend bravely with the marauder for the possession of his beast. The shepherd was accustomed to provide himself with assistance in the shape of enormous dogs, who had no more hesitation in attacking beasts of prey than they had in pursuing game. In these combats the natural courage of the shepherd was stimulated by interest: for he was personally responsible for the safety of his flock, and if a lion should find an entrance into one of the enclosures, its guardian was mulcted out of his wages of a sum equivalent to the damage arising from his negligence.[2] Fishing was not so much a pastime as a source of livelihood; for fish occupied a high place in the bill of fare of the common folk. Caught by the line, net, or trap, it was dried in the sun, smoked, or salted.[3] The chase was essentially the pastime of the great noble—the pursuit of the lion and the bear in the wooded covers or the marshy thickets of the river-bank; the pursuit of the gazelle, the ostrich, and bustard on the elevated plains or rocky table-lands of the desert.[5] The onager of Mesopotamia is a



FIGHT WITH A LION.[1]

THE DOG IN THE LEASH.[4]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the terra-cotta tablets discovered by LOFTUS, *Travels in Chaldæa*, etc., p. 258.

[2] MEISSNER, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, pp. 18, 144.

[3] See p. 156 of the present work for an account of the Chaldæan Ichthyophagi.

[4] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a terra-cotta tablet discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson in the ruins of Babylon, and now in the British Museum.

[5] The ostrich is often represented on Assyrian monuments (W. HOUGHTON, *The Birds of Assyrian Monuments*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii. pp. 100, 101, 133, pl. xi.). The pursuit of the ostrich and bustard is described by Xenophon (*Anabasis*, I. v. 1–3) during the march of the younger Cyrus across Mesopotamia.

very beautiful animal, with its grey glossy coat, and its lively and rapid action. If it is disturbed, it gives forth a cry, kicks up its heels, and dashes off: when at a safe distance, it stops, turns round, and faces its pursuer: as soon as he approaches, it starts off again, stops, and takes to its heels again, continuing this procedure as long as it is followed. The Chaldæans found it difficult to catch by the aid of dogs, but they could bring it down by arrows, or perhaps catch it alive by stratagem. A running noose was thrown round its neck, and two men held the ends of the ropes. The animal struggled, made a rush, and attempted to bite, but its efforts tended only to tighten the noose still more firmly, and it at length gave in, half strangled; after alternating struggles and suffocating

CHALDÆAN CARRYING A FISH.[1]

THE ONAGER TAKEN WITH THE LASSO.[2]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the terra-cotta tablets discovered by LOFTUS, *Travels in Chaldæa*, etc., p. 260.

[2] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the Assyrian bas-relief of Nimrud (cf. PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, pl. 54, No. 3). See p. 559 of the present work for an illustration of onagers pierced by arrows in the chase.

paroxysms, it became somewhat calmer, and allowed itself to be led.[1] It was finally tamed, if not to the extent of becoming useful in agriculture, at least for the purposes of war: before the horse was known in Chaldæa, it was used to draw the chariot.[2] The original habitat of the horse was the great table-lands of Central Asia: it is doubtful whether it was brought suddenly into the region of the Tigrus and Euphrates by some barbaric invasion, or whether it was passed on from tribe to tribe, and thus gradually reached that country.[3] It soon became acclimatized, and its cross-breeding with the ass led for centuries to the production of magnificent mules. The horse was known to the kings of Lagash, who used it in harness.[4] The sovereigns of neighbouring cities were also acquainted with it, but it seems to have been employed solely by the upper classes of society, and never to have been generally used in the war-chariot or as a charger in cavalry operations.

The Chaldæans carried agriculture to a high degree of perfection, and succeeded in obtaining from the soil everything it could be made to yield. Their methods, transmitted in the first place to the Greeks, and afterwards to the Arabs, were perpetuated long after their civilization had disappeared, and were even practised by the people of Irak under the Abbasside Caliphs.[5] Agricultural treatises on clay, which contained an account of these matters, were deposited in one or other of the sacred libraries in which the priests of each city were long accustomed to collect together documents from every source on which they could lay their hands. There were to be found in each of these collections a certain number of works which were unique, either because the authors were natives of the city, or because all copies of them had been destroyed in the course of centuries—the Epic of Gilgames, for instance, at Uruk; a history of the Creation, and of the battles of the gods

[1] See XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, I. v. 2, from whom I take this description of the character of the animal. The onager is now rare in this region, but it has not, as was believed, entirely disappeared, and several modern travellers have come across it (LAYARD, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. pp. 323, 324).

[2] Cf. p. 656 of the present work for an account of the onagers harnessed to the chariot of the Sun.

[3] For the principal views on this question, see PIÉTREMENT, *Les Chevaux dans les temps préhistoriques et historiques*, pp. 355–358; cf. W. HOUGHTON, *On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 50–52.

[4] This was, at least, the opinion of Mons. Heuzey (*Reconstruction partielle de la Stèle du roi Eannadou, dite Stèle des Vautours*, in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres*, 1893, vol. xx. p. 265): the portion of the stele containing the animals has been destroyed.

[5] The "Nabatæan Agriculture" of Ibn Wahshîyah contains an echo of these ancient methods. "It is possible that the method which is taught in them goes actually back, as far as the processes are concerned, to the most ancient periods of Assyria; just as the *Agrimensores latini*, so recent in regard to the editing of them, have preserved for us customs and ceremonies which can be explained only by the 'Brahmanas' of India, and which are consequently associated with the earliest ages of the Aryan race" (E. RENAN, *Mémoire sur l'âge du livre intitulé Agriculture Nabatéenne*, p. 38). Gutschmid will scarcely allow the existence of anything of Babylonian origin in this work (*Kleine-Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 568–753).

with the monsters at Kutha: all of them had their special collections of hymns or psalms, religious and magical formulas, their lists of words and grammatical phraseology, their glossaries and syllabaries, which enabled them to understand and translate texts drawn up in Sumerian, or to decipher those whose writing presented more than ordinary difficulty.[1] In these libraries there was, we find, as in the inscriptions of Egypt, a complete literature, of which only some shattered fragments have come down to us. The little we are able to examine has produced upon our modern investigators a complex impression, in which astonishment rather than admiration contends with a sense of tediousness.[2] There may be recognized here and there, among the wearisome successions of phrases, with their rugged proper names, episodes which seem something like a Chaldæan "Genesis" or "Veda;" now and then a bold flight of fancy, a sudden exaltation of thought, or a felicitous expression, arrests the attention and holds it captive for a time. In the narrative of the adventures of Gilgames, for instance, there is a certain nobility of character, and the sequence of events, in their natural and marvellous development, are handled with gravity and freedom: if we sometimes encounter episodes which provoke a smile or excite our repugnance, we must take into account the rudeness of the age with which they deal, and remember that the men and gods of the later Homeric epic are not a whit behind the heroes of Babylonian story in coarseness. The recognition of divine omnipotence, and the keenly felt afflictions of the soul, awakened in the Chaldæan psalmist feelings of adoration and penitence which still find, in spite of the differences of religion, an echo in our own hearts; and the unknown scribe, who related the story of the descent of Ishtar to the infernal regions, was able to express with a certain gloomy energy the miseries of the "Land without return."[3] These instances are to be regarded, however, as exceptional: the bulk of Chaldæan literature seems nothing more than a heap of pretentious trash, in which even the best-equipped reader can see no meaning, or, if he can, it is of such a character as to seem unworthy of record. His judgment is natural in the circumstances, for the ancient East is not, like Greece and Italy, the dead of yesterday whose soul still hovers around

[1] For information on the temple libraries, see SAYCE, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 9, et seq., who was inclined to think that they were accessible, like our own public libraries, to the bulk of the people. This has not been verified, and does not seem probable (TIELE, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 582).

[2] The sense of tediousness predominates, in the severe judgment of Gutschmid on the subject—"der niederdrückenden Öde der ninevitischen Biedermaierpoesie aus Sardanapal's Bibliothek" (*Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Orients*, p. 45, note). Enthusiasm, on the other hand, marks that of Hommel (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 262, et seq.). Bezold (*Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, p. 193) recommends a suspension of judgment until the poetical texts have been completely explained and interpreted from a philological standpoint.

[3] See the legend of Gilgames, pp. 575–587 of the present work; the "Descent of Ishtar," pp. 693–696; and the hymns and psalms, pp. 633–636, 644, 654–658, 682, 683.

us, and whose legacies constitute more than the half of our patrimony: on the contrary, it was buried soul and body, gods and cities, men and circumstances, ages ago, and even its heirs, in the lapse of years, have become extinct. In proportion as we are able to bring its civilization to light, we become more and more conscious that we have little or nothing in common with it. Its laws and customs, its methods of action and its modes of thought, are so far apart from those of the present day, that they seem to us to belong to a humanity utterly different from our own. The names of its deities do not appeal to our imagination like those of the Olympian cycle, and no traditional respect serves to do away with the sense of uncouthness which we experience from the jingle of syllables which enter into them. Its artists did not regard the world from the same point of view as we do, and its writers, drawing their inspiration from an entirely different source, made use of obsolete methods to express their feelings and co-ordinate their ideas. It thus happens that while we understand to a shade the classical language of the Greeks and Romans, and can read their works almost without effort, the great primitive literatures of the world, the Egyptian and Chaldæan, have nothing to offer us for the most part but a sequence of problems to solve or of enigmas to unriddle with patience. How many phrases, how many words at which we stumble, require a painstaking analysis before we can make ourselves master of their meaning! And even when we have determined to our satisfaction their literal signification, what a number of excursions we must make in the domain of religious, ethical, and political history before we can compel them to render up to us their full import, or make them as intelligible to others as they are to ourselves! When so many commentaries are required to interpret the thought of an individual or a people, some difficulty must be experienced in estimating the value of the expression which they have given to it. Elements of beauty were certainly, and perhaps are still, within it; but in proportion as we clear away the rubbish which encumbers it, the mass of glossaries necessary to interpret it fall in and bury it so as to stifle it afresh.

While the obstacles to our appreciation of Chaldæan literature are of such a serious character, we are much more at home in our efforts to estimate the extent and depth of their scientific knowledge. They were as well versed as the Egyptians, but not more, in arithmetic and geometry in as far as these had an application to the affairs of everyday life: the difference between the two peoples consisted chiefly in their respective numerical systems—the Egyptians employing almost exclusively the decimal system of notation, while the Chaldæans combined its use with the duodecimal. To express

the units, they made use of so many vertical "nails" placed one after, or above, each other, thus 𒁹, 𒁹𒁹, 𒁹𒁹𒁹, 𒌋, etc.; tens were represented by bent brackets 𒌍, 𒌍𒌍, 𒌍𒌍𒌍, up to 60; beyond this figure they had the choice of two methods of notation: they could express the further tens by the continuous additions of brackets thus, 𒌍𒌍𒌍𒌍𒌍𒌍, or they could represent 50 by a vertical "nail," and add for every additional ten a bracket to the right of it, thus: 𒁹𒌍 60, 𒁹𒌍𒌍 70. The notation of a hundred was represented by the vertical "nail" with a horizontal stroke to the right thus 𒁹𒁾, and the number of hundreds by the symbols placed before this sign, thus 𒁹𒁹𒁾 100, 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁾 200, 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁾 300, etc.: a thousand was written 𒌍𒁹𒁾, *i.e.* ten times one hundred, and the series of thousands by the combination of different notations which served to express units, tens, and hundreds. They subdivided the unit, moreover, into sixty equal parts, and each of these parts into sixty further equal subdivisions, and this system of fractions was used in all kinds of quantitive measurements. The fathom, the foot and its square, talents and bushels, the complete system of Chaldæan weights and measures, were based on the intimate alliance and parallel use of the decimal and duodecimal systems of notation. The sixtieth was more frequently employed than the hundredth when large quantities were in question: it was called a "soss," and ten sosses were equal to a "ner," while sixty ners were equivalent to a "sar;" the series, sosses, ners, and sars, being employed in all estimations of values. Years and measures of length were reckoned in sosses, while talents and bushels were measured in sosses and sars. The fact that these subdivisions were all divisible by 10 or 12, rendered calculations by means of them easy to the merchant and workmen as well as to the mathematical expert.[1] The glimpses that we have been able to obtain up to the present of Chaldæan scientific methods indicate that they were on a low level, but they were sufficiently advanced to furnish practical rules for application in everyday affairs: helps to memory of different kinds, lists of figures with their names phonetically rendered in Sumerian and Semitic speech,[2] tables of squares

[1] The mathematical knowledge of Chaldæans and Assyrians, and their system of weights and measures, have been elucidated chiefly by Oppert in a long series of articles, of which the earliest deals with the *Mesures de longeur chez les Chaldéens* (in the *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athenæum Français*, 1856, pp. 33–36), and the most important with *l'Étalon des Mesures Assyriennes fixé par les textes cunéiformes* (in the *Journ. Asiatique*, 1872, vol. xx. pp. 157–177, and 1874, vol. iv. pp. 417–486). The subject has called forth a considerable number of works (Fr. Lenormant, *Essai sur un Document mathématique chaldéen*, etc., 1868) and discussions, in which Oppert, Lepsius (*Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Längemasse nach der Tafel von Senkereh*, 1877), and Aurès (*Essai sur le Système métrique Assyrien*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. iii. p. 27, vol. iv. pp. 157–220, vol. v. pp. 139–156, vol. vi. pp. 81–96, vol. vii. pp. 8–15, 49–82, vol. viii. pp. 150–158, etc.) took part.

[2] See the lists of numbers and their names in Sumerian and Assyrian in Fr. Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 225, 226; and in Pinches, *The Akkadian Numerals*, in the *Proceedings of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., 1881–82, pp. 111–117.

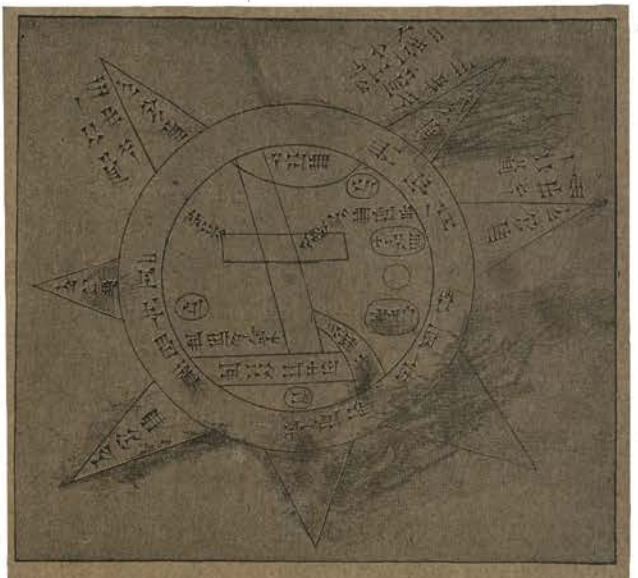
and cubes,[1] and rudimentary formulas and figures for land-surveying, furnished sufficient instructions to enable any one to make complicated calculations in a ready manner, and to work out in figures, with tolerable accuracy, the superficial area of irregularly shaped plots of land. The Chaldæans could draw out, with a fair amount of exactness, plans of properties or of towns,[2] and their ambition impelled them even to attempt to make maps of the world. The latter were, it is true, but rough sketches, in which mythological beliefs vitiated the information which merchants and soldiers had collected in their journeys. The earth was represented as a disk surrounded by the ocean stream: Chaldæa took up the greater part of it, and foreign countries did not appear in it at all, or held a position out in the cold at its extremities. Actual knowledge was woven in an extraordinary manner with mystic considerations, in which the virtues of numbers, their connections with the gods, and the application of geometrical diagrams to the prediction of the future, played an important part.[3] We know what a brilliant fortune these speculations attained in after-years, and the firm hold they obtained for centuries over Western nations, as formerly over the East. It was not in arithmetic and geometry alone, moreover, that the Chaldæans were led away by such deceits: each branch of science in its turn was vitiated by them, and, indeed, it could hardly be otherwise when we come to consider the Chaldæan outlook upon the universe. Its operations, in their eyes, were not carried on under impersonal and unswerving laws, but by voluntary and rational agents, swayed by an inexorable fate against which they dared not rebel, but still free enough and powerful enough to avert by magic the decrees of destiny, or at least to retard their execution. From this conception of things each subordinate science was obliged to make its investigations in two perfectly distinct regions: it had at first to determine the material facts within its competence—such as the position of the stars, for instance, or the symptoms of a malady; it had then to discover the beings which revealed themselves through these material manifestations, their names and their characteristics. When once it had obtained this information, and could lay its hands upon them, it could compel them to work on its behalf: science was thus nothing else than the application of magic to a particular class of phenomena.

[1] These came from Senkereh, see LENORMANT, *Textes Cunéiformes*, pp. 219–225, and RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iv. pl. 40, Nos. 1, 2.

[2] Cf. the portion of a plan published by Pinches (*On a Cuneiform Inscription relating to the Capture of Babylon*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii. p. 152), which is said to represent a part of Babylon named Tuma, near the "Great Gate of the Sun." Father Scheil discovered a survey with geometrical figures; cf. p. 761, note 1, of the present work.

[3] Such was the fragment of the treatise, with figures, published by SAYCE, *Babylonian Augury by means of Geometrical Figures*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. pp. 302–314.

The number of astronomical facts with which the Chaldæans had made themselves acquainted was considerable. It was a question in ancient times whether they or the Egyptians had been the first to carry their investigations into the infinite depths of celestial space: when it came to be a question as to which of the two peoples had made the greater progress in this branch of knowledge, all hesitation vanished, and the pre-eminence was accorded by the ancients to the priests of Babylon rather than to those of Heliopolis and Memphis.[1] The Chaldæans had conducted astronomical observations from remote antiquity.[2] Callisthenes collected and sent to his uncle Aristotle a number of these observations, of which the oldest had been made nineteen hundred and three years before his time—that is, about the middle of the twenty-third century before our era:[4] he could have transcribed many of a still earlier date if the archives of Babylon had been fully accessible to him. The Chaldæan priests had been accustomed from an early date to record on their clay tablets the aspect of the heavens and the changes which took place in them night after night, the appearance of the constellations, their comparative brilliancy, the precise moments of their rising and setting and culmination, together with the more or less rapid movements of the



CHALDÆAN MAP OF THE WORLD.[3]

[1] Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, i. 16, § 74), Lucien (*De Astrologiâ*, § 3-9), Diogenes Laertius (*Proœmium* to his *Lives of the Philosophers*, § 11), Macrobius (*The Dream of Scipio*, i. 21, § 9), attribute the origin of astronomy to the Egyptians, and Diodorus Siculus asserts that they were the teachers of the Babylonians; Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, i. 8, 2) maintains, on the contrary, that the Egyptians were the pupils of the Chaldæans.

[2] Epigenes asserts that their observations extended back to 720,000 years before the time of Alexander, while Berossus and Critodemus limit their antiquity to 490,000 years (PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 57), which was further reduced to 473,000 years by Diodorus (ii. 31), to 470,000 by Cicero (*De Divinatione*, i. 19), and to 270,000 by Hipparchus.

[3] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by PEISER, *Eine Babylonische Landkarte*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. iv. p. 369.

[4] The number 1903 is merely introduced by way of correction in the text of Simplicius (Commentary on the *De Cœlo* of Aristotle, p. 503 *a*), to whom we are indebted, after Porphyry, for the account of the observations sent by Callisthenes to Aristotle.

planets, and their motions towards or from one another. To their unaided eyes, sharpened by practice and favoured by the transparency of the air, many stars were visible, as to the Egyptians, which we can perceive only by the aid of the telescope. These thousands of brilliant bodies, scattered apparently at random over the face of the sky, moved, however, with perfect regularity, and the period between their departure from and their return to the same point in the heavens was determined at an early date: their position could be predicted at any hour, their course in the firmament being traced so accurately that its various stages were marked out and indicated beforehand. The moon, they discovered, had to complete two hundred and twenty-three revolutions of twenty-nine days and a half each, before it returned to the point from which it had set out. This period of its career being accomplished, it began a second of equal length, then a third, and so on, in an infinite series, during which it traversed the same celestial houses and repeated in them the same acts of its life: all the eclipses which it had undergone in one period would again afflict it in another, and would be manifest in the same places of the earth in the same order of time.[1] Whether they ascribed these eclipses to some mechanical cause, or regarded them as so many unfortunate attacks made upon Sin by the seven,[2] they recognized their periodical character, and they were acquainted with the system of the two hundred and twenty-three lunations by which their occurrence and duration could be predicted. Further observations encouraged the astronomers to endeavour to do for the sun what they had so successfully accomplished in regard to the moon. No long experience was needed to discover the fact that the majority of solar eclipses were followed some fourteen days and a half after by an eclipse of the moon; but they were unable to take sufficient advantage of this experience to predict with certainty the instant of a future eclipse of the sun, although they had been so struck with the connection of the two phenomena as to believe that they were in a position to announce it approximately.[3] They were frequently deceived in their predictions, and more than one eclipse which they had promised did not take place at the time expected:[4] but their successful prognostications were sufficiently frequent

[1] This period of two hundred and twenty-three lunations is that described by Ptolemy in the fourth book of his "Astronomy," in which he deals with the average motion of the moon. The Chaldæans seem not to have been able to make a skilful use of it, for their books indicate the occurrence of lunar eclipses outside the predicted periods (RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 51, No. 7, and pl. 55, No. 1).

[2] The mythological interpretation seems to have been still prevalent in the treatise published by RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 61, col. ii. ll. 15, 16; cf. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. p. 523.

[3] Tannery is of opinion that the Chaldæans must have predicted eclipses of the sun by means of the period of two hundred and twenty-three lunations, and shows by what a simple means they could have arrived at it (*Pour l'histoire de la Science Hellène; de Thalès à Empédocle*, pp. 57–60).

[4] An astronomer mentions, in the time of Assurbanipal, that on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of the month he prepared for the observation of an eclipse; but the sun continued brilliant, and the eclipse did not

to console them for their failures, and to maintain the respect of the people and the rulers for their knowledge. Their years were vague years of three hundred and sixty days. The twelve equal months of which they were composed bore names which were borrowed, on the one hand, from events in civil life, such as "Simanu," from the making of brick, and "Addaru," from the sowing of seed, and, on the other, from mythological occurrences whose origin is still obscure, such as "Nisanu," from the altar of Ea, and "Elul," from a message of Ishtar.[1] The adjustment of this year to astronomical demands was roughly carried out by the addition of a month every six years, which was called a second Adar, Elul, or Nisan, according to the place in which it was intercalated.[2] The neglect of the hours and minutes in their calculation of the length of the year became with them, as with the Egyptians, a source of serious embarrassment, and we are still ignorant as to the means employed to meet the difficulty. The months had relations to the signs of the zodiac, and the days composing them were made up of twelve double hours each. The Chaldæans had invented two instruments, both of them of a simple character, to measure time—the clepsydra and the solar clock, the latter of which in later times became the source of the Greek "polos." The sun-dial served to determine a number of simple facts which were indispensable in astronomical calculations, such as the four cardinal points, the meridian of the place, the solstitial and equinoctial epochs, and the elevation of the pole at the position of observation. The construction of the sun-dial and clepsydra, if not of the polos also, is doubtless to be referred back to a very ancient date, but none of the texts already brought to light makes mention of the employment of these instruments.[3]

take place (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 51, 9; cf. Fox Talbot, *On an Ancient Eclipse*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 15; Oppert, in the *Journ. Asiatique*, 1871, vol. xviii. p. 67; Sayce, *Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 233, 234; Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 409).

[1] See the bilingual list published for the first time by Norris, *Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 50, as well as the explanations given by Sayce, *Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 160, et seq.; and by Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. pl. cxl., et seq., and p. 598, et seq.

[2] With regard to the intercalated month, see Sayce, *Op. cit.*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 160: we had occasion, at p. 676 of the present work, to refer to the features or ceremonies in which the king took part during the second Elul. The fragment of a calendar indicating a triple intercalation was published by Rawlinson, *W. A. Insc.*, vol, iii. pl. 56, No. 5. The latest, and, as far as the period of the Second Chaldæan Empire is concerned, the most successful attempt to fix the epochs of intercalation, is that of Ed. Mahler, *Der Schaltcyclus der Babylonier*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ix. pp. 42-61.

[3] Herodotus (ii. 109) formally attributes the invention of the sun-dial and polos to the Babylonians: πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες. The "polos" was a solar clock. It consisted of a concave hemisphere with a style rising from its centre: the shadow of the style described every day an arc of a circle parallel to the equator, and the daily parallels were divided into twelve or twenty-four equal parts. Smith discovered, in the palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik, a portion of an astrolabe, which is now in the British Museum (*Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 407, 408).

All these discoveries, which constitute in our eyes the scientific patrimony of the Chaldæans, were regarded by themselves as the least important results of their investigations.[1] Did they not know, thanks to these investigations, that the stars shone for other purposes than to lighten up the nights—to rule, in fact, the destinies of men and kings, and, in ruling that of kings, to determine the fortunes of empires? Their earliest astronomers, by their assiduous contemplation of the nightly heavens, had come to the conclusion that the vicissitudes of the heavenly bodies were in fixed relations with mundane phenomena and events. If Mercury, for instance, displayed an unusual brilliancy at his rising, and his disk appeared as a two-edged sword, riches and abundance, due to the position of the luminous halo which surrounded him, would be scattered over Chaldæa, while discords would cease therein, and justice would triumph over iniquity.[2] The first observer who was struck by this coincidence noted it down; his successors confirmed his observations, and at length deduced, in the process of the years, from their accumulated knowledge, a general law. Henceforward, each time that Mercury assumed the same aspect it was of favourable augury, and kings and their subjects became the recipients of his bounty. As long as he maintained this appearance no foreign ruler could install himself in Chaldæa, tyranny would be divided against itself, equity would prevail, and a strong monarch bear sway; while the landholders and the king would be confirmed in their privileges, and obedience, together with tranquillity, would rule everywhere in the land. The number of these observations increased to such a degree that it was found necessary to classify them methodically to avoid confusion. Tables of them were drawn up, in which the reader could see at one and the same moment the aspect of the heavens on such and such a night and hour, and the corresponding events either then happening, or about to happen, in Chaldæa, Syria, or some foreign land.[3] If, for instance, the moon displayed the same appearance on the 1st and 27th of the month, Elam was threatened; but

[1] A classification of astrological works, of which there is a collection in the British Museum, was made for the first time by FR. LENORMANT, *Essai de Commentaire sur les fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, pp. 25–30; the rest have been examined and translated in part by SAYCE, *Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians, with Translations of the Tablets relating to these Subjects*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. 145–339; and a summary of the results to which the Chaldæan astrologers had come is given by LENORMANT, *La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 1–15.

[2] *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 52, No. 1, ll. 1–17; cf. SAYCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 194, where the name of the planet Guttam is rendered Jupiter, contrary to the opinion of Oppert (*Tablettes Assyriennes*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, vol. viii. p. 445, and *Un Annuaire Astronomique Babylonien*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, vol. xvi. pp. 519, 520). Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 131, 132) identified Guttam with Mars.

[3] See the portents drawn from the conjunction of the sun and moon at different dates, favourable (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 58, No. 11, ll. 9–14) or unfavourable to Akkad (*ibid.*, vol. iii. pl. 58, No. 12, ll. 3–11), but favourable to Elam and Phœnicia.

"if the sun, at his setting, appears double his usual size, with three groups of bluish rays, the King of Chaldæa is ruined."[1] To the indications of the heavenly bodies, the Chaldæans added the portents which could be deduced from atmospheric phenomena:[2] if it thundered on the 27th of Tammuz, the wheat-harvest would be excellent and the produce of the ears magnificent; but if this should occur six days later, that is, on the 2nd of Abu, floods and rains were to be apprehended in a short time, together with the death of the king and the division of his empire.[3] It was not for nothing that the sun and moon surrounded themselves in the evening with blood-red vapours or veiled themselves in dark clouds; that they grew suddenly pale or red after having been intensely bright; that unexpected fires blazed out on the confines of the air, and that on certain nights the stars seemed to have become detached from the firmament and to be falling upon the earth. These prodigies were so many warnings granted by the gods to the people and their kings before great crises in human affairs: the astronomer investigated and interpreted them, and his predictions had a greater influence than we are prepared to believe upon the fortunes of individuals and even of states. The rulers consulted and imposed upon the astronomers the duty of selecting the most favourable moment for the execution of the projects they had in view. From an early date each temple contained a library of astrological writings, where the people might find, drawn up as in a code, the signs which bore upon their destinies.[4] One of these libraries, consisting of not less than seventy clay tablets, is considered to have been first drawn up in the reign of Sargon of Agade,[5] but to have been so modified and enriched with new examples from time to time that the original is well-nigh lost. This was the classical work on the subject in the VIIth century before our era, and the astronomers-royal, to whom applications were accustomed to be made to explain a natural phenomenon or a prodigy, drew their answers ready-made from it.[6] Astronomy, as

[1] RAWLINSON, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 64, No. 7, l. 57; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *La Divination et la Science chez les Chaldéens*, p. 8, No. 1; and for solar portents, *W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 69, 15 recto, l. 1; cf. SAYCE, *The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians*, p. 224; FR. LENORMANT, *op. cit.*, p. 8, No. 1.

[2] FR. LENORMANT, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, et seq.

[3] FR. LENORMANT, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 74.

[4] FR. LENORMANT, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, et seq. None of these works has come down to us in its entirety, but we are in possession of the table of contents of one of them, which contained not less than twenty-five tablets, and which was placed in the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh (*W. A. Insc.*, vol. iii. pl. 52, 53; cf. SAYCE, *Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 151–160). We may estimate, from the summary which it has preserved for us, the amount of work and the number of observations which the Chaldæan, and afterwards the Assyrian, astronomers must have accomplished during the centuries to make up the materials of their science.

[5] At least, the examples are taken from the life of this monarch and from that of his son and successor, Naramsin; cf. pp. 598, 599 of the present work.

[6] Fr. Lenormant thinks that this work, in its modified form, was that which Berossus translated

thus understood, was not merely the queen of sciences, it was the mistress of the world: taught secretly in the temples, its adepts—at least, those who had passed through the regular curriculum of study which it required—became almost a distinct class in society. The occupation was a lucrative one, and its accomplished professors had numerous rivals whose educational antecedents were unknown, but who excited the envy of the experts in their trading upon the credulity of the people. These quacks went about the country drawing up horoscopes, and arranging schemes of birthday prognostications, of which the majority were without any authentic warranty. The law sometimes took note of the fact that they were competing with the official experts, and interfered with their business: but if they happened to be exiled from one city, they found some neighbouring one ready to receive them.

Chaldæa abounded with soothsayers and necromancers no less than with astrologers; she possessed no real school of medicine, such as we find in Egypt, in which were taught rational methods of diagnosing maladies and of curing them by the use of simples.[1] The Chaldæans were content to confide the care of their bodies to sorcerers and exorcists, who were experts in the art of casting out demons and spirits, whose presence in a living being brought about those disorders to which humanity is prone. The facial expression of the patient during the crisis, the words which escaped from him in delirium, were, for these clever individuals, so many signs revealing the nature and sometimes the name of the enemy to be combated—the Fever-god, the Plague-god, the Headache-god.[2] Consultations and medical treatment were, therefore, religious offices, in which were involved purifications, offerings, and a whole ritual of mysterious words and gestures. The magician lighted a fire of herbs and sweet-smelling plants in front of his patient, and the clear flame arising from this put the spectres to flight and dispelled the malign influences, a prayer describing the enchantments and their effects being afterwards recited. "The baleful imprecation like a demon has fallen upon a man;—wail and pain have fallen upon him,—direful wail has fallen upon him,—the baleful imprecation, the spell, the pains in the head!—This man, the baleful imprecation slaughters

into Greek, and which became one of the chief classical texts of Græco-Roman Astrology (*La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 46, 47).

[1] See, for an account of the practice of medicine in Egypt, pp. 214-220 of the present work. As late as the Persian period the physicians about the court of the Achæmenides were Egyptians or Greeks, and not Babylonians; see in Herodotus (iii. 1) the story of the oculist sent by Amasis to Cyrus, and whose ill-will brought about the ruin of Egypt.

[2] As to the malevolent genii, and the diseases which they could occasion by entering the bodies of men, see p. 683 of the present work; the same belief was entertained in Egypt (see p. 212, et seq.).

him like a sheep,—for his god has quitted his body—his goddess has withdrawn herself in displeasure from him,—a wail of pain has spread itself as a garment upon him and has overtaken him!" The harm done by the magician, though terrible, could be repaired by the gods, and Merodach was moved to compassion betimes. Merodach cast his eyes on the patient, Merodach entered into the house of his father Ea, saying: "My father, the baleful curse has fallen like a demon upon the man!" Twice he thus speaks, and then adds: "What this man ought to do, I know not; how shall he be healed?" Ea replies to his son Merodach: "My son, what is there that I could add to thy knowledge? —Merodach, what is there that I could add to thy knowledge?—That which I know, thou knowest it:—go then, my son, Merodach,—lead him to the house of purification of the god who prepares remedies,—and break the spell that is upon him, draw away the charm which is upon him,—the ill which afflicts his body, —which he suffers by reason of the curse of his father,—or the curse of his mother,—or the curse of his eldest brother,—or by the curse of a murderess who is unknown to the man.—The curse, may it be taken from him by the charm of Ea,—like a clove of garlic which is stripped skin by skin,—like a cluster of dates may it be cut off,—like a bunch of flowers may it be uprooted! The spell, may heaven avert it,—may the earth avert it!" The god himself deigned to point out the remedy: the sick man was to take a clove of garlic, some dates, and a stalk bearing flowers, and was to throw them into the fire, bit by bit, repeating appropriate prayers at each stage of the operation. "In like manner as this garlic is peeled and thrown into the fire,—and the burning flame consumes it,—as it will never be planted in the vegetable garden, it will never draw moisture from the pond or from the ditch,—its root will never again spread in the earth,—its stalk will not pierce the ground and behold the sun, —it will not serve as food for the gods or the king,—so may it remove the baleful curse, so may it loose the bond—of sickness, of sin, of shortcomings, of perversity, of crime!—The sickness which is in my body, in my flesh, in my muscles,—like this garlic may it be stripped off,—and may the burning flame consume it in this day;—may the spell of the sorcerer be cast out, that I may behold the light!" The ceremony could be prolonged at will: the sick person pulled to pieces the cluster of dates, the bunch of flowers, a fleece of wool, some goats' hair, a skein of dyed thread, and a bean, which were all in turn consumed in the fire. At each stage of the operation he repeated the formula, introducing into it one or two expressions characterizing the nature of the particular offering; as, for instance, "the dates will no more hang from their stalks, the leaves of the branch will never again be united to the tree, the wool and the hair will never again lie on the back of the animal on which they grew,

and will never be used for weaving garments."[1] The use of magical words was often accompanied by remedies, which were for the most part both grotesque and disgusting in their composition: they comprised bitter or stinking wood-shavings, raw meat, snake's flesh, wine and oil, the whole reduced to a pulp, or made into a sort of pill and swallowed on the chance of its bringing relief.[2] The Egyptian physicians employed similar compounds, to which they attributed wonderful effects, but they made use of them in exceptional circumstances only. The medical authorities in Chaldæa recommended them before all others, and their very strangeness reassured the patient as to their efficacy: they filled the possessing spirits with disgust, and became a means of relief owing to the invincible horror with which they inspired the persecuting demons. The Chaldæans were not, however, ignorant of the natural virtues of herbs, and at times made use of them;[3] but they were not held in very high esteem, and the physicians preferred the prescriptions which pandered to the popular craving for the supernatural. Amulets further confirmed the effect produced by the recipes, and prevented the enemy, once cast out, from re-entering the body; these amulets were made of knots of cord, pierced shells, bronze or terra-cotta statuettes, and plaques fastened to the arms or worn round the neck. On each of the latter kind were roughly drawn the most terrible images that they could conceive, a shortened incantation was scrawled on its surface, or it was covered with extraordinary characters, which when the spirits perceived they at once took flight, and the possessor of the talisman escaped the threatened illness.[4]

However laughable, and at the same time deplorable, this hopeless medley of exact knowledge and gross superstition may appear to us at the present day, it was the means of bringing a prosperity to the cities of Chaldæa which no amount of actual science would ever have produced. The neighbouring barbaric peoples were imbued with the same ideas as the Chaldæans regarding the constitution of the world and the nature of the laws which governed it. They lived likewise in perpetual fear of those invisible beings whose changeable

[1] The text of this casting of the spell was published in RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 7, and was inscribed on the VIth tablet of the series entitled "Shurbu." It was translated at length by Fr. Lenormant (*Études Accadiennes*, vol. ii. pp. 225–238, vol. iii. pp. 83–93), Halévy (*Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie*, pp. 135–144, 30–34); Jensen (*De Incantamentorum sumerico-assyriorum*, etc., in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. i. pp. 279–322, vol. ii. pp. 15–61, 306–311, 416–425), and Zimmern (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion*, vol. i. p. 24–35, pl. xiii.). Another series of incantations has been published and translated by TALLQVIST, *Die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, 1895.

[2] Examples of these incoherent formulas will be found in SAYCE, *An Ancient Babylonian Work on Medicine*, in the *Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. ii. pp. 1–14. For the Egyptian recipes of the same kind, see what is said on p. 219 of the present work.

[3] See, for example, the simples enumerated on a tablet in the British Museum recently published by A. BOISSIER, *Liste de plantes médicinales*, in the *Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. ii. pp. 135–145.

[4] TALBOT, *On the Religious Belief of the Assyrians*, No. 3, § 5–8, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. ii. pp. 54–57, 65–73; FR. LENORMANT, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 38–52.

and arbitrary will actuated all visible phenomena; they attributed all the reverses and misfortunes which overtook them to the direct action of these malevolent beings; they believed firmly in the influence of stars on the course of events; they were constantly on the look out for prodigies, and were greatly alarmed by them, since they had no certain knowledge of the number and nature of their enemies, and the means they had invented for protecting themselves from them or of overcoming them too often proved inefficient. In the eyes of these barbarians, the Chaldæans seemed to be possessed of the very powers which they themselves lacked. The magicians of Chaldæa had forced the demons to obey them and to unmask themselves before them; they read with ease in the heavens the present and future of men and nations; they interpreted the will of the immortals in its smallest manifestations, and with them this faculty was not a limited and ephemeral power, quickly exhausted by use: the rites and formulas known to them enabled them to exercise it freely at all times, in all places, alike upon the most exalted of the gods and the most dreaded of mortals, without its ever becoming weakened. A race so endowed with wisdom was, indeed, destined to triumph over its neighbours, and the latter would have no chance of resisting such a nation unless they borrowed from it its manners, customs, industry, writing, and all the arts and sciences which had brought about their superiority. Chaldæan civilization spread into Elam and took possession of the inhabitants of the shores of the Persian Gulf, and then, since its course was impeded on the south by the sea, on the west by the desert, and on the east by the mountains, it turned in the direction of the great northern plains and proceeded up the two rivers, beside whose lower waters it had been cradled. It was at this very time that the Pharaohs of the XIIIth dynasty had just completed the conquest of Nubia. Greater Egypt, made what she was by the efforts of twenty generations, had become an African power. The sea formed her northern boundary, the desert and the mountains enclosed her on all sides, and the Nile appeared the only natural outlet into a new world: she followed it indefatigably from one cataract to another, colonizing as she passed all the lands fertilized by its waters. Every step which she made in this

A CHALDÆAN AMULET.[1]

[1] Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by LOFTUS, *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*. The original is in the British Museum.

direction increased the distance between her capitals and the Mediterranean, and brought her armies further south. Asia would have practically ceased to exist, as far as Egypt was concerned, had not the repeated incursions of the Bedouin obliged her to make advances from time to time in that direction; still she crossed the frontier as seldom as possible, and recalled her troops as soon as they had reduced the marauders to order: Ethiopia alone attracted her, and it was there that she firmly established her empire. The two great civilized peoples of the ancient world, therefore, had each their field of action clearly marked out, and neither of them had ever ventured into that of the other. There had been no lack of intercourse between them, and the encounter of their armies, if it ever really had taken place, had been accidental, had merely produced passing results, and up till then had terminated without bringing to either side a decisive advantage.

MAGIC NAIL OF TERRA COTTA.

EGYPTIAN CORNICE BEARING THE CARTOUCHES OF RAMSES I.

APPENDIX.

THE PHARAOHS OF THE ANCIENT AND MIDDLE EMPIRES.

(DYNASTIES I.–XIV.)

THE lists of the Pharaohs of the Memphite period appear to have been drawn up in much the same order as we now possess them, as early as the XIIth dynasty: it is certain that the sequence was definitely fixed about the time of the XXth dynasty, since it was under this that the Canon of Turin was copied. The lists which have come down to us appear to follow two traditions, which differ completely in certain cases: one has been preserved for us by the abbreviators of Manetho, while the other was the authority followed by the compilers of the tables of Abydos and Saqqâra, as well as by the author of the Turin Papyrus.[1]

There appear to have been in the first five dynasties a certain number of kings whose exact order and filiation were supposed to be well known to the compilers; but, at the same time, there were others whose names were found on the monuments, but whose position with regard to their predecessors was indicated neither by historical documents nor by popular romance. We find, therefore, in these two traditional lists a series of sovereigns always occupying the same position, and others hovering around them, who have no decided place. The hieroglyphic lists and the Royal Canon appear to have been chiefly concerned with the former; but the authorities followed by Manetho have studiously collected the names of the latter, and have intercalated them in different places, sometimes in the middle, but mostly at the end of the dynasty, where they form a kind of *caput mortuum*. The most striking example of this arrangement is afforded us in the IVth dynasty. The contemporary monuments show that its kings formed a compact group, to which are appended the first three sovereigns of the Vth dynasty, always in the same order: Menkaûrî succeeded Khâfrî, Shopsiskaf followed Menkaûrî, Usirkaf followed Shopsiskaf, and so on to the end. The lists of Manetho suppress Shopsiskaf, and substitute four other individuals in his place, namely, Ratôises, Bikheris, Seberkheres, Thamphthis, whose reigns must have occupied more than half a century; these four were doubtless aspirants to the throne, or local kings belonging to the time between the IVth and Vth dynasties, whom Manetho's authorities inserted between the compact groups made up of Kheops and his sons on the one hand, and of Usirkaf and his two real

[1] For the two traditions and their relative value, see MASPERO, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii. pp. 56–76, 121–138.

or supposed brothers on the other, omitting Shopsiskaf, and having no idea that Usirkaf was his immediate successor, with or without rivals to the throne.

In a course of lectures given at the Collège de France (1893–95), I have examined at length the questions raised by a study of the various lists, and I may be able, perhaps, some day to publish the result of my researches: for the present I must confine myself merely to what is necessary to the elucidation of the present work, namely, the Manethonian tradition on the one hand, and the tradition of the monumental tables on the other. The text which I propose to follow for the latter, during the first five dynasties, is that of the second table of Abydos; the names placed between brackets [ ] are taken either from the table of Saqqâra or from the Royal Canon of Turin. The numbers of the years, months, and days are those furnished by the last-mentioned document.

LISTS OF MANETHO.		*LISTS ON THE MONUMENTS.*			
			Years.	Dys.	Mths.
I^st^ DYNASTY (THINITE).					
Menes	62	Mînî	—	—	—
Athothis	57	Teti I.	—	—	—
Kenkenes	31	Ati I.	—	—	—
Ouenephes	23	Ati II.	—	—	—
Ousaphaidos	20	Hûsaphaîti	—	—	—
Miebidos	26	Maribi	73	—	—
Semempses	18	Samsû	72	—	—
Bienekhes	26	Qabhû	83	—	—
IInd DYNASTY (THINITE).					
Boêthos	38	Bûzaû	95	—	—
Kaiekhôs	39	Kakôû	—	—	—
Binôthris	47	Binôtri	95	—	—
Tlas	17	Ûznasît	70	—	—
Sethenes	41	Sondi	74(?)	—	—
Khaires	17				
Nepherkheres	25	[Nofirkarî]	70	—	—
Sesôkhris	48				
Kheneres	30				
IIIrd DYNASTY (MEMPHITE).					
Nekherôphes	28	[Nofirkarsokarî]	8	4	2
Tosorthros	29	[Hûzaûfi]	25(?)	8	4
Tyreis	7	Zazai, [Babai]	37	2	1
Mesôkhris	17	Nebkarî	19	—	—
Sôyphis	16	Zosir Sa [Zosiri I.]	19	2	—
Tosertasis	19	Teti II. [Zosiri II. Teti II.]	6	—	—
Akhes	42	Sazisû	—	—	—
Sephouris	30	Nofirkarî II.	6	—	—
Kerpheres	26	[Hûni]	24	—	—

LISTS ON THE MONUMENTS—(*continued*).

ASTY (MEMPHITE).

	Years.
	29
	63
	66
	63
	25
	22
	7
	9

	Years.	Dys.	Mths.
Snofrûi	24	—	—
Khûfûi	23	—	—
Dûdîfrî	8	—	—
Khafrî	—	—	—
Menkaûrî	—	—	—
Shopsiskaf	—	—	—

Vth DYNASTY (ELEPHANTITE).

	28
	13
	23
	7
	20
S	44
ES I.	9
RES	44
	33

	Years.	Dys.	Mths.
Ûsirkaf	28	—	—
Sahûrî	4	—	—
Kakiû	2	—	—
Nofir[irike]ri I.	7	—	—
[Sen . . .]	12	—	—
[Shopsiskerî]	—	—	—
[Akaûhorû]	7	—	—
Ûsirnirî I. [Ânû]	25	—	—
Menkaûhorû	8	—	—
Dadkerî I. [Assi]	28	—	—
Ûnas	30	—	—

VIth DYNASTY (MEMPHITE).

Othoes	30
Phios	53
Metesouphis	7
Phiops	100
Menthesouphis	1
Nitôkris	12

	Years.	Dys.	Mths.
Teti III.	—	—	—
Miribî [Papi I.]	20	—	—
Mirnirî I. [Mihtimsaûf I.]	14	—	—
Nofirkarî III. [Papi II.]	90+	—	—
Mirnirî II. [Mihtimsaûf II.]	1	1	—
Nîtaûqrît	—	—	—

From the VIth to the XIIth dynasty, the lists of Manetho are at fault: they give the origin and duration of the dynasties, without furnishing us with the names of the kings. This blank is partially filled by the table of Abydos, by the fragments of the Turin Papyrus, and by information supplied by the monuments. No such definitely established sequence appears to have existed for this period, as for the preceding ones. The Heracleopolitan dynasties figure, perhaps, in the Canon of Turin only; as for the later Memphite dynasties, the table of Abydos gives one series of Pharaohs, while the Canon adopts a different one. After the close of the VIth dynasty, and before the accession of the IXth, there was, doubtless, a period when several branches of the royal family claimed the supremacy and ruled in different parts of Egypt: this is what we know to have taken place later between the XXIInd and the XXIVth dynasties. The tradition of Abydos had, perhaps, adopted one of the

contemporaneous dynasties, while the Tu
Manetho, on the other hand, had select
tatives of the legitimate succession,
immediately followed the sovereigns of t
gives both the series known, as far as it is p
the order:—

TABLE OF ABYDOS.

[VIIth AND VIIIth DYNASTIES (MEMPHITE) OF

	Years.				
Nôtirkerî	—	Nofirkarî IV.			
Menkepî	—	Nofirûs			
Nofirkarî IV.	—	Abi			
Nofirkarî V. Nibi	—				
Dadkerî II. Shaûma	—				
Nofirkarî VI. Khondû	—				
Marnihorû	—				
Sanofirka I.	—				
Kanibî	—				
Nofirkarî VII. Tabarou	—				
Nofirkahorû	—				
Nofirkarî VIII. Papi III. Sonbû	—				
Sanofirka II. Anû	—				
Ousirkeûrî	—				
Nofirkeûrî	—				
Nofirkeûhorû	—				
Nofiribikerî II.	—				

[IXth AND Xth DYNASTIES (HERACLEOPOLITAN) OF MANETHO.]

	—	Khîti I. [Miribrî]			
	—				
	—	Mibikerî			
	—				
	—	Nofirkarî IX.			
	—	Khîti II.			
	—				

The XIth (Theban) dynasty contains but a small number of kings according to the official lists. The tables on the monuments recognize only two, Nibkhrôurî and Sônkhkarî, but the Turin Canon admits at least half a dozen. These differences probably arose from the fact that, the second Heracleopolitan dynasty having reigned at the same time as the earlier Theban princes, the tables on the monuments, while rejecting the Heracleopolitans, recognized as legitimate Pharaohs only those of the Theban kings who had ruled over the whole of Egypt, namely, the first and last of the series; the Canon, on the contrary, replaced the later Heracleopolitans by those among the contemporary Thebans who had assumed the royal titles. Whatever may have been the

cause of these combinations, we find the lists again harmoni
accession of the XIIth (Theban) dynasty.

LISTS OF MANETHO.		CANON OF TURI	
XIIth DYNASTY (THEBAN).			
	Years.		Years.
Ammenemes	16	Shotpabrî I. Amenemhâît I.	20
Sesonkhôsis	46	Khopirkerî I. Ûsirtasen I.	42
Ammenemes	38	Nûbkeûrî Amenemhâît II.	32
Sesostris	48	Khâkhopirrî Ûsirtasen II.	19
Lakhares	8	Khakeûrî Ûsirtasen III.	30+
Ameres	8	Mâîtnirî Amenemhâît III.	40+
Amenemes	8	Mâkhrôûrî Amenemhâît IV.	9 3
Skemiophris	4	Sovkûnofriûrî	3 10

For the succeeding dynasties we possess merely the names enumerated o
the fragments of the Turin Papyrus, several of which, however, are also found
either in the royal chamber at Karnak, or on contemporary monuments
The order of the names is not always certain: it is, perhaps, best to tran
scribe the sequence as we are able to gather it from the fragments o
the Royal Papyrus, without attempting to distinguish between those whic
belong to the XIIIth and those which must be relegated to the following
dynasties.

	Years.	Days.	Months.		Years.	Days.	Months.
1. Sakhemkhoutoouirî I. [Sovkhotpû I.]	—	—	—	21. Sakhmûaztoûirî Sovkhotpû III.	—	—	—
2. Sakhemkarî	—	—	—	22. Sasheshkhârî Nofirhotpû I.	—	—	—
3. Amenemhâît V.	—	—	—	23. Sihâthorrî	—	—	—
4. Shoptabrî II.	—	—	—	24. Khânofirrî Sovkhotpû IV.	—	—	—
5. Aûfni	—	—	—	25. [Khâkerî]	—	—	—
6. Sonkhabrî [Amoni Antûf Amenemhâît]	—	—	—	26. [Khâonkhrî Sovkhotpû V.]	—	—	—
7. Smankhârî	—	—	—	27. Khîhotpûrî Sovkhotpû VI.	—	—	—
8. Shotpabrî III.	—	—	—	28. Ûahibrî Jaibû	—	—	—
9. Sônkhkarî II.	—	—	—	29. Marnofirrî [Ani]	13	8	1
10.	—	—	—	30. Marhotpûrî	2	2	
11. Nozmabrî	—	—	—	31. Sonkhnisûaztûrî	3	2	
12. Sovkhotpûrî	—	—	—	32. Marsakhmûrî Andû	3	1	
13. Rinûsonbû	—	—	—	33. Saûazkeûrî Ûiri	—	—	—
14. Aûtûabrî I. [Horû]	—	—	—	34. . . . . rî	—	—	—
15. Sazaûf[ke]rî	—	—	—	35–43.	—	—	—
16. Sakhemkhoutoûirî II. Sovkhotpû II.	—	—	—	44. Mirikhopirrî	—	—	—
17. Ûsirnirî II.	—	—	—	45. Mirikéûrî [Sovkhotpû VII.]	—	—	—
18. Smankhkerî Mirmonfîtû	—	—	—	46–50.	—	—	—
19. . . . . karî	—	—	—	51. . . . . masûrî	—	—	—
20. Sûsirîstrî	—	—	—	52. . . . . mâîtrî	—	—	—
				53. Nofirûbnûrî I.	—	—	—
				54. . . . . kerî	—	—	—
				55. [Saûaz]nirî	—	—	—

	Years.	Days.	Months.
. . . . .	—	—	—
. . . . .	—	—	—
. . . . .	—	—	—
. . . . .	—	—	—
. . . . .	3	—	—
ÛRÎ	3	—	—
RÎ	1	—	—
FIÛRÎ I.	1	—	—
I.	0	—	—
. . . . .	—	—	—
AÛFIÛRÎ II.	4	—	—
R]ÛBNÛRI II.	—	—	—
ABRÎ II.	—	—	—
BRÎ	—	—	—

	Years.	Days.	Months.
72. NIBSÛNÛRÎ	—	—	—
73–74.	—	—	—
75. . . . . RÎ	—	—	21
76. SKHOPIRNIRÎ	0	—	—
77. DADKHRÔÛRÎ	0	—	—
78. SÔNKHKARÎ	—	—	—
79. NOFIRTÛMÛRÎ	—	—	—
80. SAKHM . . . RÎ	—	—	—
81. KA . . . . RÎ	—	—	—
82. NOFIRABRÎ	—	—	—
83. A. . . . . KARÎ	—	—	—
84. KHÂ . . . . RÎ	—	—	—
85. NOFIRKARÎ	—	—	—
86. SMAN . . . . . RI	—	—	—

About fifty names still remain, but so mutilated and scattered over such ll fragments of papyrus, that their order is most uncertain. We possess numents of about one-fifth of these kings, and the lengths of their reigns, far as we know them, all appear to have been short: we have no reason to doubt hat they did really govern, and we can only hope that in time the progress f excavation will yield us records of them one after another. They bring us own to the period of the invasion of the Shepherds, and it is possible that ome among them may be found to be contemporaries of the XVth and XVIth ynasties.

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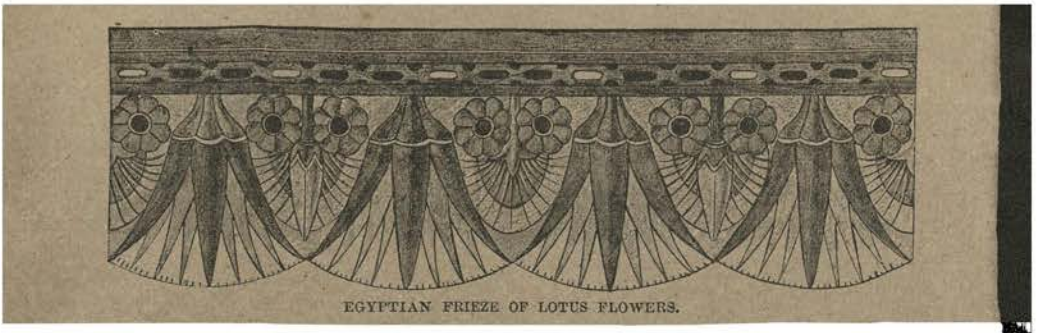


EGYPTIAN FRIEZE OF LOTUS FLOWERS.

INDEX.

A

A. *See* Sirrida
Abhâît (Mahalla?), 423
Abousir (Abûsîr), 383, 390
Abû, 442
Abydos, 197, 198, 226, 232, 303, 310, 393, 416, 422, 424, 440, 450, 460, 462, 530, 785, 786, 787
Accad, 562 (note 12), 573, 616, 619
Accadians. *See* Sumerians
Adabehaît, 494
Adahaît, 494
Adapa, 659, 660, 661
"Addaru," 777
Adhem, 548, 549
Administrative officials, 285, *et seq.*, 292, 310, 332, 333, 402, 474, 720, 721
Adoption, rites of, 740
"Adventures of Sinûhît," 467, 469, 471, 473
Agadê, 562 (note 12), 595, 597, 600
Agriculture in Chaldæa, 763, *et seq.*, 770
Agriculture in Egypt, 67, 68, 69, 70, 75, 174, 330, 331, 332, 333, 338, 339, 340
Ahi, 105
Ahûît (Ahûîtiû), 333
Aît-nobsû, 170, 171
Akaûhorû, 389
Akhimû Sokû (or *ûrdû*), 94
Akhmîm (Panopolis,—Ekhmîm), 31, 414, 454, 461, 506
Akhthoes (Khiti I.), 440, 448, 455, 456, 526
Akki, 598
Akurgal, 606, 609
Alaparos, 564
Allala, 580
Allat (Erish-kigal), 673, 674, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 700
Allat, legend of, 691
Alôros, 564, 566
"Alu," 631, 633
Alusharsid, 602
Amakhû, 118
Amamiû, 394, 419, 431, 432, 435, 459, 478
Amanus, 549, 610, 627
Amelagaros, 565
Amempsinos, 565
Amenemhâît I., 446, 459, 462, 463, 464, 465, 467, 469, 478, 500, 502, 503, 505, 506, 517, 519, 526
Amenemhâît II., 468, 474, 490, 500, 518, 519
Amenemhâît III., 468, 476, 481, 488, 491, 502, 506, 513, 518, 519, 520, 527
Amenemhâît IV., 468, 476, 527
Amentît (Amenti), 250
Amillaros, 565
Amîtsi, 419
Ammenon, 565
Ammiânshi, 473
Amnanu, 619
Amon, 87, 99, 101, 125, 144, 149, 159, 267, 478, 479, 484, 506, 507, 530
Amon-Maut-Khonsû, 150
Amoni-Amenemhâît, 524, 526
Amsît, 143, 182, 187
Amten, 290–296, 328
Amû, 434
Anat. *See* Anu
Anbû-haz-û, 233
Anhûri-Shû, 99, 100, 101, 109, 116, 139, 140, 144, 152, 231, 232
Anît, 150
Anîtiû, 526
Ankht. *See* Onkhit
Annedôtos, 565
Anôdaphos, 565
Anshar, 538, 539, 603, 610
Antûf I. (Antef), 432, 454, 462
Antûf II., 454
Antûf III., 454, 459
Antûf V., 464
Ânû, 414
Anu (Anat), 538, 539, 540, 566, 569, 570, 573, 578, 581, 626, 634, 641, 644, 645, 648, 650, 651, 652, 654, 658, 660, 661, 663, 664, 667, 672, 673, 698, 699, 763
Anubis, 103, 112, 113, 116, 174, 176, 178, 182, 183, 187, 213, 250, 252, 364, 432, 503
Anûkît (Anuke), 105, 240, 42
Anunit, 562, 597, 665, 670
Anunnaki, 568, 569, 634, 635, 696
Anunnas, 634, 696
Anûpû, 116
Anûpûmonkhû, 290
Aphroditê, 639, 640 [453D,
Aphroditopolis Parva (Zobu
Api, 298
Apit-to, 18
Apîtu (Thebes), 455
Apollinopolis Magna. *See* F
Apôpi, 90, 91, 159, 170, 200
Apsu, 537
Apû, 73
Arad-Ea, 585, 586, 587, 588
Aralu, 690
Argo, 532
Ari-hos-nofir (or Tûtû), 10
Ark of the Deluge, the, 57
Army, the Chaldæan, 722
——, the Egyptian, 305, 307, 452

Arura, 761
Aruru, 574, 576
Ashmûnein. *See* Khmûnû
Asp, the, 33
Assi (Assa). *See* Dadkerî Assi
Assurbanipal, 547, 642, 689, 706, 730
Astrologers, Chaldæan, 780
Astronomy, Ancient Egyptian, 204, *et seq.*, 209, 281
——, Chaldæan, 686, 775, 776, 778
Aswan (Syene), 11, 414, 425, 430, 435, 458, 482
Asychis (Sasychis), 382
Ata, 237
Athribis, 77
Ati, 236, 237, 415, 442
Atonû, 87
Atûmû (*see also* Tûmû), 106, 111, 138, 139, 141, 144, 147, 150, 151, 156, 276
Aûnû of the North (Heliopolis), 74, 190, 453D
Aûnû of the South. *See* Hermonthis
Aûtûabrî I. Horû, 528, 530, 532
Axes, ancient, 60
Azaï, 102
Azupirâni, 598

B

Babbar, 638
Babbar-Shamash, 655
[illegible]el, 573
[illegible]lon, 562, 590, 591, 595, 597, [illegible], 604, 628, 644, 648, 649, [illegible], 675, 688, 705, 718, 730, [illegible], 743, 775
[illegible]ad, 548
[illegible]esa, Oasis of, 432
el-Abiad, 20
el-Ghazâl, 20
[illegible]r-î-Nedjîf, 552, 562
[illegible]ur-Yûsuf, 7, 445, 446, 447
[illegible]t (Bebît), 355
[illegible]khû, 18, 45
[illegible]likh, 549, 559
[illegible]llas, 453D
[illegible]miâ, the, 65 [261
[illegible]ner," *or* "Ka Name," the, [illegible]a, 667
[illegible]ku, 660, 661
[illegible]ip, 562, 648. *See also* [illegible]rsippa
[illegible]er, methods of, 323, 324, 326, [illegible] *et seq.*
[illegible], 102, 106, 503
[illegible]l-Bagarah, 6
[illegible]04, 672, 673
[illegible] 479
Bayadîyeh, 506
Bazaars, the, 323, *et seq.*
Begig, 512
Bel-Merodach (god of Bâbylon), 649, 650, 651, 652, 666, 669, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 696, 704, 705, 754, 763, 781
Bel of Nipur, 566, 567, 569, 570, 571, 572, 586, 588, 597, 626, 634, 635 (637, 638 identified with Inlil-Bel), 640, 641, 644, 645, 648, 663, 666
Belit, 635, 664
Bêlit-ilânit, 670
Belnadinabal, 677, 678
Beltis, 637, 676
Beltis-Allat, 691 [754
Beni-Hasan, 452, 453, 470, 524.
Bennu. *See* Bonû
Berenicê. *See* Head of Nekhabît
Bersîm, 7
Bes. *See* Bîsû
Biabmû, 513
Bikheres, 387, 785
Bingani-shar-ali, 602, 758
Binôthris, 238
Biqît, 523
Birds of Egypt, the, 35
Birds, legend of the (Gebel et-Têr), 10
Bir-el-Ain, 121
Birket-Kerum. *See* Lake Mœris
Birket-Nû, 20
Bîsû (Bes), 84, 397, 398
Bitlis-Khai, 549
Boêthos, 238, 242
Bohani, 484
Bonû (Bennu), 96, 131, 136, 190
"Book of the Opening of the Mouth," 180, 256
"Book of the Dead," 183, 199, 224, 398
Borsippa, 670, 675. *See also* Barsip
Boursîu I. and II., 619.
"Bowarieh," 624
Bread, early method of making, 320
Brick, Chaldæan, 623, 625, 753
"Bride of the Nile," 24
Bubastis, 77, 102, 242, 364, 401, 422, 503, 530, 533
Building, methods and styles of, 315, *et seq.*
Burial, ancient Egyptian modes of, 112, 361
——, Chaldæan modes of, 684, *et seq.*
Busiris, 432
Bûto, 45, 77, 99, 101, 176
Buzur-Bel, 568

C

Calendar, the Chaldæan, 777
——, the Egyptian, 207, *et seq.*
Callisthenes, 775
Calneh, 573
Camel, the, 32
Canopic branch of Nile, 5
Cataracts, the, 11, 15, 482
Cereals of Chaldæa, 555
—— of Egypt, 66, 331
Cerkasoros, 6
Chaldæa, fauna of, 556
——, flora of, 554
Chaos-Tiâmat, 537
Charms and spells, ancient, 213, 281, 282, 780. *et seq.*
Cheops. *See* Khûfûi
"Children of Defeat" (or Rebellion), 159
"Children of Ruin," 265
Clubs and maces, ancient, 59, 60, 642
Colocasia, the, 65
Commerce, maritime, 392, *et seq.* 397, 751
Coptos. *See* Koptos
Corvée, the, 333, 334, 336, 337, 339, 378, 379
Costumes of the Chaldæans, 718, 719
—— of the Egyptians, 55, *et seq.*, 265, 277, 685
Creation, traditions of the, 146, *et seq.*, 156, *et seq.*, 537, 545, *et seq.*
Cremation in Chaldæa, 687
Crocodile, the, 34, 235
Crocodilopodis. *See* Shodit
Cultivation. *See* Agriculture
Cuneiform characters, 726
Cusæ. *See* Kusît
Cush (Kush). *See* Kaûshû
Cylinders, writing, 725, 758

D

Dadkerî Assi, 389, 390, 398, 414
Dadufrî, 387
Dagan (Dagon), 674
Dahshûr, 358, 365, 383, 386, 464, 517, 520, 530, 532
Daït, 18
Dakhel, oasis of, 422
Dakkeh, 479, 480
Damkina. *See* Ea
Dangas, the, 397, 398, 428, 431, 433
Darfur, 488
"Daughter of the Prince of Bakhtan, Tale of," 110
Davos, 565

Dead, festival of the, 321
Decani, the (Genii), 205, 208
Delta, age of, 4, 5
——, formation of, 3, 74, 75, 132
—— deities of the, 37, 132, 177
Deluge, the, 568 [508
Dender[illegible], 453D,
Derr[illegible]
"De[illegible], 110
Didû[illegible]
Didû[illegible]
Dilbat,[illegible]
Dilmun ([illegible]rratum), 562, 598, 616
"Divine Palace," the, 250
Diyâleh, 548, 549
"Domains of the Eternal House," 255
Domestic implements, 53, 318, *et seq.*, 747, 755
—— life of Chaldæans, 747, *et seq.*
—— life of Egyptians, 51, 267, 317, *et seq.*
Dom-palm (Egyptian *Mama*), 31
Doshkeh, temple at, 479
Double, legends of the, 256, *et seq.*, 262
"Double Truth," the, 190
Drah abû'l-Neggah, 460
Dumuzi (Tammuz), (Dunzi), 645, 646, 647, 660, 672, 674, 693, 694, 695, 696
Dumuzi-Zuaba, 638
Dungi, 613, 617, 630
Dunshagana, 636, 638
Dunziranna, 609
Durîlu, 598
Dur-Sharrukîn, 597
Dush, oasis of, 432
Dynasties of the Chaldæan kings, 573, 592, 593, 594
Dynasties of Egypt, the, 224, *et seq.*, 387, 389, 415, 440, 454, 785–790

E

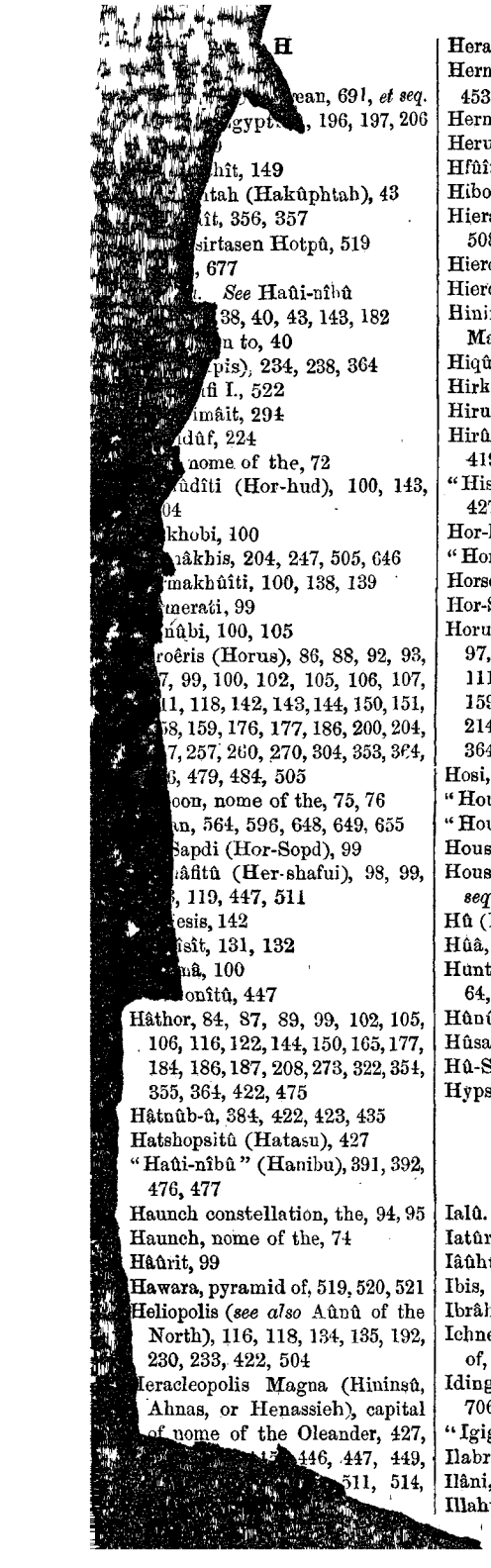
Ea (Damkina), 538, 539, 545, 566, 567, 572, 586, 634, 635, 638, 640, 641, 644, 645, 646, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 658, 660, 661, 664, 666, 667, 672, 673, 684, 695, 696, 698, 703, 763, 777, 781
Eabani, 576, 577, 578, 581, 582, 583, 588, 589, 590
E-Babbara, 675
Ebarra, 658
Edfû (Apollinopolis Magna), (Tbû), 77, 97, 201, 328, 508
Education and schools, 288
Egyptian language, the, 46
Egyptians, ancient customs of, 50
——, costumes of ancient, 55, 57
——, early civilization of, 53
——, origin of the, 45
——, types and characteristics of, 47–49
——, weapons of ancient, 58, 59
Eileithyiapolis. *See* El-Kab
Ekarrakaîs, 677
Ekhmîm. *See* Akhmîm
"Ekimmu," 633, 689
Ekur, 597, 600
Elam and Elamites, 563, 590, 598, 602, 619, 709, 742, 751, 778
El-Arish, 348, 420
El-Ashshur, 564
El-Bersheh, 523
El-Kab (Eileithyiapolis, Nekhabît), 450, 454, 460, 508
El-Kharbeh, 510
Elephantinê, 415, 423, 424, 428, 430, 453D, 454, 456, 459, 465, 480, 488, 493, 494, 508, 522 [362
Embalming, process of, 112, 216,
Enakalli, 608
Enlil-Bel, 648. *See also* Inlil-Bel
Enneads, the, 142, *et seq.*, 149, 150, 159, 191
Entena, 756
Epagomenal days, the five, 208
Eratosthenes, canon of, 236
Erech (*see* Uruk), 573
Eridu (Abu-Shahreîn), 561, 614, 615, 625, 628, 642, 648, 650, 665, 693, 716, 745
Erment, 101
Erythræan Sea, the, 546
Esharra, 645, 646, 672
Esneh (Latopolis), 97
Etana, 573, 698, 699, 700
E-Timila, 625
Eulbar, 597, 600
Euphrates, the, 543, 546, 549, 552, 553, 590, 595, 697, 751, 753
Evechoüs, 573
Evedoranchos, 565
Exchange, methods of. *See* Barter
E-Zida, 675

F

Fakus, 484, 504
Fauna of Egypt, 32, 33
Fellah, status and life of the, 308, 314, 326, 327, 338, 339, 340, 343
Fennec, the, 103
Festivals, ancient[illegible] *et seq.*, 681, 70[illegible]
——, —— Egy[illegible] 210, 250, 32[illegible]
Feudal gods of Egypt[illegible] 129, 142
Feudal lords. *See* Nobi[illegible]
Finger-nail signatures, 7[illegible]
Fire-god, the, 635
Fish of the Nile, 35, 36
"Five, House of the," 147[illegible]
Flood, Chaldæan story [illegible]
Flora of Egypt, 26, 27,[illegible]
Food-plants, 65
Funeral rites, ancient, [illegible] 252, 254, 257, 318, 399,[illegible]
Funerary gods, the, 143

G

Galalama, 613
Galalim, 636
"Gallu," 631, 633
Gaû, 456
Gebel Abûfêda, 10
—— el-Ahmar, 10
—— et-Têr, 10
—— Geneffeh, 351
—— Mokattam, 10
Gebelên, 10, 453D, 460, 461
Genii of Chaldæan mytho[illegible] 631, *et seq.*
Gibil, 635, 674
Gilgames, 566, 574, 575, 576 578, 580–590, 601, 642, 698 731
Gilgames, Epic of, 566, 770
Girgeh. *See* Cerkasoros
Girsu (site of palace of G[illegible] 603, 637
Gishban, 604, 606, 608, 609
Gishgalla, 603
Gishzida, 660
Gizeh, 242, 257, 258, 365, 366, 370, 406, 531, 730 [636–674
Gods of Chaldæa, 537, *et seq.*,
—— of Egypt, the, 81, 99, 104, 108, 116, 302
Gods, endowment of, 126
Government, officials of the, 285, *et seq.*, 292
Granites of Egypt, 12
Gubin, 616
Gudea, 609, 610, 613, 618, 620, 627, 637, 709, 713, 714, 715, 718, 750
Gula, 665, 672, 673, 676, 696
Gulkishar, 677
Gungunum, 619
Guti, 5[illegible]



H

ean, 691, *et seq.*
gypt , 196, 197, 206

hît, 149
tah (Hakûphtah), 43
ît, 356, 357
sirtasen Hotpû, 519
, 677
. *See* Haûi-nîbû
38, 40, 43, 143, 182
n to, 40
pis), 234, 238, 364
fi I., 522
imâit, 294
dûf, 224
nome of the, 72
ûdîti (Hor-hud), 100, 143,
04
khobi, 100
nâkhis, 204, 247, 505, 646
makhûîti, 100, 138, 139
merati, 99
nûbi, 100, 105
roêris (Horus), 86, 88, 92, 93,
7, 99, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107,
11, 118, 142, 143, 144, 150, 151,
8, 159, 176, 177, 186, 200, 204,
7, 257, 260, 270, 304, 353, 364,
6, 479, 484, 505
oon, nome of the, 75, 76
n, 564, 596, 648, 649, 655
Sapdi (Hor-Sopd), 99
âûtû (Her-shafui), 98, 99,
, 119, 447, 511
esis, 142
îsît, 131, 132
nâ, 100
onîtû, 447
Hâthor, 84, 87, 89, 99, 102, 105, 106, 116, 122, 144, 150, 165, 177, 184, 186, 187, 208, 273, 322, 354, 355, 364, 422, 475
Hâtnûb-û, 384, 422, 423, 435
Hatshopsitû (Hatasu), 427
"Haûi-nîbû" (Hanibu), 391, 392, 476, 477
Haunch constellation, the, 94, 95
Haunch, nome of the, 74
Hâûrit, 99
Hawara, pyramid of, 519, 520, 521
Heliopolis (*see also* Aûnû of the North), 116, 118, 134, 135, 192, 230, 233, 422, 504
Heracleopolis Magna (Hininsû, Ahnas, or Henassieh), capital of nome of the Oleander, 427, 446, 447, 449, 511, 514,
Heracleopolis Parva, 441
Hermonthis (Aûnû of the South), 453D, 506
Hermopolis Magna. *See* Khmûnû
Heru-sha. *See* Hirû-Shâîtû
Hfûît, 453D
Hibonû (Minieh), 201, 202, 524
Hierakonpolis (Hibonû, Minieh), 508
Hierodules, 126
Hieroglyphs, the, 221
Hininsû, 73. *See* Heracleopolis Magna
Hiqûît (Heqit), 388
Hirkhûf, 427, 430, 431, 433, 434
Hiru Khâkerî, 480, 487
Hirû-Shâîtû (Heru-sha), 350, 358, 419, 420, 426, 434, 469, 526
"History of the Peasant," 310, 427
Hor-hud. *See* Harhûdîti
"Horizon," the. *See* Khûît
Horse, the, 32, 770
Hor-Sopd. *See* Har-Sapdi
Horus (Haroêris), 86, 88, 92, 93, 97, 99, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107, 111, 142, 143, 144, 150, 151, 158, 159, 176, 177, 186, 200, 201, 204, 214, 247, 257, 260, 270, 304, 354, 364, 416, 479, 484, 505
Hosi, 404
"House of Adoration," 276
"House of Books," 398
House, the Eternal, 254, 255
Household of the kings, 278, *et seq.*
Hû (Diospolis Parva), 453D
Hûâ, district of, 492
Hunting, ancient methods of, 61–64, 766, *et seq.*
Hûnû, 494, 495
Hûsaphaîti, 224
Hû-Sû, 211
Hypsele (Shashotpu), 522

I

Ialû. *See* "Reeds, Field of"
Iatûr-âû (Iar-o), 6
Iâûhû, 96
Ibis, the, 35, 299
Ibrâhimîyeh, 7
Ichneumon, the, Egyptian names of, 32
Idingiranagin, 606, 607, 608, 609, 706, 717
"Igigi," 634, 666
Ilabrât, 660
Ilâni, 674
Illahun, 513, 514, 519, 520
Imhotep. *See* Imhotpû
Imhotpû, 106, 107, 239, 240, 415
Inanna, 636, 637, 638
Inannatuma I., 60
Inannatu
Incant , 282, 780,
Ininnu
Inlil 636, 637,
Innugi, 566
Intemena, 60
Inzu, 636, 637, 638
Iritit, 395, 419, 424, 430, 432, 434, 435, 478
Irkalla, 693
Irrigation. *See* Agriculture
Isban, 606, 608
Ishtar (Venus), 538, 569, 570, 573, 575, 576, 577, 578, 580, 581, 582, 598, 634, 635, 637, 638, 639, 646, 647, 648, 658, 662, 663, 664, 667, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 682, 693, 694, 695, 696, 700, 704, 762, 777
Ishullanu, 581, 598
Isis, 21, 99, 101, 106, 107, 129, 131, 132, 140, 144, 150, 155, 162, 163, 172, 174, 176, 178, 182, 188, 239, 240, 272, 364, 388, 389, 413
"Island of the Double," 497, *et seq.*
"Islands of the Blest," 186, 194–198
Iûsasît, 104, 151

J

Justice, administration of, 336, 337

K

Kaâpirû, 407
Kaaû, 419
Kabhsonûf (Kabhsnuf), 143
Kadûma, 470, 471
Kahiri (planet Saturn), 95
Kahun, 315, 319
Kakiû, 389
Kakôû, 238
Kakû-Kakît, 149
Kara-Su, 549
Karnak, 302, 303, 305, 336, 353, 506, 530, 789
Karun, 548
Kashshi, 563
Kasr-es-Sayad, 9, 414, 454
Kassa, 484

Nusku, 634, 674
Nut. *See* Nûît
"Nutir hotpû," 301, *et seq.*

O

Oannes, 546, 565
Oasis of Amon, 446
Oasis, the Great (Uît, Uhat), (Oasis of El-Khargeh), 232, 432, 459
Obartes, 565
Obnos, 389
Œdipus Egyptiacus (Kircher), map from, 21
Ogdoad, the, 149, 152
Oîrû maû (Ur-ma), 125, 161, 206
Oleander (Narû), nome of, 72, 76, 445, 448
Ombos (Nûbît), 102
Omens and auspicious days, 211
On. *See* Aûnû of the North
Onager, the, 768, 769
Onkhit (Ankht), 18
Onnophris (Osiris), 130, 182, 188, 191, 195, 196, 206
Onouris, 101
"Opening of the Mouth," the, 180, 256
Oracles, Chaldæan, 641
——, Egyptian, 119, 120
Orion-Sâhû. *See* Sâhû
Osiris, 69, 98, 99, 103, 105, 106, 107, 111, 116, 117, 119, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 140, 150, 172, 174, 175, 178, 179, 181, 182, 187, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 200, 201, 202, 206, 210, 211, 213, 216, 232, 250, 252, 259, 266, 272, 310, 364, 377, 437, 447, 500, 508, 645
Osiris Khontamentît, 195, 197
Othoes, 440
Ouenephes, 237, 238
Ousirkheres, 389
Oxyrrhynchos (Pi-mâzit, Bahnasa), 200, 201
Oxyrrhynchus (*mormyrus* fish), 102, 176

P

Pak-hît, 304
Palaces, the Chaldæan, 711, *et seq.*
—— of the kings, the, 275, *et seq.*
Panopolis (Apû). *See* Akhmîm
Pantibibla, 565
Paophi, 212
Papi I., 233, 416, 417, 419, 421, 422, 424, 431, 436, 440, 442, 454
Papi II., 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 440, 441, 442, 454, 473, 522
Papi III. (Sonbû), 441
Papinakhîti, 426, 434
Papsukal, 609, 694
Papyrus, the, 37, 66
Paradise, the Egyptian idea of, 199. *See* Hades
Pasag, 636, 638
Pasht. *See* Bastît
Patesi (Vicegerent), 604
Paûîti, 142
Pelusiac branch of Nile, 5
Pelusium, 351
Pepi. *See* Papi [267, 268
Pharaoh, 241, 259, 260, 263, 266,
Pharmûti, 208
Phiala, 6
Philæ, 428, 478, 482
Philitis, 380
Phiops, 440
Phios, 440
Phœnix, the, 136
Phtah, 40, 99, 106, 111, 116, 119, 144, 156, 159, 211, 233, 236, 240, 266, 304, 364, 377, 504
Phtahhotep. *See* Phtahhotpû
"Phtahhotpû, The Proverbs of," 400, 401
Phtah-Sokar-Osiris, 195
Piarît, 170, 171
Pi-râ. *See* Heliopolis
Pirûît, 207, 208
Pirû-m-hrû, 199
Pitaîtiû, 472
Pnûbsît, 478
Priesthood, the Chaldæan, 675, *et seq.*, 705
——, the Egyptian, 122, 123, 124, 125, 266, 273, 304, 305
Princes and nobility, 71
Pselcis, 478
Ptolemy, King, 240
Pûanît, 84, 396, 397, 426, 433, 434, 461, 489, 492, 494, 495, 498
Punt. *See* Puanît
Pyramid of Kheops, the Great. *See* Khûît
Pyramid, the Step-, 242
Pyramids, the, 358, *et seq.*, 402, *et seq.*

Q

Qabhsonûf, 182
Qasr-es-Sayad, 9, 414, 454
Qenqoni, 236
Qîmit, 43
Qim-oîrit, 17
Qobhû Pyramid, 386
Qom el-Qalâah, 504
Qonbîtiû, 277, 305, 336
Qosheish, 68, 69
Quarries of stone, the, 375, 383, 384, 404, 422, 490, 533
Qûbti, 73
Queen, position and functions of the, 271, 272

R

Ra, 40, 86, 87, 88, 91, 93, 96, 1
103, 111, 118, 119, 136, 137, 1
139, 140, 156, 158, 159, 160,
163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 16
173, 178, 186, 196, 200, 206,
230, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262,
304, 388, 495, 504, 646
Râ-Harmakhis, 170, 266
Râ-Harmakhûîti, 138
Rahotep. *See* Rahotpû
Râhotpû, 362, 363, 407
Raiâu, 7
Ramman (Rimmon), 538
634, 635, 638, 642, 650, 6
654, 658, 661, 662, 667,
755, 763
Ramses II., 226, 233, 23
Raninît, 82
Ranofîr, 362, 409
Ranûît (Ramûît), 208
Ra-qrirît, 116
Ras-Mohammed, 3
Rathoures, 389
Ratoises, 387, 785
"Reeds, The Fie
183, 196
Religious rites
123, 266, 26
Remedies for
781
——, Egypti
Rert. *See*
"Respond
"Rest, T
Rhodopis
438, 4
Rirît (I
Ritual
et s
Roha
Rom
Roy

S

"Sa," the, 110
Sabitu, 584
Sabu, 666, 667
Sabu, mastaba of, 249
Sadjur, the, 549
Safir, 83
Sâhû, 96, 97, 205, 207
Sahu-Orion, 108
Sahûrî, 389, 390, 418, 454
Saîd (Arabic name of Upper Egypt), 35, 73, 428, 522, 532
îdu, 577
s, 77, 229, 381
e period, the, 229
, the, 14
it, the, 90
niû Sît, 176
Samniû-Kharp-Khakeri. *See* Semneh
Sangu, Sangutu, 675
apdi, 128
p-hôû, 212
406
a, 226, 238, 242, 257, 359,
83, 385, 386, 400, 408, 415,
23, 730, 754, 785, 786
-Khâdîm, 473, 474, 476
King, 595, 596, 598, 599,
779
105, 240, 428
of," 145
494, 495, 496
functions of the,
3, 723
û (*or* Sobkhû)
Sovkhotpû
of Nile, 5
85
575, 637,
7, 532
Shamash, 538, 562, 576, 577, 579, 582, 584, 634, 638, 646, 648, 650, 653, 657, 658, 664, 666, 667, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675. 676, 694, 698, 700, 704, 706, 763
Shamashnapishtim, 566, 567, 570, 572, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 653
Shargani-shar-ali, 596, 601, 758
Shargina, 688
Shargina-Sharrukin, 596
Shas-hirît, Berenicê, 201
Shashotpû (Hypsele), 522
Shataûi, 479
Shatt-el-Arab, 548
Shatt-el-Haî, 552, 561, 603, 609, 614, 619
Shatt-en-Nil, 552, 562
Shed. *See* Shodit
Shehadidi, 85
Sheîkh-el-Beled, 407
Sheshaît-Safkhîtâbûi, 104, 105
Sheshonqû II., 38, note 5
Shinar, land *of*, 573
Ships, Chaldæan, 615, 617, 751
——, Egyptian, 392, 393, 397
"Shipwrecked Sailor, Story of the," 497, *et seq.*
Shiri, stele of, 252
Shodit, Shadû, *or* Shed (capital of the Fayûm), 446, 511, 512, 514
Shômû, 207
Shonîtîû, 277
Shopsiskaf, 386, 387, 785
Shopsiskerî, 389
Shosûû Horû (Shesu Hor), 176, 182
Shû, 127, 128, 129, 140, 141, 144, 150, 151, 160, 167, 169, 170, 172, 178, 211
Shumir, 573, 616, 619
Shurippak, 562, 566
Shuti, 563
Shutu, 659, 660, 661
Sibû (Seb), 40, 86, 89, 128, 129, 133, 140, 141, 144, 146, 150, 160, 167, 169, 170, 172, 177, 178, 200, 377
Si-Hathôr, 481
Silili, 581
Silsileh, Khenû, 39, 44, 394
Simanu, 753, 754, 777
Sin, 538, 588, 634, 635, 637, 638, 649, 650, 653, 654, 655, 656, 658, 664, 665, 673, 675, 676, 693, 694, 704, 753, 754, 776
Sinai, 353, *et seq.*, 421, 435
ingashid, 619
nidinnam, 619
nûhît and his adventures, 467, 469, 471, 473
Sippara (Sepharvaim), 562, 572, 595, 597, 600, 601, 648, 665, 675
Siranpîtû, 493
Siris, 659
Sirrida (A), 664
Sisires, 389
Sît, 128, 129, 133, 134, 140, 144, 150, 172, 176, 177, 178, 181, 192, 200, 201, 204, 210, 213, 265, 270
Sît-Nûbîti, 178
Sît-Typhon, 174
Sitû, 431
Siût (Siaût), 71, 76, 77, 103, 303, 322, 432, 453, 455, 457, 463, 521, 522 (map of, 456)
Slaves, status and life of, 309, 326, 327, 742, *et seq.*
Snefru. *See* Snofrûi
Snofrûi (Snefru), (Horûnib-mâit), 262, 269, 272, 290, 347, 351, 355, 358, 360, 361, 363, 387, 420, 448, 453, 454
Sobat, *the*, 20
Sohâgîyeh, 7
Sokaris, 116, 117, 181, 195, 198
Sokhît, 106, 138, 165, 166, 211, 212, 216, 231, 364
Sokhîtniônkû, 418
Sondi, 236, 237
Sonkherî, 462, 494
Sopdît (Sopd), Sirius, *or* Sothis, 96
Soris, 387
Sothis, 96, 205, 207, 209
Soul, ancient traditions of the, 113, 182, *et seq.*, 252, 256
——, Chaldæan theories about the, 683, *et seq.*, 689
Souphis I., 387
Souphis II., 387
Sovkhotpû I. (Sebek-hotep, *or* Serk-hotep), 527, 528, 532
Sovkhotpû III., 528, 533
Sovkhotpû IV., 531
Sovkû, Sobkû (Sebek), 41, 102 104, 144, 171, 447, 511, 512
Sovkûmsaûf I., 528
Sovkûmsaûf II., 530, 531
Sovkûnofriûri, Queen, 513, 527
Spells and Incantations, ancient, 213, 281, 282, 780, *et seq.*
Speos Artemidos (Pakhît), 304
Sphinx the Great, 242, 247, 266, 375, 401
Stars, Egyptian traditions of the, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
Step-Pyramid, the, 242, *et seq.*
Storehouses, Government (Asûi), 284, *et seq.*, 298

Sumerians (Accadians), the, 550, 551, 560, 575, 637, 638, 665, 727, 730, 743
Sun, legends and traditions of the, 89, 90, 91, 100, 137, 162, 196
Surveys and measurements, 328, 329, 761
Susa, 563
Sycamores, 122
Syene (Sûânit), 414, 425, 428, 430, 435, 458, 482

T

Tablets of Destiny, 666, *et seq.*
——, writing, 724, 731
"Tabnû" (money), 323, 324
Tabulu, 581
Tafnakhti, 235
Tafnûît, 141, 144, 150, 151
Takazze, the, 15, 24
"Tale of the Two Brothers," 176
Tamarisk, Egyptian and Semitic names of, 28
Tammuz (Dumûzi), 579, 580, 779
Tamphthis, 387, 785
Taninît, 151
Tanis, 422, 491, 500, 502, 504, 530, 531, 533
Tankheres, 389
Tanû, 150
Tashmit, 672, 676
Tâû, 496
Taurus, the, 548, 549
Taxes and their collection, 311, 314, 328, 330, 332, 333, 761
Tefabi, 456, 457
Tel-el-Amarna Tablets, 659, 708
Tell-Mokhdam, 530
Tell-Nebêsheh, 504
Telloh, 603, 641, 672, 709, 711, 717, 718
Tel-Sifr Tablets, 732
Temples of the Chaldæan gods, 674, *et seq.*
Tennu. *See* Tonu
Terebinth, the, 71, 76, 457
Teti I., 114, 236, 260
Teti III., 416, 417, 436, 440
Thamos, 220
Thebaid, the, 42
Theban Ennead, the, 150
— period, the, 229
Thebes, 453, 494, 506, 521, 526, 528, 533 (map of, 455)
This, *or* This, 73, 77, 99, 101, 116, 232, 414, 432, 454, 522
42, 92, 102, 104, 105, 111, 147, 149, 150, 159, 173, 182, 186, 19
198, 200, 204, 207, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 220, 224, 240, 282, 321, 364, 478
Thoth. *See* Thot
Thothmes I., 52
Thothotpû, 523, 718
Thutmosis III., 479
Ti, the tomb of, 251, 254
Tiâmat, 538, 540, 541, 542, 669
Tiba, 421
Tidanum (Lebanon), 564
Tiglath-Pileser, 652, 662
Tigris, the, 548, 549, 559, 603, 627, 697, 751
Tihûnû, 477
Time, divisions of. *See* Calendar
Timihû, 432, 459, 477, 489
Titoûi, 464, 517
Tiûmaûtf, 143, 182
Tiû-mîtiri, 96
Tombos, 533
Tombs, the Chaldæan, 685, *et seq.*
——, the Egyptian, 198, 244. *See also* Mastaba
Tonû (Ténnu), 349, 472
Tonûatamon, 266
To-Shît, 445, 446
To-Shûît, 349
To-Tamû, 419
Tosorthros, 238
"Tree of the Virgin," 122
Tree-worship, 121
Triads of gods, 106, *et seq.*, 150, 650
Troiu, 383, 384, 418
Tum. *See* Tûmû
Tûmû (*see* Atûmû), 104, 116, 138, 140, 146, 159, 163, 186, 268, 463
Tunari, 226
Turah, 404, 418, 506
Typhon, 172, 176, 190, 200, 201, 202, 210, 262
Typhonians. *See* Typhon

U

Ûagaît, 250, 321
Ûapirahûhûi, 177
Ûapshetatîu (planet Jupiter), 95
Ûap-uaîtû (Anubis), 103, 116, 143, 187, 457
Ûashbîti, 193, 194
Ûati, 96
Ûaûaiû (Wawa), 394, 396, 419, 424, 430, 432, 434, 459, 461, 464, 478, 480
Uaz-ôîrit (Uaz-ur), 17, 391
Ubaratutu, 567, 583
Uchoreus, 234
Udban, 608
[illegible]âmir, 695
Ûîrû (Ur, pyramid of Khephren), 371 [(Thebes) 527
Ûisît, Nome of, 453n, 526,
Uit (Uhat), the Great Oasis, 232, 432, 459
Uknu, 751
Ulaî, 751 [436
Ûnas, 389, 390, 396, 414, 416, 431,
Uni, 414, 416, 419, 421, 423, 424, 433, 441, 459
Universe, Egyptian theory of the, 16, 128, 129
Ûnnofruî (Osiris), 130
Ur of the Chaldees. *See* Uru
Uræus, the, 33, 170, 185, 262, 265, 270, 278 [714, 718
Urbau, 609, 613, 617, 625, 710,
Ûrdû-hît, 116
Urlamma, 609
Urninâ, 605, 608, 757
Urningirsu, 613
Urshû, 206
Uru (Urum), 561, 602, 606, 609, 615, 616, 617, 620, 625, 626, 628, 629, 648, 649, 654, 655, 675, 684, 704, 743, 745, 746, 755
Uruazagga, 603
Uruk (Erech), (Warka), 562, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 581, 587, 589, 602, 604, 606, 608, 616, 617, 618, 619, 625, 626, 628, 659, 674, 688, 712, 745, 746, 770
Urukagina, 604
Urus, 579, 682
Ush, 604
Usirkaf (Usercheres), 389, 396, 785
Ûsirkerî, 260
Ûsirnirî Ânû, 389, 300, 454
Ûsirtasen I., 454, 465, 466, 467, 473, 478, 481, 484, 490, 495, 500, 502, 503, 507, 509, 512, 519, 522, 523, 530
Ûsirtasen II., 468, 470, 490, 501, 519, 520
Ûsirtasen III., 240, 468, 479, 484, 487, 490, 491, 492, 503, 504, 510, 518, 519
Usury in Chaldæa, p. 749, *et seq.*, 751, note 1
Utuku, 631, 633

V

Venus, 663
"Very Green," the. *See* Ûaz-ôîrit
Vicegerents of Lagash, 604, *et seq.*
Votive offerings ("nutir hotpû"), 301, *et seq.*, 677
Vultures, the Stele of the, 607, 717, 722

W

Wady-el-Arish, 348, 420
Wady Feîrân, 354
—— Halfa, 426, 478, 482, 484
—— Hammamât, 384, 415, 516, 461, 494, 511
—— Maghâra inscription, 242, 364, 390
—— —— mines, etc., 355, 356, 476
—— Nazleh, 446
—— Rummein, 613
—— Tamieh, 446
—— Tumilât, 351
Warka. *See* Uruk
Wawa. *See* Uaûaiû
"White Wall," the, 275
Willow (Egyptian *tarit, tore*), 31
World, Chaldæan conception of the, 543, 775
——, Egyptian conception of the, 16
Worship, rites of, 122–124
Writers. *See* Scribe
Writing, the invention of, 220, *et seq.*, 724, 731

X

Xisuthros (Shamashnapishtim), 565, 572, 698

Y

Yâûhû, Aûhû, the Moon, 92

Z

Zab, the, 549
Zalû, *or* Zârû (Selle, Tell Abû Seifeh), 201, 202
Zamama, 763
Zatmît, 201
Zawyet el-Meiyetîn, 524
Ziggurats, 627, *et seq.*, 641, 674, 710, 754
Zirbanit, 672, 704
Zirlab, 562
Zobû (Edfû), 74
Zodiacal signs, the, 669, 762, 777
Zorit, 453D, 508
Zosiri, 240, 241, 242, 355, 359, 428
Zu, 659, 666, 667, 698, 700

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